

- (1) The general events are known here. The revolution in my view was expected, but still it was a surprise. The 20th party Congress created more freedom of thought. Day after day articles appeared in the papers which people could not believe in. This gave voice to the hypothesis that the revolution is in progress. Some people, however, thought that this free criticism was designed to capture those people who were active or ^{held} ~~had~~ beliefs against the system. Nevertheless, the revolution was unexpected.
- (2a) There was no incubation. It was like an explosion^s. In the afternoon when the posters appeared on the walls, everyone believed in it.
- (2b) Certainly. After the death of Stalin the decay began. The deStalinization started a more critical mood in the nation.
- (2c) No.
- (2d) No. It was a revolution against Moscow, not a revolutionary deviation.
- (2e) The papers were full of the Congress. Yes, it was of ^{it} influence. If ~~there~~ hadn't been for a freer press, the happenings could not have taken place. Previously, any meetings or organization ^{were} ~~was~~ practically impossible.
- (2f) The happenings in Poznan ^{were} ~~was~~ not stated much in the press, but everyone knew about them. Everyone was listening to the Voice of America. It certainly had some influence or effect.
- (2g) In the Communist world, people were used to this. People were constantly changed. This was expected after the death

of Stalin.

- (2h) This was the revolution, the success of the revolution. There was no other before.
- (2i) We thought that the introduction of more freedom would either lead to a revolution or to a new era of terror.
- (3) The general desperate mood of the people.
- (3a) People could not make a living from their wages. Workers were stealing tools in the factory to make ends meet and they were punished very seriously.
- (3b) The Russians had to be worshipped all the time. This created animosity in everyone. It created a latent national feeling.
- (3c) The meeting of the students moved the great masses. The mood was ripe for a revolution to break out. Gero was not at hand, and the fact that Gero called the students mobs angered them very much. Gero was hated very much.
- (4) Yes, the plans were not very definite. In a revolution the system or the plans do not remain.
- (4a) The twelve points or fourteen points were declared on the posters.
- (4b) Yes, they had definite plans. Certainly.
- (4c) This is probably true, but people did not know about them. On the whole there was great unity. No one wanted the reestablishment of the old reactionary system.
- (4d) I don't know that. As the revolution was in progress no new demands were made.

- (4e) Political dictatorship, the forcing of the Soviet system on Hungary, the adoration of Soviet science and Soviet achievements and so forth.
- (4f) People were for freedom, politically and economically, for a life without fear, without secret police.
- (4g) That the Russians should leave the country.
- (4h) That there should be no Russian troops. That not Russians should lead or govern Hungary. The Russians took all that was produced in Hungary.
- (4i) Certainly.
- (4j) There were very few true Communists. People entered the party because of self-interest. The Communists joined the revolution to prove that they were for the new system.
- (4k) The revolution was anti-Communist, but they did not want the complete abolishment of the Communist Party.
- (4l) There would have been free election. Otherwise, I do not know.
- (4m) It would have been more than nothing, but it wasn't what we desired. However, it would have been an improvement in comparison with the previous situation.
- (4n) I do not know.
- (4o) Nobody. There were many who were afraid, but none was against it.
- (5) I was merely an observer.
- (5a) I saw a few things on the streets.
- (5b) Everyone knew about everything. There was great enthusiasm.
- (6-9) Omitted. Respondent had very little personal experience.

- (10)(a) It was difficult to obtain papers. I lived outside Budapest and it was very difficult to obtain newspapers. We received our information over the radio.
- (10b) Everyone was happy ~~that~~ about the free ~~press~~ ^{press}.
- (10c) The revolution was the only topic of conversation. People stood on the highways and enquired from whoever passed. People talked all the time.
- (10d) We listened to radio Budapest, and the Voice of America. Everything was known to everyone.
- (10e) There was no telephone connection with Budapest.
- (10f) Both the radio and the newspapers. Most of the information was passed on by word of mouth.
- (10g) ~~They~~ They were much the same.
- (11)(a) I don't remember definitely. The party headquarters were all abandoned.
- (11b) Nothing to the normal police.
- (11c) They were executed. There were big fights with them.
- (11d) They did not function. Some of the hated judges resigned and disappeared. In the area of the Budapest courts there were big fights. Most hated of the judges were Jonas and Oti.
- (11e) The army joined the revolution and they behaved themselves very nicely.
- (11f) I do not know. I had not connections with the trade unions. The trade unions were deprived of their free action.
- (11g) The local ~~councils~~ ^{councils} behaved themselves very nicely. One could come out with them easily. Everywhere revolutionary councils were formed. They were elected by the people.

- (11h) They did not function very much.
- (11i) Religious life began anew. The old priests came back again. The priest^s/ar ministers sympathizing with the Communists were put aside.
- (11j) The ~~institutions~~ institutions did not collapse. They were taken over by the revolutionary commissions. They took over the leadership.
- (11k) That did not take place. There was no time for this.
- (11 l) Provisional revolutionary coun^{cils}~~tries~~ or commissions. The political parties were re-formed. Party press began. Mainly the democratic parties which were found after the Second World War but were later ~~seized~~ dissolved. There were no rightist manifestations. There was such unity which has never occurred before in Hungary. Everyone helped everyone else.
- (11m) The workers coun^{cils}~~tries~~ came into existence by themselves. There was no communication and the government did not function. Workers coun^{cils}~~tries~~ took over the management for industrial concerns. They were very strong politically. Later the various workers' coun^{cils}~~tries~~ like those in Csepel and Ujpest and those of other cities, established contact with each other.
- (11n) A democratic government strongly Socialistic. The big land owners would not have received back their land, nor would have the big Capitalists retained or reestablished their old power.
- (12) Very badly.
- (12a) Yes, mainly tanks.

- (12b) Yes. Many gave themselves up and gave their tanks to the Hungarians, but this I only heard. I don't know about it personally. The Mongolian troops who came after the revolution was broken were the worst. They were afraid of the population. They were always ready to shoot.
- (12c) Not answered.
- (12d) I don't know.
- (12e) I do not know.
- (12f) Certainly. They were constantly moving back and forth between Russia and Hungary. They must have had different instructions.
- (12g) Before the revolution, whatever they wanted, that happened. The Communist Party was directed from Moscow, and the Party directed the government. Their influence came to an end during the revolution. Everyone was free.
- (12h) Unfortunately, the system did not collapse. They did not expect the revolution. It was a spontaneous, unexpected event. The Hungarians themselves did not know that this would lead to a revolution.
- (13) After the collapse of the revolution the future looked hopeless. We made some plans to leave Hungary in 1948 but we did not succeed.
- (13a) The situation was hopeless.
- (13b) Day after day I spoke with everyone about how we would leave the country.
- (13c) Yes. It was a general rule that everyone got himself a kind of a travel order. We were given addresses how the border patrols could be avoided. Everyone was helping us.

Sometimes we tried to give money for these services, but they hardly wanted to ~~accept~~ ^{accept} the money.

(13d) I had a definite plan to come to America. I heard over the radio that America had received refugees. It was known that the Red Cross was giving people considerable help.

(13e) There was nothing else to do, either stay home or come out. We preferred to leave the country.

(14) The revolution is my most ~~beautiful~~ ^{beautiful} memory. It was a great experience.

(14a) Most certainly.

(14b) This is a difficult question. If the United Nations had stepped in more forcefully, perhaps the Russians could have been influenced to withdraw their forces from Hungary.

(14c) I would do nothing differently.

(14d) There was already an attempt in Poland. In Czechoslovakia the Russian influence was not very strong. The temperament of the Hungarian nation certainly added to it.

(14e) He was a well meaning, good natured man. Nagy, Imre was a Communist and the revolution was anti-Communist. People did not trust Nagy, Imre. At the beginning, people made him responsible for the ~~massacres~~ ^{bloodshed}, but when Nagy, Imre joined the revolution, people changed their opinions. But Nagy, Imre could not have stayed. If the revolution would have succeeded, a more middle class government would have arisen. The revolution was anti-Communist.

(14f) I don't think much of Tildy. ~~Malter~~ ^{Malter} as a soldier behaved himself excellently. Kovacs had very little role. No one believed in the old politicians. There was on the whole, little leadership.

- (14g) Maleter. It was really the whole nation. After the end of the revolution, it was particularly the workers who behaved themselves most heroically.
- (14h) First the students, second and third the skilled and unskilled workers, fourth the writers. Then came the clerks, soldiers. The intellectuals as such did not participate, merely the writers. The peasants did not participate very much.
- (14i) No.
- (14j) No, it was a great, great surprise. They selected the sons of party members and those of peasants and workers.
- (14k) It had a great role in the intellectual preparation of the revolution. The club was a great success.
- (14l) The revolution was a city phenomenon. The peasants were not in the position to participate, but they did assist the revolution by supplying food to the cities. Of course, many of the students were of peasant background and they did participate in the revolution.
- (15) The respondent was not particularly conversant with the details of the revolution or of the situation in Hungary as of November 4.

- (1a) Attorney at law.
- (1b) Attorney at law.
- (2) Self-employed. Since 1951 I was a member of a Lawyers Cooperative. I was a member of this Cooperative for five years.
- (3) This Cooperative had a membership of about 10 to 25. Each member had his own cases. The cooperative received 50% of each member's income. It wasn't a very successful enterprise. The Cooperative's office was situated on a side street in a bad shop where desks were cluttered together, some members had no separate desk, and the clients sometimes had to stand for lack of sufficient chairs. We had only two telephones and only two typists. Income was quite insufficient. About two-thirds of what I needed for food and the necessities of my family was covered by my income. Relation with fellow workers was good.
- (4a) That was an inflationary period. I don't remember the exact figures. But we could still make a living from my income.
- (4b) I had a net income of ^{18,000} 17,800 forints.
- (4c) A net income of ^{18,000} 17,800 forints.
- (4d) I didn't have any. It was free enterprise.
- (4e) Social security, taxes, ~~insurance~~ fees in professional associations. This made up about ^{30%} 50% of my income. Then we paid 10% of our income in Peace bonds.
- (4f) None.
- (4g) No.
- (4h) About the same as a good skilled worker. An engineer or a lower rank physician earned about twice as much.
- (4i) Some attorneys earned much less, about 6,000 forints, but then

there were some who earned as much as 50,000 forints.

- (5) About 50 hours a week.
- (5a) About 48 hours.
- (5b) ~~Minimum~~ Five days.
- (5c) Not applicable. I worked for myself.
- (5d) I had no paid vacation.
- (5e) Not applicable.
- (5f) It was not strict in my position since I did not get a fixed salary.
- (5g) No.
- (5h) Not in my place.
- (5i) We didn't have any.
- (5j) Not applicable.
- (5k) Not in my place.
- (5l) Not applicable.
- (6) Very bad.
- (6a) Typewriters were too few. We had few telephones and we had to economize with paper.
- (6b) The crowded condition led to much nervous tension.
- (6c) Inadequate.
- (6d) Satisfactory.
- (6e) About one hour each way.
- (7) People with the same educational background of sentiments and thoughts did.
- (7a) Of the same age and social and economic position.
- (7b) Not applicable. We were all of the same rank.
- (7c) Yes.

- (7d) Very much.
- (7e) Yes.
- (7f) Yes.
- (7g) Yes, with all of them.
- (7h) The leader had to be a Party member. But our chief was a harmless Party member. The last chief was a true Communist. No others were Party members. There was no Party cell at our place.
- (7i) No. But certain commissions were restricted to members of the Party or to reliable attorneys.
- (7j) Not applicable.
- (7k) Not applicable.
- (7l) It ~~was~~ was not taken seriously. We treated it with passive resistance.
- (7m) I don't know anything ~~more~~ about it.
- (7n) They
We were called in on disputes on wages.
- (7o) I don't know. I never worked in a factory.
- (7p) He could get work but he never got any leading position.
- (7q) That was usually tolerated. He may not have become a manager but could become the chief of his section, a ~~foreman~~ foreman, etc.
- (7r) Yes.
- (7s) In 1956 they began to ~~take~~ ^{attack} this in the ~~past~~ ^{press}. And in some cases the inefficient people were removed/~~by~~ ^{and replaced by} properly trained technicians, managers, etc.
- (7t) Not in our work place.
- (7u) The workers councils were formed after the Revolution. They heroically resisted the Russians and then they organized a passive resistance when the Revolution was broken down.

- (7v) I don't know anything about their industrial activities, but their political behavior was very fine.
- (8) I didn't change my position. I would have changed my position if I could not have stood the political pressure in the office.
- (8a) Very limited possibilities.
- (8b) I selected my job freely since this was my profession.
- (8c) Not applicable.
- (8d) Partly family tradition, partly personal inclination led me to this choice. When I chose my career it promised an above average income.
- (8e) I had held later these ^{professions} positions to be good which are international such as that of a physician, an engineer, etc.
- (8f) Yes.
- (8g) No.
- (8h) Not applicable.
- (8i) I would like to have a house in the country. I would hunt and ski and would travel in my free time. I would like to build myself a nice quiet life.
- (8j) They didn't change.
- (8k) No. Under the changed circumstances my profession offered little opportunity for the future. I would have liked my children to choose a profession which can be practiced in any free country.
- (9) Very badly.
- (9a) My wife did part-time work. In the summer also my young sons went to work. We couldn't make a living from my salary.
- (9b) We gradually sold our furniture, our jewels. Our other property was confiscated by the state. So not only our income but also

our property was constantly decreasing.

- (9c) We could get food, essential toilet articles and very seldom shoes or suits for the children. But we couldn't decently clothe ourselves, we couldn't go to the movies, to the theatre, or to other places of entertainment. We couldn't afford to invite guests, or travel in vacation time.
- (9d) Not applicable.
- k(9e) We lived in our own house. I paid about 50 forints in taxes.
- (9f) Very crowded. I lived with my family of five in 3½ rooms.
- (9g) About 1,200 forints a month. ~~Manuscripted text~~ We stood in queues sometimes very long periods, sometimes not at all. This changed from time to time.
- (9h) Most of the time there was little left for ~~their spirit~~ ^{this.} (9i) Occasionally we sold something and ~~always~~ bought clothing from this. We also got parcels from Germany, from America and from some other places with used suits.
- (9j) We bought practically everything from state stores.
- (9j) About 1,000 to 1,500 forints a year for fuel and about 150 forints for gas and electricity a month.
- (9k) Yes.
- (9l) Very little. This was free under the social security system.
- (9m) None.
- (9n) We went about once a month to the movies.
- (9o) On transportation.
- (10) No.
- (10a) Since I was in a free profession I can merely say that they destroyed my profession so that I couldn't make a living from it.

- (10b) Yes.
- (10c) The Russians could.
- (10d) Their income improved in comparison with other occupations. But from the point of view of making a living their income actually decreased. Also they lost their freedom of choice of work.
- (10e) It was a taxation on us , ^{to} though it was presented as if people had freely contributed to it.
- (10f) For long years much of Hungary's production was taken away on the basis of reparations. The country couldn't recover because of these reparations. But, of course, this happens to all countries which lose a war.
- (10g) I was supposed to. But I could excuse myself because I lived in the suburbs.
- (11) After the war there was some improvement. But I think that more development would have taken place under a different regime/ ^{with a} ~~the~~ system of free enterprise. The Communists institutionalized a general poverty in the whole nation.
- (11a) No.
- (11b) Yes.
- (11c) The elimination of private enterprise was bad. The Russian exploitation of Hungary and the bad plannings were bad too. For instance they began to build a subway then stopped it, and instead of ~~started~~ building living quarters for the people.
- (11d) Yes there were.
- (11e) No. We hoped in 1945 and 1946 that things would improve. But this did not take place.
- (11f) I thought it was a bad blueprint which would not profit the country.

- (11g) The longer we lived in the planned economy the more we became convinced that it wasn't working.
- (11h) It seemed to be an improvement. ~~Yes~~ It gave more room for private enterprise. But we didn't believe that it could stay. It was generally considered a tactical step of the Communists.
- (11i) There were such discussions. Radio and newspapers informed us about them. But I didn't believe that it would lead to anything. One believed that no matter what the Communists did, it could not lead to anything good.
- (11j) It ~~wasn't~~ was a little better in the economic sphere. There was more confidence, but it didn't create much change.
- (12) It had a very important role.
- (12a) Very great importance.
- (12b) Lack of freedom. Too much pressure on the workers for increased work.
- (12c) Everyone had reason for economic complaints. Over working was the main complaint of industrial workers.
- (12d) No.
- (12e) In complaints.
- (12f) To a large extent it was ~~more~~ their work.

- (1a) From the age of six. Four years elementary school eight years of high school and then the law school of the university of Budapest.
- (1b) Doctor of law.
- (1c) University of Budapest.
- (2) No.
- (2a-f) Not applicable.
- (3) Not applicable.
- (4) Not applicable.
- (5) Not applicable.
- (6) Good.
- (6a) Not answered.
- (7) I had ~~the~~ ^{the} same opportunities as all others.
- (7a) As my father could support ~~me~~ ^{me} I had the advantage of not having to go to work at ~~a~~ ^{an} early age.
- (7b) I suppose those who were richer were in a better position. But not much difference though.
- (8) (Interviewer note: Respondent finished his studies before the war. The following information is not from private experience.)
- (8a) All subjects were compulsory in the Hungarian system of education.
- (8b) Not applicable.
- (8c) This was a means to attach the satellite countries to the Russians. The population resented this very much. The children did not want to study it.
- (8d) I know nothing about it. I was not interested in it.

- (8e) I don't understand this question. Does it refer to the training of soldiers.
- (8f) I approve of it. In particular if it is under medical supervision. One could participate in sports practically free of charge. Or very cheaply.
- (9) It was not successful as was shown by the revolution.
- (9a) It was successful in fighting religious sentiments and the religions. Movies were for instance given on the ~~subject~~ Sunday mornings to prevent children from going to churches.
- (9b) No.
- (9c) No.
- (9d) Not applicable.
- (9e) It was never successful. Independent of age.
- (9f) Not applicable.
- (10) Middle class.
- (10a) Middle class.
- (10b) Middle class.
- (11) The same.
- (12) Attorney of law.
- (12a) By this time he was retired.
- (12b) Not applicable.
- (12c) Not applicable.
- (12d) Doctor of law.
- (12e) Approved.
- (13) Good average middle class.
- (13a) After the war it deteriorated considerably.
- (14) Fine.

- (14a) They all survived.
- (14b) With family.
- (14c) Was not answered.
- (15) My wife worked. ~~but she~~ The children worked in the school vacation time in the summer.
- (16) It put me in a disadvantageous position. Very
s
strongly so.
- (16a) Middle class background wasn't good for the Communists.
- (17) Yes.
- (17a) Weaving.
- (17b) 18 years.
- (17c) ~~xxxx~~ Three.
- (17d) 16.
- (18-21) Not applicable.
- (22) In good relation.
- (23) Very frequently, particularly with my father.
- (23a) We told each other the news we heard. Often we spoke of what we could expect from the future.
- (23b) Not applicable.
- (24) Not applicable.
- (25) Not applicable.
- (26) The children saw their own future pretty hopeless. The parents couldn't offer anything to their children. The children saw this and they knew that they couldn't expect much. Hence it was ~~also~~ difficult to discipline them.

- (26a) Quite close.
- (26b) In the middle class. Quite typical.
- (26c) I had a little piece of ground I cultivated with my children. They were raising rabbits and chicken for our own consumption and some to sell on a very small scale though.
- (26d) My children ~~helped~~ ^{helped} me in my work on my ground. We went sometimes swimming or skiing together.
- (26e) Weekends otherwise only at supper.
- (26f) Sports, movies, theatre, going to football matches.
- (27) They ~~loosened~~ loosened.
- (27a) In families where the wife had to go to work, and husband and wife were separate the whole day there was a loosening of ties which led very frequently to divorces. But then very often because people could not afford to go out, ^t the wife and husband were more together and this might have led to an ^{im} ~~ap~~rovement in their relations.
- (27b) In our family certainly. In most families yes.
- (27c) Yes.
- (27d) No.
- (27e) Among those children in the city whose both parents were working, and were brought up in nurseries, ^s such close ties of course could not develop.
- (28) Yes.
- (28a) Sexual relations were freer. In particular~~y~~ in the working classes. Many children ~~were~~ were born ~~in~~ in

to unmarried girls.

- (28b) Among peasants marriage took place then and now about the age of 20. Little change took place either in the country or the city in this respect. Many marriages were established in the working places but then also divorces were caused there because of a separation between wife and husband.
- (28c) They were many marriages after short ^cacquaintance and courting.
- (28d) Often it led to hurried marriages, and ~~xx~~ ^{the} children saw the bad consequences of this.
- (28e) No. It was officially persecuted.
- (28f) Not more strict than before, but there was propaganda for the acceptance of children born out of wed-lock. In general sexual morality was freer during the Communist regime than it was before. Unmarried pregnant girls were not shamed by their condition.
- (28g) I approve of it. after the entry of the Russians in view of the many rapes they committed it was permitted for some time. After wards it was more strongly ~~strongly~~ persecuted. The doctor and the women were severely punished. After 1955 ~~there~~ ^{there} was a change, ~~a~~ ^{it was} And ~~it was~~ again more liberally treated. And in 1956 there came a law which permitted it under a doctor's advise if it was carried out in a hospital.
- (28h) Yes. Laws regulated their legal position. They became completely equal with children from noble

families.

- (29) I met him at college.
- (29a) Public servant.
- (29b) About 49. Middle ~~and~~ ~~and~~ class.
- (29c) We studied together.
- (29d) Yes.
- (29e) No. But we met less frequently.
- (29f) Yes.
- (29g) Loyalty.
- (29h) Yes. His party connections would have prevented him
to ^{retain our old} ~~his~~ trust in each other, and I would have changed
my mind of him, had he become a party functionary.
- (30) Protestant.
- (30a) All had the same sentiments.
- (30b) I believe in complete freedom of worship and choice of religion.
- (31) Not really.
- (31a) Not applicable.
- (31b) ~~The~~ ~~were~~ Catholics were most strongly persecuted. They showed the strongest resistance to the system. It was also this church which had most of its property confiscated. Also in education the Catholic schools played a more significant role.
- (31c) The old leaders from the various religions were changed and only those could replace the who were faithful to the regime, and who had less personal character.

- (31d) They wanted to acquire a monopoly over the mental life of people. Also the Communist doctrines are in opposition, in many respects, to religious beliefs.
- (31e) First it seemed they wanted to liquidate them. But when they did not succeed they seemed to ~~be~~ have changed their tactics and began to make use of them.
- (31f) It was directed mainly against the leaders and functionaries of the church.
- (31g) Yes. I know of no case that was followed by any harm. However, a party member could not well afford to go.
- (31h) Mainly on holidays. Occasionally also on Sundays. Between holidays.
- (31i) Catholics went every Sunday. Some Protestants also went on Sunday. Old people and children went more frequently than the youth.
- (31j) They were not fit for leading position.
- (31k) Nonadapted itself completely. There were some who co-operated in both religions. ~~We~~ ^{The} Catholics were slightly more resistant than the others.
- (31l) It means unfortunately less to them today. Because there's no systematic religious education. And in the school they are pushed to go to entertainments, instead of a church so many young people forgot about religion. Also the stress on science in education contributes to this. Such as the teaching of geology, the teaching of evolution, etc.

- (32) In the beginning they got leading positions above their numerical percentage in the population, which was due to their persecution during the Nazis. Most of them, however, abandoned Communism.
- (32a) There were some who suffered as much under the Communists as under the Nazis.
- (32b) As far as I know, they participated as much as the Gentiles. There were some Jews who were afraid that the revolution will take a right turn. A great percentage of the Jews left Hungary during the revolution. In percentages more Jews left than non-Jews.
- (32c) They should get the same treatment as the others. No distinction should be made between the Jews and non-Jews.
- (33) The Kulaks were in the worst position, then the aristocrats and high ranking previous government officials, then army officers, then follows the middle class. Some of the workers were in a better position. Also artists were in a good position and leading sportsmen. Medical doctors were relatively also in a good position.
- (33a) Middle class.
- (33b) Artists.
- (34) I would have suggested to him to become a chemical engineer, but he probably would not have been accepted in the university.

- (34a) It was a sought after position. And ^{if} the man would have succeeded in leaving the country, this is a good profession anywhere.
- (34b) He should obtain and study foreign professional literature and study foreign languages.
- (34c) Children of working class parents if they had ability.

- (1) I'm interested. I was always interested. But I never participated in politics. It was a theoretical interest.
- (1a) Theoretical interest in local politics. The fate of nations depends on politics. Hence I was interested in local and also in international affairs.
- (1b) External observer.
- (1c) Small.
- (1d) No.
- (1e) Much the same as other people.
- (1f) After the 20th Congress I became more interested because I ~~was~~^{began} to hope for a political change. The same happened to my friends and acquaintances.
- (2) First, I could not make a living from my wages and maintain my family. Second, one lived in complete insecurity about the future and one was always afraid that for some reason or excuse one would be deported or put in jail. I ~~was~~^{have} many examples of this among my friends and relations.
- al
(2a) This I did not experience. Indirectly there was some effect as a man could not provide for the family and wife ~~a-man~~ had to go to work. But there was no direct intervention.
- (2a2) Where ~~was~~ religion education of the children ~~is~~^{was} concerned I had some difficulties but I did succeed in getting my children some religious education. We could go to church without any difficulty.

- (2a3) That was very bad. I was not personally ^a affected but in general it was very bad.
- (2a4) One got slowly use/^d to the system, but still we hoped for a change.
- (2a5) There was no serious food shortage. Occasionally we could not get certain things. There wasn't a general shortage. But there was a great shortage of fuel--
like ~~xxx~~^{wood} and coal.
- (2a6) This was a serious affair.
- (2a7) It was an unpleasant feeling that we could not get quite use/^d to.
- (2a8) Yes. One lived from day to the next without any entertainment, but this was mainly due to financial difficulties.
- (2a9) Quite serious.
- (2a10) It hurt us very much. ~~It~~^P particularly in the view of the poor future we saw for our children.
- (2a11) One got use/^d to this. I became insensit^{ive} to it. But of course this was unpleasant.
- (2a12) The living standard particularly of the middle class was lowered to the minimum. One didn't have enough money for the barest necessities of living. If a light bulb burned out or we finished a toothpaste it was a great problem how to buy replacements. The lowering of the standard of living was felt mostly by the middle class. Also jailing and being sent to concentration camps was common among middle class people.

- (2c) The peasants were ^a affected mostly by the serious taxes and by the insecurity of their income.
- (2d) ~~Heavily~~ Housing shortage. Workers were usually over-worked. They had to work hard and for long periods for little payment. They were very exhausted physically.
- (2e) The longer they had to study the more political indoctrination they had to undergo. The compulsory learning of Russian was little to the liking of the students. Students of intellectual or middle-class background had little hope for completion of their studies or advancement. The college students were most affected by the lack of freedom of speech and thought.
- (2f) I've no personal experience on this point.
- (2g) The lowering the standard of living affected us most and was constantly on our minds. That constantly depressed us. We were also afraid of the police. We always expected them to come and that was very unpleasant.
- (2h) People talked to each other all the time; at least friends who relied on each other. One was always cautious to see that no strangers will overhear the conversation.
- (2i) There was little one could do.
- (3) After the completion of the World War II, we hoped that ^{normal} ~~the~~ political life will come into existence.

The first election in which the Communist party remained in minority strengthened this hope. Once always hoped that when the peace treaty will be signed with Austria that then the Russians might withdraw from Hungary and a free political & life will develop. Very soon the opposite occurred. The press was taken over by the Communists. The various parties were slowly eliminated and by 1948 they took over the political and economic power completely.

(3a) Before 1948, I was sympathetic to the small holder party, ^{though} I did not quite accept their program. I voted for them while the elections were relatively free. But even ~~in~~ these parties were under Communist control.

(3b) No.

(3c) Four. In the beginning I hoped that in the post war changes a clean political situation will develop. By 1948 I was against it as I saw that the non-Communist politicians ^{were} completely ~~are~~ powerless and were merely used as tools to ^{present} ~~present~~ the Communists' will as that ~~of~~ ^{of} the nation.

(3d) No it didn't change.

(3e) I believe that ~~the~~ those who were ~~meant~~ promoted by the Communist Party to good positions certainly had a different view of the system. It was surprising to see that even these people during the revolution turned against the system. Most other people were

against it all the time. All the people I talked to, dared to talk to, were always against it.

(3f)

No one was faithful to the system, but people did not dare to do anything. It looked all hopeless and the consequences were very serious. There was little opportunity for effective action. One was afraid to do any step against the regime.

(4)

The Communist Party.

(4a)

It was everyday knowledge. It was also claimed openly by the Communist Party of Hungary.

(4b-d)

Of course the party was directed by Moscow. It was generally assumed that the party was merely a tool in the hands of the Russians. The secret police was not an independent organ. They were merely carrying out orders of the party.

(5)

That of the Communist Party and indirectly Moscow.

(5a)

Completely insignificant.

(5b)

^A
a comedy. Candidates selected in advance were presented to the voting public. They were always elected.

(5c)

There was some local autonomy as far as it was relating to local problems.

(5d)

It was bigger after 1944. I have no details ^{though} ~~my~~ this is my feeling.

(5e)

In small affairs they occurred frequently like in getting an apartment and so forth. But there was little in bigger affairs. People were afraid of the consequences.

- (5f) People from the working classes were selected for such positions. Partly middle class people, former businessmen and clerks and etc, who were willing to co-operate with the system.
- (5g) Mainly children of workers and peasants. The advantages were the completion of a officer's training quite freely and they got uniforms and they got fairly good salaries and they could even get apartments.
- (6) In most schools pupils were expected to be members. ~~see~~ The same held in factories where the young were practically forced to join.
- (6a) I have no personal experience. But I understand that through this and similar organizations, the youth was better controlled in its political and social behavior.
- (6b) Yes, I think so.
- (6c) Yes.
- (6d) I don't know. One could do it in one school or factory and not in another. It was a matter of luck if one could avoid joining.
- (6e) I assume it was against their conviction.
- (6f) No.
- ⁶
(g-k) Not applicable.
- (6l) No, I am of older age.
- (6m) Not applicable.
- (6n) I understand those under 20. Practically everybody. My oldest son for instance became a member.

- (6o) No. I knew some members. There was nothing wrong with them.
- (6p) Probably not.
- (6q) I assume the Communist Party was behind it. But of course the Party did not expect the name of all institutions. They took care to present some organizations ^{as} independent free organs.
- (7) Leading positions were restricted to party members.
- (7a) In 1945, practically everyone was accepted. Later party members were screened. No one had to enter. It was usually presented as a great honor.
- (7b) Those who have the right background. Some entered in order to make a career. Many entered who were persecuted in the previous regime and developed a hatred against all Rightist movements. In villages people who wanted to acquire ~~leading positions~~ leading positions did the same.
- (7c) They had much the same as other people. There are certain advantages however, such as getting better jobs through the ~~party~~ Party.
- (7d) They had to carry through 100 percent the instructions of the Party.
- (7e) I knew many people. Mostly they entered about 1945. They did so to pave the way for their careers by this means. I knew mainly people in free occupations.
- (7f) I knew one who had difficulties in entering but finally succeeded. He was the first of my acquaintances to

leave Hungary after the Revolution.

- (7g) No. Never.
- (7h to 7k) Not applicable.
- (7l) At the beginning yes. Later probably not. People were screened much more.
- (7m) I could never acquire a leading position or get a job with high pay.
- (7n) Those who considered their ideology secondary to success.
- (7o) They usually became more cautious in their opinions. Most of them behaved as if they took the Party and its instructions very seriously. But there were very many who admitted to their friends that while being members of the Party they were not really Communists.
- (7p) The Central Committee of the Party in Budapest. But they got their instructions from Moscow.
- (7q) Complete.
- (7r) Complete.
- (7s) Complete.
- (7t) Complete. While in the past the trade unions protected the rights of workers, under the Communists the trade union became an organ of the Party and it served to command and suppress the workers.
- (7u) Very strong. ~~These~~ Those religious leaders who were not liked were either imprisoned or deprived of their positions.
- (8) Yes.
- (8a) I was a member of the ~~foundation~~ Jurist Association.
- (8b) If one did not enter one was constantly pestered about it. It would have represented open resistance to the organization. One

paid only a minimal fee. There are no other obligations.

- (8c) I knew the ^dMagisz. It was the women's organization and they had a strong influence on education, on school activities, etc. It was similar to the PTA in this country, but they always tried to bring in politics.
- (8d) All of them were considered Communist tools created to control the people.
- (8e) Only of the Jurists' Association. I was also a member of a sport organization.
- (8f) Judges, attorneys, state prosecutors and lawyers. I don't know it's size.
- (8g) In 1952. When the terror was the strongest I did so to avoid trouble.
- (8h) I never attended a meeting. They conducted some training courses but I never went to them. I excused myself on the circumstance that I lived ~~near~~ outside the city.
- (8i) It was a professional organization.
- (8j) It involved no personal relationships. Except for those, I suppose, who went to the ~~same~~ meetings.
- (8k) No personal experience. I know though they were always trying to get people with good names as leaders, people who really did not belong to nor subscribe to the ideology of the Party.
- (8l) I ~~am~~ don't know. But I know that in greater institutions, organizations etc. people always assumed that spies were placed in by the AVI. This was the general public opinion.
- (8m) I don't know.
- (8n) They were usually bored. People would have preferred not to be part of these organizations.

- (8o) After the 20th Party Congress the ~~the~~ Writers Union and the Petöfi ~~szék~~ Kor were greatly liked.
- (8p) That of the DISZ. The MNDSZ and the trade unions. These were disliked because all these institutions served as centers of propaganda to subdue individuals and ally ~~with~~ them actively with the Communist program.
- (9) I don't think that the DISZ was the citadel of the Communist Party. The members were merely ^{forced} ~~forced~~ to listen and tolerate the ~~the~~ extreme Leftist ~~peasants~~ talk, and they were also forced to listen to Communist delegates and leaders. After the 20th Congress when freedom of speech was granted the suppressed public opinion was given free expression and this created the movements against the regime within the DISZ. The small minority of Communist leaders in the DISZ couldn't thereafter withhold the expression of public opinion and the mood of the great majority of the members created a new atmosphere.
- (9a) There were only very few young people who accepted or believed the Communist slogans or propaganda.
- (9b) I don't know. I know there were some who came from the regular police and the army.
- (10a) I don't know.
- (10b) I don't know.
- (10c) I don't know. I assume that they were observed even more than the population.
- (10d) In general the secret spies were detested more than the regular members of the AVH. But, of course, people didn't know who they were. One of the stations, Radio Free Europe or the Voice of

America gave a list of names of persons who were supposedly secret spies.

- (11) I was never imprisoned. But I had a relative who was in jail for half a year because of an attempted escape to the West. There were very few families who did not have some relatives in concentration camps ~~in~~ or in prison.
- (a) It was a very close relative.
- (11b) He was taken to court and had a legal defense. But I heard that there were political cases where no lawyer could defend the case because of Communist threat that the lawyer would be prosecuted.
- (11c) People were often arrested for political reasons and for weeks or months no one knew where they were. Non-political crimes though were usually prosecuted within the legal bounds.
- (11d) The case of my close relative. He was taken away by detectives from his home, spent one night at the police station where he was questioned. They said they had evidence that he wanted to leave Hungary. He admitted his guilt. Then he was taken to the court prison. He was tried after four months and sentenced to six months in prison. He wasn't badly treated. He worked in the prison and didn't therefore have to pay for food and quarters in the prison as most of the prisoners had to.
- (11e) Most people who were freed after having spent longer sentences in prison usually did not talk about their prison experiences. But it was common knowledge that cruel methods were employed with political prisoners to extract confessions from them.
- (11f) Middle class people were most badly treated. Particularly those who had their role in politics before. From time to time people were persecuted on the excuse of being economic criminals, but

most of them on some political ground, such as counterrevolutionary activity, conspiracy, spying and so forth. People who had some contact with the outside world, such as had relatives in the West, people who had connections with delegations, or who had business contacts ~~maintain~~ were most often charged with spying.

- (11g) There were some. The first purge began in 1943 when the Communists were not yet quite in power. The plan of this purge was to compromise the leaders of the other parties that were still in power. At different times there were waves of prosecution of groups of people. I cannot recall the exact dates. At first these purges were directed against the so-called reactionary ~~with~~ elements, such as leaders of the regime. Later it was the purging of members of the Party itself. People who weren't considered reliable.
- (12) He should never air his opinions. He should live a withdrawn life and he should not have any foreign contacts.
- (12a) There aren't any which are completely without danger. But in some occupations there is more security than in others. A physician, engineer or artist was less liable to be persecuted than people in other middle class occupations. Workers and peasants were in danger only if they talked or acted against the regime.
- (12b) It helps to be active but one must be very active. Otherwise it is better not to take part in politics at all.
- (12c) While it was often declared that personal contacts are of no help nevertheless knowing the right people, such as Party Secretaries, the factory commission's chairman, etc. was of great help.
- (12d) One couldn't keep one's background a secret. But people tended to describe their background in a fashion that suggested worker or peasant background. It was of great advantage to have such a

background.

- (12e) Yes, it did. But people had to keep it a secret and take ~~some~~ precautions so that it would not become known.
- (12f) To ~~some~~ extent yes, if a man lives a withdrawn life, doesn't spend much and works hard he may get by even if it is known that he is not a sympathizer of the regime.
- (12g) The kulaks were most persecuted.
- (13a) Neither the police nor the courts acted on just principles. In all cases the social position of the accused was considered and if the person was of proletarian background he was given a different sentence than if he was of an upper or middle class background. The courts were not independent and the judges, as it was officially proclaimed, had to serve the Party and the working class people.
- (13b) The police and the AVH were organs of investigation and they cooperated with each other. I ~~don't know~~ ^{don't know} of any competition or disharmony between the two. Also, the courts were in good relation with the police and the AVH.
- (13c) I don't know. I heard that some individuals did not like to be members but did not know how to withdraw.
- (14) Yes. There were many cycles.
- (14a) There was one in 1948 when border crossing was becoming ~~more~~ to be prosecuted seriously. This increased until 1951 when the resettlement of people from Budapest reached its peak. Then there was a certain amount of relaxation ~~again~~ under Imre Nagy in 1952. There were cycles afterwards again from time to time until 1956 when before the Revolution there was very considerable relaxation.

- (14b) I cannot recall the date exactly. There was a change for the better under Imre Nagy.
- (15) Through the Communist Party it had complete control not only of Hungary's external relations but also of its internal events.
- (15a) I don't know.
- (15b) Not applicable.
- (15c) Everything that was good in art, science, in technical achievements, etc. were ~~always~~ always presented as being of Russian origin. Stalin was presented as the greatest genius in humanity. ~~His~~ His picture was displayed in all public buildings, offices, schools, etc. This was clear evidence of the Russian influence.
- (15d) Once I came in contact as a lawyer with a Russian member of the Commission of Soviet Property in Hungary. It was very difficult to establish contact with him and if one could get some concession on one day it was denied on the next day. I never succeeded in getting any results from him. This was my only direct contact with the Russians.
- (15e) It was the strongest in politics, in the economic sphere and in the arts. They had the least influence on family life.
- (15f) I do not know.
- (16) No. They couldn't because this would have had serious consequences.
- (16a) Yes.
- (16b) If, for instance, one heard a political speech made by a Communist one had to clap though one did not like the speech. This happened all the time.
- (16c) One could be honest only with one's friends. With strangers one had to be careful. For instance, people knew that I was not in any connection with the Communist Party so simple people came to me

and asked me about when the Russians will come, etc. While these people were not afraid of telling to me these things I ~~was~~ never knew how to reply because I did not know whether they were honest or were trying to get me into trouble.

- (16d) With one's friends one talked honestly about everything. While with those one didn't know one couldn't talk about anything for ~~with~~ fear of misinterpretation.
- (16e) Yes, there was. ~~was~~ The terror was first increasing then it was declining. It was the worst around 1951 and by 1956 the conditions were almost the best.
- (17) If one was skillful and keep something in secret one could certainly get away with it.
- (17a) There wasn't any.
- (17b) When the keeping of food at home was restricted we had a little more food at home hidden away than the amount permitted. But if they had initiated a search they certainly would have found it and it would have had serious consequences.
- (17c) If he could convince the inspectors that ~~in~~ his goods were destroyed by drought or flood, etc. perhaps yes.
- (17d) Yes if he had some friends or influential contact.
- (17e) This was possible recently but not before 1956. He could not leave his job without the permission of the factory management. If he did he was ^{pro} ~~per~~secuted as a saboteur.
- (17f) In the same year he couldn't do much. But he could try it in the next semester if he established in the meantime some ~~minimum~~ influential contact.
- (17g) He may not have succeeded in getting in the next year.

- (18) A talented artist, scientist, ~~man~~ a physician, an engineer or people with managerial abilities, ~~although~~ provided that they are politically and ideologically reliable to the regime.
- (19) Passive resistance was prevalent everywhere. In factories, workers tried to do less and produce less. In the fields peasants tried not to fulfill their quotas. People tried to do the state out of whatever they could, such as by not paying their fares, by throwing ~~away~~ their tools in factories, and by stealing goods, etc.
- (19a) There were cases of conspiracy but I don't know how much they were founded on true evidence. I don't believe that those so condemned really tried to overthrow the government.
- (19b) I don't think there were any groups. It was more a matter of individual hatred. More or less the majority of the people were all against the regime.
- (19c) The leaders of the Party.
- (19d) Passive resistance and terror usually went ~~along~~ together. Since terror diminished after 1953 there was constantly a decrease in resistance. However, the public effort~~s~~ to lessen the Communist pressure was still prevalent.
- (19e) There weren't any organized groups. But one man may have inspired the other.
- (19f) One got information about these on occasions of purges. Until the founding of the Petöfi Kör one didn't hear of any organized resistance movement. One found no courageous trend in the Hungarian literature until 1956.

- (19g) People helped each other ^{spontaneously} ~~simultaneously~~ to fight ^{or avoid} ~~the~~ ~~Revolution~~ the Communist programs of oppression.
- (19h) Very many.
- (19i) This was prevalent. In particular in the factories. People played together to counteract excessive Party demands on them. There was too much waste and faulty production in the factories.
- (19j) There was the case of Rajk. This I think can remember. Probably there were others, but I cannot recall any details.
- (19k) Open organization was impossible it would have been considered conspiracy which was often followed by death sentence.
- (19l) These organizations were ~~all~~ founded after the ~~20th~~ 20th Party Congress which produced much more freedom in speech and in organization. The writers and students exploited the opportunity and began to talk more freely.

- (1a) Over the radio, the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, the French Radio, BBC. People sat all afternoon at their receiver sets.
- (1b) The local newspapers came next. One read between the lines.
- (2) I never read the daily papers. They were all alike.
- (2a) Not very much. Merely professional papers or magazines.
- (2b) As I said, very seldom. I got the news mainly over the radio.
- (2c) Not applicable.
- (2d) Not applicable.
- (2e) Very seldom.
- (2f) Nothing.
- (2g) After the 20th Congress, the press became more interesting.
- (2h) They were considered a joke. I was working in a lawyers co-operative. ~~No~~one took those things seriously.
- (2i) It was not serious.
- (2j) They were not serious.
- (2k) They were mostly Communist papers, such as the Daily Worker.
- (2l) One could get them here or there. It was messy to receive, the professional papers.
- (2m) I never read them.
- (3) Very seldom.
- (3a) Once in a while an English picture in the regular movies.
- (3b) Foreign pictures, English, Italian, French. Because they did not contain any prop^aganda.
- (3c) The Hungarian and Russian pictures were only political. Immediately before the revolution one could notice some more freedom and critical judgement in the pictures.

- (3d) I liked them much in previous days, but recently I seldom go.
- (3e) Yes, mainly in recent times after the 20th Congress.
- (3f) I remember an English picture called the "One Million Pound Bank Note". I used to see Italian pictures with Lolabridgida.
- (3g) Not very much. For financial reasons. ~~These~~ ^{Though} opera ^{the} ~~making~~ was very good, of very high standard.
- (3h) Very seldom.
- (3i) After the 20th Congress it ~~did~~ did improve. They even presented a few things which were anti-Socialist, such as "Man's Tragedy" by Madach, which is anti-Socialist.
- (4) Mainly English books.
- (4a) I did not have time for it. Books were full of propaganda.
- (4b) About 15-20.
- (4c) I read Gunther's Inside Europe. I read a book called Life and Death of a Spanish Town and many others.
- (4d) I could only obtain these. One could not select very much.
- (4e) I replied to this.
- (4f) Foreign books were very difficult to obtain.
- (5) Yes.
- (5a) Not applicable.
- (5b) Yes. An Emerson make. I could have the whole of Europe.
- (5c) The Voice of America, French broadcasts, the BBC, Radio Free Europe. Also, the Austrian broadcasts. They were very interesting.
- (5d) Mainly news items.
- (5e) Not every much. About 1/2 hour daily in the evenings.

- (5f) At home.
- (5g) Mainly music. After the 20th Party Congress, one could also listen to good cabarets.
- (6) Yes, I did .
- (6a) Not applicable.
- (6b)(c,d)(e) Previously answered.
- (6f) Sometimes one had the feeling that we were encouraged too much without any justification or real basis for the optimistic promises. After such promises, one broke down easily. Had I not heard so much good news over the radio I would have left Hungary much earlier.
- (7) No.
- (7a) I did not like it.
- (7b) No, I did not go to any.
- (7c,d) Not applicable.
- (7e) Not applicable.
- (7f,g) Not applicable. [The respondent explains that he lived outside Budapest and this was a good excuse for not attending the meetings.]
- (7h) People hated them, but many were forced to go.
- (7i) No one wanted to talk, as I understand, but some had to say something.
- (7j) No, I never participated in such a meeting.
- (8) Yes.
- (8a) The speeches of foreign politicians concerning Hungary.
- (8b) Neighbors, friends.
- (8c) People talked to each other a lot.

- (8d) Much the same as the radio. It was about as reliable.
- (8e) The news was usually reliable, but it was usually over-optimistically interpreted. People hearing about speeches referring to the freeing of enslaved people thought that this would be followed by immediate action.
- (8f) Some concerning deportations in 1951. Rumor was that the deported would be taken to Russia.
- (8g) From neighbors and friends. One heard them everywhere.
- (8h) There were no meetings for this purpose. People meeting on the streets, in offices, and elsewhere talked to each other a lot.
- (8i) Those who regularly listened to the radio.
- (8j) People knowing each other talked everywhere they met.
- (8k) There were few people who knew more than ourselves. The condition in Russia was well known, so the POWs had little new to say to us.
- (8l) Airplanes scattered some pamphlets. They were full of things badly written. One was a small time paper called something like "Independent Hungary". It looked like an amateur work.
- (9) It was very difficult to get secret information. Some Party members who were not really Communists sometimes gave us some information, but probably those did not know much about the internal affairs themselves.
- (9a) Close the windows and listen to foreign news.
- (9b) Listen to local stations.

- (9c) Friends working in that area. It was difficult to get into government offices. ^{They} ~~We~~ were very afraid of spies.
- (10) Propaganda/~~was the main~~ ^{was the main} objective. Truth was practically always ignored.
- (10a) One applied one's own judgement.
- (10b) After the 20th Party Congress the press improved greatly. More was written in the paper and the information supplied was more reliable.
- (10c) Sport. The rest was full of lies.
- (10d) The discussion of public opinion. For instance, when they described how enthusiastically Rakosi was received in a factory, and so forth.
- (10e) No difference. All stations were the same. There were ~~no~~ differences in different periods. Whenever the terror was greater, there were also more lies in the papers.
- (10f) It was always a great ^{sensation} ~~moment~~ when one could get hold of ~~a~~ ^a copy. I only read it when I could get hold of ~~a~~ ^a copy.
- (10g) Free criticism.
- (11) Yes.
- (11a) Everyone.
- (11b) I don't know. Perhaps people with ^{lower} ~~more~~ intelligence who have less interest in public affairs.
- (12) Over the radio and from friends.
- (12a) There were no other channels of information. [The respondent here adds the following information.] "I received some magazines from the U. S. A. in 1949 such as Life, etc. and some contained information about Russia. We were all ^{be} frightened of what the consequences would ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~if~~ ~~people~~

in case people knew that we got them. Then I wrote my friend not to send me any more magazines. I did not want to go into the ~~concentration~~ ^{concentration} camp because of them."

- (12b) During the revolution we mainly listened to Radio-Free Europe. Later to the local stations which were in the revolutionary hands. People constantly passed on the news to each other.
- (12c) Yes. On the whole. Although we had no exact information.
- (13) Yes.
- (13a) From foreign broadcasts.
- (13b) I do not think there was any.
- (13c) It's like fighting on the street. Who began it? Certainly Communist provocation, I think.
- (13d) A difficult question. He was not better or worse than the other Communist leaders.
- (13e) Only what we read through the papers.
- (13f) I forget the details. I only remember it took place. Whenever we heard of such movements anywhere it created great excitement in Hungary.
- (13g) Not much. We heard about the existence of a national council^{oil}. I did not know what they did.
- (

- (1) Bring to any end the one party system. A freely elected government and parliament, and also private enterprise should be restored in conjunction with the appropriate social changes. I would not restore landowners to the land. This should be a more Socialistic distribution of the land.
- (1a) I would keep the eight great compulsory school systems. There was only a sixth grade compulsory school system before. Also the better legal positions of children born outside marriage.
- (2) Yes.
- (2a) This is the idea of complete individual freedom.
- (2b) Not particularly. To form a party there should be some public support. A party for every man would be an exaggeration.
- (2c) A difficult question. A party which would want to unsettle the government should not be given such a right. But then any party could get the power all for itself. I would say parties which would want to destroy the government by force should not be permitted.
- (3) Everyone should be free.
- (3a) This is the ideal of individual freedom.
- (3b) It should be disproven, not forbidden. A politically mature people should not be afraid of this.
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Yes.
- (4b) Well, this is human freedom. It's a part of it.
- (4c) Very important.

- (4d) Illegal change of the government or an attempt at illegally changing the government should be persecuted.
- (4e) If the government cannot be changed by constitutional means, ^{as} ~~then~~ in a dictatorship.
- (5) To some extent, yes.
- (5a) Because they are crucial to the economic life of the nation.
- (5b) Legally much. There is considerable difference. In one case property remains in private hands; in the other, not. But in practice little difference, since if it is under state control the individual cannot dispose of it.
- (5c) There should be some state controls, but not too much.
- (5d) No.
- (6) No.
- (6a) This is not the task of the state. Private enterprise is better for this purpose.
- (6b) ~~The removal of the~~ They can send a government inspector or director which may be an excessive state intervention. The government agency should merely supervise and guide industry.
- (6c) Some supervision.
- (7) Not from the point of view of production. But then in some countries, monopolies are part of the system and the people are used to it and supply revenue for the state. This may be bad. Like salt and tobacco monopoly in former Hungary. The more revenue the state has from such monopolies the less tax one has to pay.
- (7a) As above.
- (7b) In Hungary the railroads. In different countries this would be, of course, different.

- (7c) whatever existed in the past should stay. They did not disturb the people. I don't really know.
- (8) This is a difficult question. The detailed plans we saw in Hungary were not good because they never worked out.
- (8a) If there is free enterprise then production regulates itself automatically.
- (8b) I think in peace time production planning is superfluous in theory. But then some planning is always necessary. In war time planning is unavoidable.
- (8c) I've never been in Russia so I don't know. In Hungary, ten years after the war there was still general poverty which was due to the prevailing economic system.
- (8d,e) Not applicable.
- (9) In Hungary, I approve.
- (9a) This was the system from the beginning in Hungary.
- (9b) Air communication or air transportation could be in private hands.
- (10) This would be possible only if the state is the employer. If I do not approve state ownership of industry, I cannot approve of this either.
- (10a) I explained this.
- (10b) Not applicable.
- (10c) I don't quite understand this. ~~It~~ I cannot answer this. I don't know what ~~price really~~ the word price really means.
- (11) Yes.
- (11a) The development of art and literature for instance required complete freedom.

- (11b) I'm thinking mainly of art and literature.
- (12) Yes.
- (12a) Not applicable.
- (12b) Obedience to law.
- (12c) Yes.
- (12d) Yes.
- (12e) Yes.
- (12f) In a dictatorship the patriot is a person who tries not to obey the law.
- (13) No. I held this opinion before.
- ~~(13)~~ (14) Yes.
- (14a) Yes.
- (14b) Yes. Employed people, old people
- (14c) If one has money, one gets better service from a private doctor. But if one does not have any money, a clinic is a good thing.
- (14d) It is developed in Hungary. It is desirable to have it.
- (14e) People with higher income may not need it.
- (14f-g) Is not applicable.
- (15) Different people go now days. Young people go more now days. They are encouraged at school. And also people of the lower income groups.
- (15a) Movies are now very cheap. I know little about the theatre. I wasn't in the theatre in the whole time.
- (15b) No. Much less.
- (15 c) Yes.
- (15d) The lower class workers and office employees get more today than they did before so they can afford to pay. Their taste isn't much developed and they accept anything.

- (15e) Yes.
- (15f) People without families.
- (16a) No.
- (16b) Yes.
- (16c) Yes. A little. It was better. Less standing in queues.
- (16d) All food is available to anyone, but one has to pay for it. It is a question of money.
- (16e) Peasants had it easiest.
- (17a) Some classes of people yes. But like workers. But the middle class, much worse.
- (17b) Yes.
- (17c) Perhaps, no.
- (17d) This is what I saw, personal experience.
- (17e) I replied to this before.
- (18) Yes. I think so.
- (18a) It was the government's program.
- (18b) In general, yes. But the trouble was that all good products were taken to Russia.
- (18c) The whole was directed from Russia. There was no other way.
- (19) They would ~~disappear~~ ^{dissolve} by themselves. But if people wanted to stay, that would be all right with me.
- (19a) Those which so desired.
- (19b) No. Only the forced ones.
- (19c) The members, peasants, should take back their own land and equipment and in case of an argument the court should decide.
- (19d) There should be some organization / ~~that~~ ^{owning} ~~that~~ ~~who~~ ~~would~~ ~~own~~ them (like the tractors), and then they could loan them to the people.
- (19e) Not answered.

(19f)

Forests and agricultural undertakings like mil¹/₂, should be returned, but not the land. The land should be distributed by a liberal method among peasants. So that people could acquire land under favorable conditions.

(19g)

Yes.

(19h)

Yes, like in Denmark.

(19i)

The members should have the profit.

(20)

Some kind of cooperative institution should own them.

(20a)

No.

(20b)

I replied to this before.

(20c)

Not applicable.

(20d)

I don't know.

(20e)

Yes.

(21)

Difficult question.

(21a)

They should protect the rights of workers against the employers.

(21b)

Completely.

(21c)

No, it should not be compulsory.

(21d)

They have to pay membership fees. At present in Hungary the trade unions are not free.

(21e)

The government forces the workers through the trade unions to take part in training, to give up their money, to march and so forth. The trade unions carried through the directives of the party in the factories.

(21f)

I think they could play the same role that free trade unions have performed.

(21g)

I do not ^{know} / whose idea it was. It began in one place and was followed everywhere. Since during the revolution the

Communist leaders could not remain, the problem of leadership was solved in this way in a temporary fashion.

- (21h) I do not know. I knew them only for a short time. They behaved in a patriotic and courageous way.
- (21i) The owner, or if it is a company, the executives. But I approve of some legal restrictions, like minimum pay, working time regulations, and so forth.
- (22a) No.
- (22b) They ~~may~~ should go to Russia.
- (22c) Those who didn't do ~~it~~ illegal or criminal things should be left alone.
- (22d) Nothing.
- (22e) They weren't serious. I wouldn't do anything to them. Those who succeeded through political manipulation should not be maintained in their privileged positions.
- (22f) Strict investigation into their past, and the police should be reconstructed. The AVH should be abolished. Those who were proven criminals should be taken to court.
- (22g) The army officers. The leaders of ministries should be changed. They were all reliable party members.
- (22h) This was the first step -- changing of leaders. There were no courts. AVH people were beaten up by groups.
- (23) They wanted to get hold of and organize the youth. But the majority of the teachers at their disposal were not Communists.
- (23a) If the compulsory eight years was introduced. People's colleges encouraged the children of peasants and workers. The gymnasiums and universities were hardly open for children of the former intelligentsia.

- (23b) No. Some people were prevented.
- (23c) Absolutely bad.
- (23d) No. But those who are talented and want to study should not be prevented from going to schools.
- (24) They should be separated.
- (24a) Yes.
- (24b) Complete religious freedom and independence is the right thing.
- (24c) The religious institutions represent the state morally. Hence, they should be supported by the state.
- (24d) Yes. The religious instruction outside school is difficult to solve.
- (24e) No.
- (25) Resistance to Mongolian invasion. Struggle against the Turks. Resistance to the Hapsburg absolutism, like Joseph II. The revolution of 1848. The 1956 revolution.

- (25) Hungarian resistance to Eastern invasions was historically very important. Hungarians stopped these movements.
- (26) In 1952 the government of Nagy Imre . Middle - class people liked Bethlen, but not the workers.
- (26a) Difficult to say. In the more recent times it was advantageous from the economic point of view, but politically freedom was lacking.
- (26b) Agrarian policy was backwards which led to migration of landless agricultural workers. The position of the industrial workers was not satisfactory either.
- (26c) I wouldn't call it feudal. But certain remains of feudalism survived.
- (26d) It wasn't good insofar as it was in the way of social development.
- (26e) Under Horthy, the extreme political movements were gradually dissolved and afterwards there was a general economic improvement leading to the establishment of new good social institutions, such as ~~the~~ ^{as} the agrarian ~~&~~ ^{of} reform, regulation/wages, etc.
- (26f) Educational and financial ~~discrepancies~~ ^{discrepancies} created differences between families and classes but there was mobility from one class to another. The aristocracy considered itself above all classes. But this wasn't general either. They tried to separate themselves socially from the rest of the people.
- (26i) I think Hungary remained neutral as long as possible.

- When German pressure increased the changes were introduced as the result of the ~~fourth~~ ^{foreign} ~~imposition~~ ^{power} of the Germans. There was nothing else to do. If Hungary had resisted Germany the country would have been overrun much earlier. And perhaps Hungary would have become involved more in the war.
- (26h) I understand this to ~~begin~~ ^{relate to} ~~with~~ the period beginning with the liberation. Political freedom was not reestablished as the majority of the people hoped. The four or five parties permitted to operate did not represent all the strata of the population. Gradually the influence of these parties was also restricted until in 1948 only the Communist Party had any power.
- (27) Yes.
- (27a) Strongly.
- (27b) Yes.
- (27c) Yes.
- (27d) No.
- (27e) Yes. This was shown ~~now~~ in the revolution.
- (28) It would be ideal if there weren't any political boundaries. I would prefer a United States of Europe.
- (28a) Not applicable.
- (28b) They divided the peoples. Particularly in the border areas with mixed populations they create constant troubles among the different nationalities.
- (28c) Yes.

- (28d) Those areas densely populated by Magyars as of 1914. Since that time the make-up of the various areas greatly changed. Partly on basis of historical and partly on economic grounds. I would say the areas taken away after World War I, should be returned to Hungary. Perhaps people could vote in each area, but the problem is very difficult. The best solution would be a single European federation. Something like the Austro-Hungarian empire. The areas taken away by ~~Czechoslovakia~~ ^{Czechoslovakia}, Rumania and ~~Yugoslavia~~ ^{is} Yugoslavia should be returned to Hungary.
- (28e) No.
- (28f) No.
- (28g) Not applicable.
- (28h) Between different nationalities like between Hungarians and Rumanians or the Volks/^{deutsch} and the Hungarians. If these different nationalities live together there ~~will~~ ^{always} arise smaller or bigger frictions. I don't like this but this is a fact. Just like there is a Negro problem in America.
- (28i) Very well. The common enemy--the Russians brought the two nations closer together.
- (28j) I don't know.
- (28k) Very well.
- (28l) I don't know. There are very few ~~Serbs~~ ^{Croatians} and Serbs in Hungary.
- (28m) No differences. Anti-semitism was ~~anti-semitic~~ anti-

- officially produced, but the Hitler regime's ~~regulations~~
~~anti-~~
~~anti-~~ /semitic regulations suppressed this anti-
~~nant~~
 semitism. There is some ~~remnants~~ of anti-semitism
 now in Hungary.
- (28n) Assimilated Jews yes. Those who do not speak Hun-
~~garian~~ garian and came only recently, now.
- (29) Yes I'm in favor of that.
- (29a) On the style of the American federation, but with
 modifications in view of local situations.
- (29b) To create a unity among the ~~few~~ ^{small} nationalities and
 to enable them without ~~keeping~~ ^{depriving} their political
 freedom to make economic progress.
- (29c) No nation should have the leadership. Natural se-
 lection should be given an opportunity. Many Hun-
 garians would in this way ~~be acquire~~ ^{high} positions.
- (29a) Note of ~~the~~ ^{Balkan} ~~of~~ an Eastern European with
 Poland and Rumania, ^u Yugoslavia, ~~and~~ ^{Czechoslovakia} ~~and~~
 Austria and etc. ~~and~~ ^{Culturally} nationalities should
 survive; but politically and economically there
 should be one single large state. Hungary should
 unite with the nations of the West ~~rather~~ ^{rather} than
 with the nations of the East.
- (30) The Russians are characterized by low civilization,
 a primitive people lived under dictatorship for 30
 years and this one can see in the characteristics
 in Russian people.
- (30a) Yes. Caucasian, Mongols, many kinds.

- (30b) Of course there are good ones, but I had no chance of meeting a good one. But of course I never talked much with the Russians.
- (30c) I don't think so.
- (30d) There isn't any.
- (30e) In the beginning the majority received them as liberators who will end the war. This was changed in the first 24 hours. Since then a very low opinion developed of them and the great propaganda they exerted to change us did not alter the situation. Their treatment of women, civilians who they took as POW's to Russia, etc, created this hatred.
- (30f) I've answered this.
- (30g) They behaved in an atrocious manner.
- (31) Theoretically it could be argued whether it is right or wrong, but practice showed it an absolutely bad system. It is against human nature.
- (31a) It fights against the exploitation of the working class peoples but this is done by others as well. This is the only thing.
- (31b) Class struggle is ~~aimless~~ ^{senseless}. The elimination of some people with a certain class background from social success I do not consider social development.
- (31c) I'm not sure I'm familiar with it, but one cannot close his ears hearing about it, since the ~~theater~~ theater, the movies, radio, they're all concerned with it. But I never read a single book on the

subject.

- (31d) Not applicable.
- (31e) Nothing. They were not independent. The Hungarian Communists were led from Moscow.
- (31f) Was not answered.
- (31g) I don't know.
- (31h) I don't know. ~~But~~ I know little about Marxism.
- (31i) I think they are.
- (31j) No.
- (31k) The system which permits the realization of the people's will. The system where the majority rules.
- (31l) In a limited sense, from the 1920's until 1937 or '38 when the influence, the German influence, became stronger, it wasn't a pure democracy. Things were slightly manipulated politically. But on the whole it was democratic.
- (31m) Marxist
Marxist.
- (32) Yes I do. I think it means that an economic and political system of a nation is organized on Marxist Marxist principles, but Marxist supremacy is not recognized. This would give them a chance to deviate from the Russian system.
- (32a) Probably yes.
- (32b) I don't know who in particular, but evidently they existed. They wanted to end the political and economic domination of the Russians which led to the Russian exploitation of Hungary.

- (32c) Considering the geographical position of Poland it is perhaps the only realistic policy for them.
- (32d) I think yes.
- (32e) They should differentiate between members of the party and the Communist. There are many patriots among party members but among faithful Communists too there may be some such as for instance Nagy Imre. Many party members were not really Communists.
- (33) Certainly.
- (33a) Something like that of ~~Stalinism~~ Gomulka.
- (34a) Good.
- (34b) Good.
- (34d) Bad.
- (34d) Bad.
- (34e) Bad.
- (34f) Good but hopeless.
- (34g) With some limitations yes.
- (34h) Good.

(Interviewer comment: Respondent gives the following explanation for questions of 34.

- (34a) It's a difficult question why Socialism is good. It carries forward the social development of a country and it improved the economic and cultural state of the great majority of the people.
- (34b) The contributions of culturally backward nations is made possible by colonialism. And also Western Culture is ~~se~~ spread among the colonial nations.

As history shows the colonial nations eventually achieve independence which I of course approve of.

- (34c) All distinction, whether racial, class, religious, etc generally lead to unjust generalizations and its not a democratic state where the individual cannot freely succeed. In his efforts or where there is prejudice directed against him because of his group membership.
- (34d) It usually serves to consolidate the position of the leading party.
- (34e) Imperialism leads to the political and economic slavery of smaller peoples.
- (34f) Historical experiences show that wars always existed. Now that there are ideological differences between the Communist and non-Communist nations that it can ~~they~~ there is even less hope ~~smoothed out~~ without a war.
- (34g) I approve of capitalism because it gives free room for private enterprise. If private enterprise had been permitted in Hungary, Budapest would now be reconstructed. The monopolistic rule of big concerns however, can lead to the exploitation of the consumer.
- (34h) On basis of its educational superiority the middle class should have a considerable ^{contribution} ~~contribution~~ to ^{I am} make (thinking of working men directors who were

incapable of properly managing their business or factory.

- (35) I think the majority will think much the same.
- (36) In general I would say no one received more. The question could be who received less and who much less than he deserved. Perhaps party functionaries may have received a considerable income.
- (36a) They got less but they earned well comparatively.
- (36b) In some cases for the purposes of propaganda they received more, but I think in most cases they would have been better off if they cultivated their ^{lands} ~~as~~ ~~as~~ independent farmers.
- (36c) Less.
- (36d) They were in a very bad position. The so-called Kulaks were persecuted both politically and economically. They were the worst persecuted group.
- (36e) Less.
- (36f) Doctors earned comparatively better. Most doctors could make a living from what they earned. Teachers judges, lawyers and etc were poorly paid. ~~Lawyers~~ Lawyers earned but a fraction of what they did before the war.
- (36g) There were some new institutions like people's colleges, which permitted ~~which permitted~~ some boys of lower strata like those of workers and peasants to go to college. But the children of the middle and upper classes were practically excluded from getting a college education.

- (36h) The musicians, actors, earned quite well. In comparison with other people they earned very well. Painters and sculptors, could earn only if they devoted their talents to propaganda purposes.
- (36i) They received more. Often leading positions were given to those who were members of the party. They could secure good jobs for their families too. This refers not to the simple party members however, but to the leaders.. Rank and file members weren't much better off.
- (36j) I don't know what they lived from. Their economic position was very unfavourable, but it is possible that some peace ministers earned quite well.
- (36k) No. There were very few of them left.
- (36l) No. They couldn't keep assistants. They had to work by themselves. But they could make a living. the respondent adds: The intellectuals apart ~~and~~ from medical doctors and engineers could not make a living from their earnings.
- (37) All groups were better off ^{except} ~~however~~ the party members of course. Under the Horthy regime a working man could keep his family by himself while during the Communist rule his wife had to go to work too, and she had to take the children to a nursery at dawn. In terms of earning or in terms of buying power the pre 1944 period was better for all groups.
- (38a) No differences

- (38b) No differences.
- (38c) No differences.
- (38d) Yes there were differences.
- (38e) No differences.
- (38f) Yes. The peace ministers were Communist propagandists.
Wearing black suits.
- (38g) No.
- (38h) I don't know.
- (38i) No differences.
- (38j) The aristocracy was not politically powerful/anymore.
It existed only in social life, but they had no
power. No differences.
- (38k) No differences.
- (39) The revolution showed that nobody. Perhaps only if
they were forced in some fashion. Such as putting
them in the same companies with Russians.
- (39a) Everybody who has a fighting spirit ee would fight
against the Russians.

- (1) No questions.
- (1a) It was very interesting. I hope it will be of some use to the Hungarian cause.
- (1b) Yes.
- (1c) Some of the questions refer to subjects which one cannot answer without longer thinking. One's quick answers may not be one's well thought out opinion on the subject.
- (1)^d Yes.
- (1e) For instance I wasn't asked why I came now and not before 1948 when it was easy to come out. The answer in my case is that I didn't believe after the first election that the political situation would worsen so much. In my opinion the Western radio broadcasts gave the impression to people that the Western nations wouldn't let the Hungarians down. But then on the contrary nothing was done by them against the Russians' mastery of Hungary and the eventual erection of the Iron Curtain.
- (2) As a visitor certainly if the situation would be changed. But I wouldn't want to go back permanently. The way of life here in the United States suits me better.
- (3) If everyone would be interviewed on problems of his own profession in a detailed fashion this would give more reliable ~~information~~ information.
- (3a) No.
- (3b) No.
- (3c) Not recommended.
- (3d) No, I don't know anyone.

Interview completed.