(1)

There were the Communists who exploded the revolution and they did it in order to let the revolutionaries pull down the statue of Stalin.

(2)

It started on October 23.

(2a)

The dissatisfaction grew all the time, many students were not admitted to the universities because of their family background. They received bloody eyes (vérszemet kaptok).

(2b)

Yes, and then there was a mildening in the regime, this was done that the Communists should be able to see the true feelings and opinions of the public.

(2c)

Imre Nagy 12kened the power of the state and allowed many things which were forbidden before. For example, women could wear hats again while before he came into power, they were not allowed to; jazz music was allowed and also lighter musical phays were allowed in the theaters colorful silk costumes for the performers were allowed again while this was forbidden during the years before.

(2d)

There was a sympathy toward Tito while the latter stood against Moscow, but the sympathy turned to disillusion-ment when Tito and Moscow reconciled.

(28)

No, Ithis did not influence. It was enough that the cup was filled (that is, there was too much of the the students secretly sympathized with the uprisers.

(21)

(2g)	This was only a change of places. The terror did
	not change at all. I heard that the terror in the
	Soviet Union is much less in
(2h)	No, there was no such a moment.
(21)	I only had the feeling from the women talk, in the
	food line.
(3)	The people did not want to take the Marxian Leninist
	theories.
(3a) (b)	For example, people therefore could study what the
	regime thought they should study, not whatever they
	wanted. Also, it brought &s dissatisfaction that
	the salaries of Party-trusted people and we ones who
	were not trusted and were not Party members preferred.
(3e)	It was the government who exploded the revolution at
	that time.
(4)	They acted under orders of the government.
(4a)	The terror was so intensive that the revolutionaries
	would not have dared to start a revolution by themselves
(4b)	The revolution was started in Order to show that there
	is a need for a strong Soviet hand to rule.
(4c)	No, people who participated only wanted freedom.
(4a)	Yes, it was the same (she meant that it was the same
	when the purposes of those who were there at the very
	beginning, she didn't mean that it was the seme than
	the purpose of the government which actually started as far as the was concerned.
	Was The Work Williams

the revolution).

(4e)

It was the terror. People were blinded, and by that time, even the good seemed to be bad. women, too, had to work. The population had to be occupied, the government felt that if the women have time they will talk too much and criticize too much.

(41)

They didn't wast the fear anymore. They wanted free speech, they hated the housing problem, while at the same time Party mesting places were abandoned. Workers had to attend concerts while they didn't want to go. The ones who wanted to go and hear concerts, could not afford it.

(4g)

Russia co home! But the Russians did not even know where they were. They thought they were in Germany or in America.

(2h)

They didn't want to belong to the Soviet Union.

(41)

Yes, it was against the Communists, but it wasn't against the old honest Communists who believed in a the new regime) Communist doctrine before. It was against the Soviet

terrors and the AVO.

(41)

There would have been order in a week. The revolutionaries would have won. They would have taken, however, into the right of the people their own personal fights. We would have needed a stronger government. It wwas a pity we didn't have any good politicians.

I don't think so. Our little country is much richer in industry and in art than is Poland (The respondent seemed not to have fully understood the question. I asked her again and she answered.) I don't hhink so. (The respondent went again in the wrong direction. She seemed not to be concerned with the question at all.) Hungary was exploited a lot. Even gypsy songs were not played anymore, especially if they were sad songs. Only Party songs could be played in Communist Hungary. The Hungarian government wanted to be more terroristic than the Soviet government. Even nail polish was forbidden.

(4n)

(40)

Nobody had personal purposes. Maybe only the ones who joined the revolution much later.

At the first week, nobody was against the revolution.

Later on, there were more. The Soviets, throught

Hungarian informers, tried to provoke anti-semitism

rows
in the role of the Freedom Fighters. I saw the following scene with my own eyes. During the fight, a

Russian table caught fire. The Russians soldiers

jumped out from the burning tank while they were

burning themselves. One of them cried for help in

his pain, in Russian. In such a painful moment he

certainly would have used the Hungarian language if

he would have been Hungarian born. I think he was

still alive when somebody ran to him. This must

have been an AVO informer, opened his jacket and with some manipulations, took out some papers.

According to the papers, the soldier in the Russian uniform was an AVO man, a Hungarian Jew. This was fried to proove that wanted of course not true, but the man who ran to him wanted to incite anti-semitism. Into the erowd. There was no Jewish problem at that time.

- (5) I know only what I heard since as the money earner for the family, I had tosit at home and work all the time. My brother and my brother-in-law, were out in the street fighting.
- (5a) No, I didnot.
- shooting into aviline where people stood waiting for bread.
- mation. I listened to the Hungarian broadcasts, to

 Free Europe which was lieing a lot, to BBC. I trusted

 destructions how to gight. Some of the

 instructions were very useful. For example, they gave

 instructions on how to use the gasoline bottles against

 the tanks.
- (10a) There were very few newpapers and we didn't read the governmental papers.
- (10b) I don't know.

All sorts of things, I can't remember particulars (10c) right now. I listened to BBC and I knew about the Hungarian (10d) happenings through BBC and Free Europe. When we heard about the fact, that food was brought to Budapest, through those foreigg broadcasts. No, because we cally knew that the telephones were (10e) tapped. I found, that the contrary, of what the newspaper (lof) articles said, was the truth. BBC could be trusted. Otherwise, I listened only to music. From the other side of the countries, we got infor-(10g) mation only through the radio, while from Budanets itself, we received the news from people, who were eye-witnesses to thehappenings. The meeting halls were taken and used by the freedom (11)fighters. I don't know. Some party members stood in their home (11a) in order to be able to prove at least that the Freedom Fighters that they did not take part on either side. The Party functionaries simply disappeared. Many of them came over to the revolutionaries. (11b) AVH did not function. The (11c)

75% fought with the revolutionaries.

(11e)

(111)

(11h)

(111)

The trade unions were not very much Communistic in their views, and they too stopped functioning. Only the passport department functioned. Many people received their passport. Before certain Communist holidays, the Communists would give away passports for much money, since before the holidays they needed the mony for decorations.

(11g) Mothing functioned during the revolution.

They all ceased to exist. The public buildings were ruined.

Were shot upon, because the anti-revolutionaries thought that the revolutionaries were hiding in them. Otherwise the population helped the revolutionaries along. For example, the house superintendents cleared the streets before the houses from booken glasses, in order to make it possible for the freedom fighters to pass through the street without making noise. The house-wives put bottles in their doors for the revolution-aries who could use those bottles for gasoline bottles against the tanks.

(11j)

I wouldn't know. I know only that the secretariates of the Partywere destroyed and the files were taken out and looked over by the Freedom Fighters. They could see that many of the most important function—

(Nyilas (arrowcross)

aries of the Party were *** Leaders during the Nazi are era.

- (11k) I don't know, but I think that they used the military and the police organization.
- (11 1) I don't know.

(12)

(12b)

- The workers' counsels were exploiting the workers.

 They were supposed to make arrangements for shop places and store places, but they worked with favoritism and corruption. Their leaders were unintelligent people.
- (11n) There would have been a government from writers and military men and they would have chosen their leaders through elections. Maybe Maleter would have been one of the leaders or the head of the government.
 - The younger Russian soldiers were very fierce and wild. They were the ones who did not think. But the older soldiers gave themselves up very quickly. I didn't see that.
 - The Russians were not so desperate as we were. They only wanted to stay, because the standard of living was far higher in Budapest than in their homes. But for them it was not a question of life or death, the outcome of the fight, as was for Hungarians.

 I saw Russian soldiers coming over to the revolutionaries. It is a standard of living the first Russian soldiers who were in Hungary before, not the ones who were brought in while joined the revolution was on, went-over to the revolutionaries.

(22 12e) I don't know.

(12g) It was very strong. Everything was done after the Russian example. All the offices were in their hands.

(13#) I decided this still in 1946.

It was injustice that made me decide this. In 1944, my family and I were hiding some French war prisoners. This was found out and we were taken away by Arrow-cross men. The prisoners, my mother and I. Somehow we excaped. During the invasion of Budapest, I was arrested again with the ungrounded accusations that I, myself was an except cross woman and I used to drive a truck with aloud speaker on the Russian front propagandizing for the Germans. I was emprisoned and tortured in '45 and '46 and was freed only in December '46. At that time I immediately decided that I am going to leave Hungary.

(13b) Everybody knew it. But people thought that I wanted to travel in order to get additional experience for my trade. In 1946, however, I couldn't come since I had to take care of the little children of my sister.

Smaller
My 14ttle-sister, too, was argested and imprisoned because the took care of wounded soldiers during the invasion of Budapest. While in prison, in 1946, I took part in a small prison uprising where we asked for trial since most of us never had a trial. We worked in prison.

- (13c) No, but I was sure that I would succeed.
- (13d) I thought that I will be free.
- (13e) I hoped that the regime will fall.
- (14) Yes.
- Yes, they say the regime is milder now. More things are allowed. It is true, however, that while for a while they were quite lengent as far as tax was concerned. Later after the revolution did not succeed, they asked for the taxes all at once for all the time for which one did not pay.
- Yes, if we have enough arms and better organization, his because Everybody just fought according to enes own instinct.
- I wouldn't leave the country. It wasn't nice that

 I left the country, when though I am a Hungarian.

 I was in a very bad position really. I didn't have
 to become a Party member, but they needed me badly
 in my trade (she was a seamstress and sewed costumes
 for circus performances).
- (14d) We were the ones who had the worst time and we were exploited most.
- (14e)

 I ceptainly liked Imre Nagy zz, in that, he was much more oriented to the West than anybody else in the Party. He allowed for amusements which were not allowed before. He allowed dancing and so on.

 (14f)

 Maletar and Bela Kovacs were important people with

important roles, but Tildy was really nothing.

- (14g) The real heroes were the students and simko who cited declined the poems of Petofi.
- (14h) First, the students, the intelligencia, the writers, and the soldiers, Second, the skilled workers, the unskilled workers, and the peasants, Thirdly the clerks.
- (14j) Yes, I thought so. They were well organized.
- (14k)

 I only found out about it during the revolution.

 Before that I think they functioned in secret. Many of them writers could not show their real opinions in their writings, before the revolution.
- (141) They helped as much as they could, especially in supplying the Freedom Fighters and the people of Budapest with food.
- (15) No.

- (la) Seamstress.
- (1b) Carpenter (furniture).
- (2) Worked at home. (Sawing wslumes)
- (2e) She worked for circus performers. The circus was very successful, except that there were too many clerks, too much Beauracracy, And the artists received small salaries.
- (3) I liked my work in general.
- (3a) I like nice dresses and I like when they fitted the coslumers.
- (3b) It was hard to get material in the colors one wanted, and I had to dye them.
- (3c) I had no other jobs.
- (4)(a) I don't remember.
- (4b) In 1950 I earned about 500 to 600 forints.
- (4c) In 1955 about 2,800 to 3,000, the circus business was flour-ishing at that time since from that time it received state support.
- (4d) This was no salary.
- (4e) They deducted from my income for having no children, even though it was their fault (she became ill while in prison).

 I was supporting the children of my sister, but this did not count.
- (4f) I received none.
- (4g) No.
- (4h) I had a better income than most other seamstresses, but it should be noted that I worked 18 hours a day, seven days a week, and had to support three adults in my family who were jobless, am One of my sisters had a nervous breakdown

and I had to take care of her children too.

"A" PRETEST

- (5) I worked 18 hours a day.
- (5a) I had no official working hours.
- (5b) Seven days a week.
- (5d) No.
- (7)(u) I don't know anything about their activities.
- (8d) Especially financial problems enter into one's consideration.
- (8e) Yes. Originally I wanted to be a philosopher, then a stage decorater, and then I became a seamstress.
- (8f) Yes. I thought I had a chance in Hungary to make a career, but I was always in danger of being arrested.
- (8g) Fifty percent of the Hungarians want success, the others just want to make a living.
- (8h) The ones who are talented want recognition for their talents.

 The middle class people are not too ambitious, all they want
 is a decent living.
- (81) If I would live in ideal circumstances, I would make excursions to the mountains and I would help all the young people who need help for their studies.
- (81) No.
- (8k) I have no children, but if I had I wouldn't have liked them to work in the same trade as I did. It's too difficult. I would like to send my niece to study medicine.
- (9) The first few years we were not well off, later I could get almost all the money I wanted, I had only to work hard.
- (9a) Only three out of seven worked in my family.

- (9b) My conditions changed because I specialized in a field where I had almost no competition. I even made dresses for the animals in the circus.
- (9c) In spite of the fact that my income was pretty good to buy a pair of shoes was quite a problem. A pair of shoes would cost 800 forint at that time. I also needed a closet which I couldn't buy since it cost 10,000 forints.
- (9d) i 6,000 to 8.000 forints per months (this we earned together with my sister).
 - 11 We had no other income.
 - iii They deducted from our income about 350 forints taxes (and we paid about 1,000 per month for gas and coal for ironing and heating of the workshop).
 - iv Net income was about 7,000 forints.
- (9e) We paid 161 forints for rent.
- (9f) The housing conditions were very bad. The apartments were overcrowded.
- (9g) We paid for food about 150 forints daily (we were seven in the household).
- (9h) I don't remember how much we paid for clothing.
- (91) I bought bacon and lard from peasants and I bought imported material and thread on the black market. All other supplies man I bought in the government stores.
- (9j) We paid for electricity around 250 forints a month, for heating material 224 forints in the winter months.
- (9k) Yes. It was difficult to get heating material. There were

AO

limitations in on the use of electricity and upon the gas supply. They usually shut off the gas on Sundays in order to prevent cooking and baking of expensive foods.

- (91) Once I had to pay 1,200 forints for the dentist. On another occasion 600 forints. In general, I spent about 3,000 forints for medical care yearly.
- (9m) I had free tickets for circus performances.
- (9n) I never went for vacations, I only spent management theatres and opera tickets about 250 forints a month.
- (90) I used to buy shoes for needy children and gave them money to go to the movies or buy pencils and notebooks for school.

 I also used to take children with me for excursions to Syabhegy (Mount Syab). I was very poor when I was a child and I wanted to make the childhood of others happier.
- (10) Yes.
- (10a) I wasn't exploited because I asked for good prices for my work. My ma little sister, however, who worked in a factory as an unskilled worker was very much exploited.
- (lob) Yes, I felt so.
- (10c) Russia exploited us, taking everything that was good in Hungary. There was not even good wine left. Hungarians had to drink corn wine.
- (10d) The workers became very poor.
- (10e) I man thought this was exploitation.
- (101) We were not happy to pay the reparations, it was manimak unjust.

 The Russians took everything in the name of reparations.

- (10g) No. I didn't have to take part in compulsory meetings.

 Sometimes the Party arranged some lectures in the courtyard, then everybody who was at home had to participate. That was all.
- (11) Hungary could not develop properly. The workers were pressed for time, and there were too many rejects of factory products.
- (lla) No.
- (11b) The bigger factories improved from the point of view of .
 safety and hygiene, e.g. showers immunities for the workers.
- People had to stand in line for material even in that time, there
 but state/im reserve then, the goods were hoarded and that
 was the reason one could not get mann hold of materials to
 work with (she meant mainly materials she needed for sewing).

 During the Communist regime, however, the situation was
 different, there was no hoarding. The Russians took everything.
- (11e) No, the situation did not get better, it became worse.
- (11f) Everybody hoped that this was the only plan, that there would be no further plans.
- (11g) We were afraid that there will be a reaction to it in the form of unemployment.
- (11h) I think this would have worked very well. He returned trade permits and people started to work with enthusiasm since they were able under the trade permits to work for themselves and not in state factories.
- (111) No. I didn't know about that.

- (113) During the year before the Revolution Hungary was not worse off economically than she was before.
- (12) Financial reasons were the most important ones.
- (12a) I didn't care too much about financial mamanama problems since I could always earn additional money if I worked hard enough.
- There were too few hospitals and always more and more sick people. It happened that physicians would not tell that some one was sick because they knew that there were not enough places in the hospitals and they couldn't get adequate medical attention anyhow. I went through a check-up in Budapest shortly before I left the country. I was told that I was perfectly healthy. I had another minimum check-up in Vienna as soon as I arrived there and there I was told that I had some calcium deposits on one of my lungs and that this condition was of long standing.
- (12c) Especially the workers had reasons for complaints.
- (12d) No, but there was dissatisfaction.
- (12e) Officially I was not allowed to pay more than 3.40 forints for an hour. I payed 5.50 because I knew that they deserved it. This certainly never entered into my book-keeping.
- (12f) Fifty percent of the workers joined the revolutionaries.

- (1) I attended 6 years of elementary school.
- (la) I went to school from 1923 to 1930.
- (1b) 6 years elementary school.
- (1c) I studied in God (this is north of Budapest).
- (2) No, I did not study after 1944.
- (4) No.
- (4a) I wanted to study philosophy but my mother became blind and my father was a drunkard, and were six children at home, so that I had to work very early. We had no government subsidy because my father was a Communist during Bela Kun's regime.
- (4b) Because of financial reasons.
- (4c) New Because I like to study.
- (4d) Yes.
- (5) I wanted to study philosophy.
- (5a) I was very much impressed by it and even thought that I couldn't study it I spent most of my free time in museums.
- (5b) I couldn't go on with my studies because of financial reasons and my social status.
- (5c) I changed my mind in the mean time. I don't know how I actually choose my trade, it just came to me.
- (6) I was a mediocre student.
- (6a) I was too independent.
- (7) No, I had financial problems.
- (9) The Communist education didn't have any success as far as

the children in our family were concerned.

PRETEST

- The behavior of the children in our family did not change.

 I did not allow that the children should go to school at excursions because I didn't want them to be influenced by the new spirit. This past summer they became "Pioneers" (Uttoro) but soon they were were thrown out because their family was not trusted by the regime.
- (9b) No.
- (9c) Yes.
- (9d) I saw children playing games of war against the Germans.
- (9e) Communist education is the most influencial from the age of 14 to about 20. Whatever freedom is denied to the children at that age by their parents, they recieve it from the party.
- (9f) One can see this in their striving to play important roles in the Communist Youth Movements.
- (10) My father was a tradesman, pretty much an outcast because of his Communist past, my mother came from a very good family from Elesas-Lesson. Lotaring.
- (10a) My mother came from a middle-class family, her brothers were teachers.
- (10b) I am single.
- (11) We didn't belong to any class after the Communists took over, were were class-strangers.

- (12) He was a carpenter, later he became a stage decorator.
- (12a) From 1944 to 48 my father had no job. From 48 he worked as stage decorator in the Madaes Theatre.
- (12)c) His job as a stage decorator was a very good one.
- (12d) I don't know.
- (12e) He thought I had a very good trade.
- (13) We lived in more difficult conditions than other families did.
- (13a) As we grew up, my brothers and sisters and myself, and as we started to work, our conditions improved. To improve the family's living conditions I always worked hard, and maybe that's why I didn't get married.
- (14) We were six children, one of my brothers died at the age of 16.
- (14a) 5 We remained five children.
- (14b) Yes the whole family lived together in 1956.
- (140) As a single woman I couldn't rent an apartment for myself and instead of living in a single sub-let room I prefered to live with my family. Besides I had no trade permission; consequently I couldn't hire people to work for me outside family members.
- (15) My father died recently, but he couldn't work already since 1950 because of heart desease. My mother died in 1949.
- (15b) I didn't have any.

- (15c) One of my sisters worked in a factory until she got sick, and after that she worked for me. Another sister was a taxi driver.
- (16) In the past ten years I felt the disadvantage caused by the fact that I couldn't develop my skills before the Communist regime took over.
- We were in a difficult position socially during the Horthy regime because of my father's Communist past. As to the past ten years it was a disadvantage that I wasn't a party member. As a matter of fact in would have thought that the regime will last, and if I would have seen, that the Communist regime was such as I imagined it from what I heard from my father, other idealist Communists, and what I read about it, I would have entered the party.
- (17) No, I had no husband, I didn't have time to get married.
- (22) I was in very good relations with my parents and my brothers and sisters. I was actually the main bread-winner for the family. If I had money then the whole family idid.
- (23) We criticized the regime.

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- (23a) Such discussions were usually pased on information we heard from the radio, read in newspapers, or received from other people.
- (26)a) Sometimes we quarreled, as all families do, but otherwise our relations with each other were very good.
- (26b) Our family life WAS not typical, other families were

esch other in difficult situations as we were. My sister and I, the oldest two from among the five sisters and bromthers, took care of the others as if we were the parents. We helped other people too. I actually imagine ideal Communism as a system in which people are of mutual help to each other. I would have had nothing against Communism would it have fulfilled my expectations.

- (26c) In my free time I went to the theatre and circuses to talk over their orders for costumes. In August and September I used to go to excusions in the mountains of Buda.
- (26d) We used to go to theatre and opera performances together.
- (26e) We spent the whole day together, since we worked together.
- (26f) I would have loved to paint in my free time, but I never had a chance.
- (27) The family ties became stronger since 1945.
- (27a) The members of the families were more dependent on each other than ever before, since nobody had sufficient income to live alone.
- Yes people could trust each other within the family, but not everywhere. It happened even in Jewish families, where the family ties were usually stronger than in Christ—ian families, that the children got loose since the parents spent too much time in the party.
- (27c) Yes,
- (27d) Yes.

- (27e) Yes, since many of the country children studied in the cities.
- (28) Yes. There was no respect in the boys toward the girls.
- (28a) Immorality was more spiritual than sensual, but sensual immorality grew too, due to the fact that prostitution was forbidden. The boys were not polite anymore toward the girls, and the girls were not too strict in their behavior either.
- (28b) Girls marry as early as 15 years of age, boys at 18 and 19, even though the housing conditions were very difficult and the new couples had trouble finding a place to live.
- (28c) Yes there was a change. Freer relations developed fater

 faster between boys and galls because of lack of inhibitions.

 Marriages were not lasting, it was very easy to get married since nobody checked whether the permission to marry was really signed by the parents. Religious marriage was very expensive.
- (28d) I think this is a social problem. Poverty is too great to allow formalities.
- (28e) Yes, there was prostitution, but not officially.
- (281) The Communists were very strict against businessOlike prostitution, but not against privately committed immorablities.
- (28g) I'm definitely for birth control. I don't know to what extent this was allowed.
- (28h) Yes, it changed. Children born from un-married mothers had more rights and advantages than the legal children.

(29)

- I had two very good friends, one of them was a circus performer, a woman, and the other one was a student of philosophy who/INXXX French and Russian in the university. She was a very good friend but very ugly and badly dressed.
- (29b) She was 47 years old (in 1956). Her father was a university professor.
- (29c) We used to talk.
- (29a)No, we never talked about polities,
- Lately, I saw her less. She was very poor, we were much (29e) better off, and she was ashamed to come to our place.
- (291) Yes we are in correspondence.
- (29g) I value most, if one keeps up the friendship with no other interest than the friendship itself.
- (29h) No this wouldn't have changed our relationship.
- (30)My parents were Roman Catholics,
- (30a) We all had the same attitude toward religion. None of us were church-goers. We turned away from the church because of the behavior of the priest who was conducting my brother's funeral. We couldn't pay him much, and therefore he was in such a hurry that he didn't pay the due respect for the dead.
- (30b) If the children were not so busy as they are. Think it would be a good thing to teach them all the official religions so that they can choose their own religion when they grow up.

- (31) Wes.
- (31a) The relgious feeling grew because the regime tried to oppress it.
- (31b) The Catholics were persecuted most, because they have the most phoney rituals. The rituals of the Protestants are much simpler.
- (31c) The churches were not independent; the priests had orders according to which they had to write their sermons.
- (31d) I think the Communists do not believe in religions. The workers, who were mostly affected by Communism, were not religious anyhow.
- (31e) They wanted to destroy religious life.
- (31f) The persecution was directed mainly against the priests and other clergymen.
- (31g) I could have gone freely to church if I wanted to.
- (31h) I didn't go to church at all.
- (311) Mostly members of families of officials of longestanding,
 and old asmy officer families and very poor people were
 the sussess regular church goers.
- (31j) I don't know about them.
- (31k) Mostly the Catholic church officials were the ones who took part in politics; the other church officials didn't.
- (311) I don't know.
- (32) Maybe they were the most favored ones. The Jews supported

the Communist regime in Hungary, and many members of the workers' squad (az "munkaszolgálatos": Jewish men who were drafted not to military but to workers' service under military juristiction and supervision) went over to the Russian side during World War II. All the beins of leadership were in the hands of the Jews. Many a factory and project was managed by Jews even if they were utterly ignorant in the certain fields. The little Jews were just as oppressed as anybody else, but the hristians did not see this part of the picture.

They adjusted themselfes very well to the regime, as a (32a) matter of fact they overdid it, they ruled in such a way that the terror in Hungary was greater than in the Soviet Union.

"A" PREBEST

- They were afraid; they had too much on their conscience. (32b)
- They schould not take too much part in politics and should (32e) live as others because the Christian population (mainly the tradesmen) needs the Jews (she means mainly the business men) and visa versa.
- (33)In the worst positions are the officials and the artists. In the best positions are the steel workers and the peasants.
- (33a) I am a skilled worker.
- (33b) I don't knowi
- (34)I would have advised him to study to be an engineer.

- (34a) This occupation is respected in every country. He could have traveled everywhere and traveling broadens the mind of a man.
- (34b) I would have advised him to make more from less material and to improve on previous products.
- (34c) Middle class people.

- (1) No
- (le) About the same.
- (11) No
- (2) My main graevance was that I had no trade permission. Officially, I worked as a day-worker seamstress who goes to the house of her customers, but in fact I worked at home on my own machine.
- (2a) The most important grievances, as far as I'm concerned, were: III, X, VII, VI. The least important one was VIII.
- (Sp) III and IX.
- (2c) II and I.
- (2d) V, III, and XI.
- (2e) II (at least as the parents were concerned, since there was nothing, with which the young people could be disciplined), and VII.
- (2f) Because there was terror in Hungary.
- (2g) One was burgened by the above gracyances from the morning to the evening. Workers and office workers were given orders by people who were untrained in the field. In the evenings people could not go home after a tiring day of work because they had to participate in compulsory meetings or "szabad Mep half hour". People were afraid to be made fun of, When they had to report about newspaper articles which they did not fully understand. I didn't have such troubles but heard others complain about them.
- (21)People tried to eliminate these problems, but it was im-

possible.

- (3a) I never sympathized with any political trend or party.

 I was never interested in politics. I think politics is
 for men not for women.
- (3b) Weixkeinly No, he wasn't.
- (3e) I
- Yes, it changed. I thought it was nice and realistic,

 | Until 1 saw Har |
 | It is very different in practise however. I'm sure Communism is not like this everywhere, at least as bad as in Hungary.
- (3e) Yes, many people thought like this.
- (3f) This was from compulsion.
- (4) The actual power was in the hands of the AVO.
- (4a) They had the best salaries, and even the policemen were afraid of them.
- (5) The government followed Soviet orders.
- (5g) I don't know.
- (5b) The role of the elections was to make sure that Rakosi should win.
- (5c) Yes, they could arrange everything, they helped the workers and tradespeople, they distributed workship locations.
- (5d) Yes, it was very great.
- (5e) Yes, they were many. I don't remember any particular one right now, but I read of many in the newspapers.

- They came mostly from the poorer segments of the population; their education was subsidized by the party. Many women from houses of prostitution were taken care of by the party, they receaved training for office work and positions in offices.
- (5g) Mainly peasant boys became officers in the army. They received uniforms and good pay; they received and education, and in general had a much better life than they would of had they stayed at home. None of them wants to go back to the village.
- (6) Children could take part in free sports activities and games, they were taught to play on instruments, they could take part in group excarsions, etc. In short it took care of the free time of the children. This was very good.
- (6a) The disadvantage was that the young people had no time to learn a trade really well.
- (6b) I know of one person who entered the Communist Youth Movement.
- (6c) Yes,

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- (6d) One could advoid joining the Communist Youth Movement if one wasn't interested in anything.
- (6e) Some were influenced by parents, others found it to be against their convictions to enter the Communist Youth League.
- (6f) I was too old to enter.

(6n)	Every	school	child	entered	the	Communist	Youth	Organization.
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- (60) I didn't observe it.
- (6p) No.
- (6q) I don't know.
- (7) Financially it meant a lot, and one had all sorts of other advantages too. One could easily receive better jobs, better apartments, if one was a party member.
- (7a) The workers have to enter the party, and actually the intellectuals are also supposed to enter.
- (7b) People don't want to enter the party anymore; they want to leave it.
- (7c) I don't know.
- (7d) One has to participate in lectures, demonstrations, propoganda and social work.
- (7e) Yes, I knew people who entered the party at the very beginning. They were the party badge. Lately, the last two years, they did not wear the emblem any more.
- (7f) Yes, there were such people, they couldn't enter because they they were not trusted by the party.
- (7g) Nok I wasn't.
- (71) Yes I was asked to enter.
- (7m) My work was not influenced by that, that I wasn't a party member, tho if I would have been one my name would have appeared in the films for which I'd sewed costumns. I would have been admitted to a trade school and could have

qua	lified	. 8	28	a	d.e	s1gne	er.	and	could	hav	70	made	more	money
2.3	such,	I	CC	ul	đ	have	ge	ne	abroad	to	tr	avel		

- (7n) All sorts of people entered the party.
- (70) Yes, it changed, they became surer of themselves.
- (7p) Rakosi did.
- (7q) The government executed the decisions of the party.
- (7r) I don't know.
- (7s) I don't know.
- (7t) It did not influence them too much; one could see this since the trade unions protected its members' rights more than the party would have.
- (7u) I don't know.
- (8a) I was a member of the MNDSZ (the Organization For the Hungarian Democratic Women).
- (8b) I was compelled to enter this organization, against my convictions, by a neighbor who was an active member of the party. I was also told that I will rear be given back my trade liscense only if I entered the above organization.
- (8c) I don't know about other organizations.
- (Se) I was only an MNDSZ member.
- (8f) I don't know. I only paid the membership fee which was collected monthly.
- (8g) I was compelled to enter and was interested in getting back my trade license.
- (8h) I only had to pay the membership fee; I never went to meetings.

- (8i) I don't know; I think they wanted to train groups of women to fight for equal rights.
- (8j) I don't know.
- (8k) I wouldn't know.
- (81) Yes; I wouldn't know what they did but I know that they were informers.
- (8m) No.
- (8n) I think the women liked it because a good excuse for getting away from the dirty dishes, because they had to go to meeting.
- (80) People didn't like any of the Communist organizations but some parents were impressed by the DISE where this organization played an advantageous role in the youngsters' career.
- (8p) In general none of the Communist organizations were liked.
- (9) In general the parents hated the DISZ because the children were politicizing too much.
- (9a) For a while it made children enthusiastic for the regime but after some time they relapsed and started to think for themselves.

 The children actually became more adult by being compelled to think for themselves very early.
- (10) The members of the AVH were partly previous criminals and partly Jews. All the big leaders were Jews. They wanted to revenge. The Russians gave them a free hand. They wouldn't even let Christians to enter to higher positions.
- (10a) It was easy to recruit the AVH; they lived in the most wonderful conditions. They became so loyal that they would arrest even their own mothers.
- (10b) The AVO came from all ages; some joined because they wanted to cover up their arrowcross past. Some came from peasant

- families, others were vagabonds. Many times such young men became AVO officers who would not have been trusted being messenger boys under another regime.
- (10c) Before the revolution they were the most important people; during the revolution they lived in fear.
- (10d) The AVH made a vow to the Party. But there is nobody that makes me so disgusted as the informer.
- (11) I was arrested in 1944 and released in 1945.
- (11a) I was accused of being a pro-German who traveled under front during the war and win made propaganda speaches among the in German.

 Russian soldiers for the Germans. This was just an intrigue since I didn't even know German. The ones who accused me wanted to have my apartment.
- (11b) I was never tried; after 8 months I was released and could go home. I became sick and part of the time I was in a hospital.

 Later I was in the Budaorsi station.
- (11c) I know of a girl who was arrested because she had a German boyfriend. I know of a waiter who was arrested simply because he worked in a restaurant where Jews were not allowed before. The Jews were too revengeful.
- (11d) My case impressed me the most.
- (11e) I saw with my own eyes how a woman was hit on her breasts and how her hair was torn out.
- (11f) All sorts of people were arrested.
- (11g) Yes there were such waves; lots of people were arrested and their past examined.

- (12) I would advise him that he should avoid those people who can do him harm. He should enter the Party only if he is convinced of the right of the Party.
- (12a) There is no job without danger. One has simply to be silent.
- (12b) No it doesn't help. Many people are better off materially
 if they are active politically but such activity does not
 provide manks security.
- (12c) Yes it's good to have good connections. Sometimes Party secretaries can help and do help to people whom they are in contact with but other times people without any important positions seem to have good contacts and influence.
- (12d) The lower one's origin the better it is. There are many who are given beautiful apartments with all the modern equipment and bathroom. These people will still burn candle instead of light electricity and will go around dirty even though they have bathrooms. These people are so impressed by their new position that the Party can make achieve a lot through them. It's impossible to lie about one's origin. The informers will find out about that or it will be found out on the seminarians; it shows if someone has more education than he says he has.
- (12e) Yes, this helps a lot. Everything can be bought, sometimes even freedom.
- (12f) Yes he can; there was such a joke going around that fishing became very difficult lately because even the fish am wouldn't coach open their mouths to touch the hook.

- (12g) The Catholics were the ones who were hurt the most through their priests.
- (13) In the courts the law did not count, the only important thing was how much can be taken away from somebody. The police was closer to the people and they tried to help in giving such a report which would make the accusations less severe. In the AVH m everybody signed the accusations with which one was accused if there was only one implication to the end of the end of
- (13a) None of those was just, still one could have hope with the blue police; they were the ones who were closest to the people and they tried to make their reports less severe in order to help.
- (13b) The police was apparently not satisfied under the regime.

 They had nearly not as good conditions as had the AVH people.

 They had very low pay. They joined the revolution as soon as the second day.
- 13c (22) I don't know about that. They wouldn't have dared to complain, But they probably had complaints, because lately many of the AVO people left the AVO.
- (14) Yes there were changes.
- (14a) Sometimes on Western pressure the regime became more lenient in certain things, especially when there were some international conferences. We were not too happy however because we keek knew that they are going to make up later for the leniency. This happened with tax collection for example.

- (14b) Harrison Yes there were changes in 1953. It was allowed to play chess even though Western dances were still forbidden.

 Women were allowed to wear hats, nailpolish and they wear even high-heeled shoes which were not permitted before. Physicians could have had an automobile which they couldn't have before.
- (15) They were the ones who gave all orders but the Hungarians and overdid the orders in cruelness.
- 15a (液) I don't know。
- (15c) I don't know.
- (15d) No. The only time I had something to do with them was during the invasion of Budapest when I went to get the passport of my brother. They were very polite; they talked German.
- (15e) The Soviet influence was the strongest in the cultural fields.

 In those fields one could make the best money. The least influence important was at the railroads. One could be a railroad worker even without having one's past thoroughly checked.
- (151) I don't know; maybe mix they were sent to sectaries but
- (16) No.
- (16a) Certain groups keep their feelings in secret but the Communists their talk about it all the time.
- (16b) For example there was a woman in our house who was a Communist.

 Her radio was always wide open and was very loud. Nobody else
 was allowed to open one's radio; she always complained that it
 disturbed was her. These simple woman became the best strongholds

for the Party. For example our washerwoman became the Minister of Light Industry. She certainly did not know about anything what was going on in her office but she proudly signed everything she was supposed to.

- (16c) One could not trust even oneself.
- (16a)One could speak only about the improvements & but one could not criticize openly and one could not tell the children that they are learning untrue things in ak school.
- No, even I during the invasion (she men means revolution) one (16e)had to watch oneself. We knew that the revolution will not succeed.
- (3.7)One could not altogether dismiss certain orders or laws but there were certain things one could do. For example I was not allowed to keep workers but I gave work to my friends who took them home and worked at home on it and I paid according to hour.
- (17a) There were such orders and laws but I don't remember which ones.
- (17b) Yes I could. I ____ bought on the black market thread for sewing and material for lining. Legally one could me never m get enough of those and besides the red tape was so much that it took very long time until one could get an order.
 - (17c) He couldn't do it unless he picked his vegetables at night, & secretly, when nobody saw. But in most cases the peasant could not produce as much as he was supposed to and he had to buy on the market in order to be able to hand it in to the government. What he could do was this: instead of keeping

one swine he could keep more and say, with the consent of some of his friends, that he keeps the others for his friends.

- (17d) One couldn't do anything about that; one was replaced usually from Budapest because somebody else wanted the position or his
- (17e) This was impossible, one recieved only a temporary permit of residence in a new (17f) Yes I would like to change that but I don't know how it would be possible. As to teaching a trade the government tried to
 - teach it in such a way that everybody knew only a certain little part of the trade. This way one was only trained to work in a big factory. I persuaded everybody I knew that he or she should learn a whole trade; otherwise one could not work for oneself (or independently)
- (18) Only people with no character can really get ahead today, people who can change their opinions according to what it is desired from them.
- (19) I considered myself in the opposition because I didn't take

 part in anything not in the Party and no other organization.

 I was forced to enter the MNDSZand all I did in this

 magnification was to pay the membership fee.
- (19a) People did not show their opposition to the regime but they let it feel. This was more lethergy than well real opposition.
- (19b) The biggest enemies of the Party were the middle class, retired army efficers, and the clergy. This latter were the ones who purged-mostly. were most persecuted.
- (19c) The least animosity was between the workers, at least at the

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beginning; lately they too started to criticize the Party.
This latter happened in the last two years.

- (19d) It was increasing after 1953.
- (19e) I don't know about organized groups, but I know that it wasn't private. There was a lethargy but we waited and hoped for help from the West. The hope turned out to be futile.
- (197) I don't know but about km 12 year ago there were purges everywhere. Later on people were always changed around in working positions because the government apparently did not want that the people should get friendly with each other at work.
- (19g) I don't know; this depended on the individual; people were criticizing, sabotaging and generally & talking against the begime.
- (19h) There were a lot.
- (2 191) It was not allowed to wear American fashion nor to play a American music. People however were wore American fashion and played American music. The schoolchildren hated to learn the Russian language.
- (19j) I don't know.
- (19k) I don't think so.
- (191) I only know that young artists were very revolutionary in their thinking.

- I received most of my information from actors and circus (1)(performers who returned from tours from abroad.
- In general I didn't/for 100% sure whatever they said. (la)
- I didn't read newspapers nor journals. (2)
- In 1955 I saw only one single picture- The That Othello. (3)
- Isse I used to go to the Budapest Nightclub and to the theatre. (3a) I used to sw sew costumes for the nightclub and for the theatres,
- (3b) I liked mostly drama.
- In the films I saw, there was no political content. (3c)
- I was every day in the movies before the invasion of Budapest. (3d)
- (3e) Yes.
- I only remember the Gunga Din picture, but I do not remember when (3f)
- (3g) Yes.
- In the Theatre Nama Nephadsereg I saw the Cyrano de Bergerac, (3h) I also liked to go to the National Theatre (Nemzeti).
- Yes it changed; at the beginning of the Communist regime they (31) only played Soviet plays but from about 1952 they also started to perform some Western classic plays as well as some light plays.
- (4) No I didn't have time.
- I didn't have time; I can only tell about books I read before (4a) 1944. I read "Gone With the Wind" by Margaret Mitchell, "The Mother by Grorkii, I read the poems of Babitch, I liked to read Marai.

- (4e) I shk chose my books according to the presses or introduction.
- (4f) I didn't read after 1944.

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- (5) I only listened to music and literary performances or stories.
- (5a) I didn't listen much because I didn't have the time.
- (5b) Yes we had a homemade radio; a neighbor of ours, an engineer, made it for us. We had short waves and long waves.
- (5c) I listened mainly to Hungarian stations— mainly listened to music.
- (5d) I liked to listen to the morning literary program, to the morning opera program, poems and news.
- (5e) The radio was open all day long.
- (5f) It was in the workshop.
- (5g) I liked mainly philharmonic orchestra and opera.
- (6) Yes I did.
- (6b) I only listened to music.
- (6c) Because I like music.
- (6d,e,f) I couldn't listen to farringm foreign language news because
 I don't understand foreign languages.
- (7) No I didn't.
- (7a) I wasn't interested. I only was interested if the lecture was about my trade.
- (8) Yes a lot.
- (8a) I heard such news that the USSR will make an agreement, a commercial agreement, with the United States but it was not true.

- (8b) I heard it from the delicatessen store owner, from people in the beauty parlor, in the food market market and near the corner of the bar.
- (8c) For example the m owner of the delicatessen store told me that I should but flour because there will be no flour.
- (8d) In general, the news I received in such a way were quite accurate.
- (8e) They were accurate except for those informations which concerned financial problems.
- (8f) Yes once they said that the Americans are at our border.
- (8g) In Budapest.
- (8h) Nowhere except they talked about things on the market and at the corner near the tavern.
- (81) Yes the people who belonged to the AVO.
- (8j) Mainly at home.
- (8k) No the ones who came from the prisons did not want to talk about their experiences.
- (81) No.

- (9) I wasn't interested in this but I could hear about it in the radio.

 did not know
- (9a) I contant so anything about that since even the circus performers didn't bring any political news.
- (9b) I listened to the radio and besides two members of my family were soccer fans and they discussed the games at home.
- (9c) In this the circus for which I worked there was an economic director and if I wanted such news I turned to him.
- (10) I didn't believe them at all; I was disgusted from them.
- (10 a) I had a(human) feeling about what is true and what isn't.

 For example I knw knew that people were not sabotaging if

 they could not it fulfill the normal which they were supposed

 to People were just too tired. I also knew that the

 hospitals were crowded, lots of people got sick from nervous

 exhaustion.
- (10b) There was one newspaper which dared to write honestly. This paper did this and criticized some things in the regime in order to show that the regime is not afraid of criticism.

 This was from about 1953 and I think that this was the Szabad Nep.
- (10c) Nobody took nothing for hundred percent truth. One just had to conclude what might be the truth.
- (10d) The newspapers were the least reliable ones. The newspapera what to men had orders in what he was supposed to write.

- (10e) No.
- (10f) I didn't read it.
- (11) Yes they did.
- one day to the other, and we wondered whether it's worthwhile to exchange our apartment, whether if we dedexchange it they wouldn't take it away. One couldn't build a plan for retirement; this was utterly impossible.
- (11b) I don't know about others but I wasn't imm interested about what was abroad.
- (12) I received most of my news from my customers.
- (12a) My customers, circus performers and otherm actors, traveled all over the world. Besides I didn't go out much because I was working at home. and they came to us; they were the ones with the whom I had most contact.
- (12b) We used to go out to the streets to look around after the shootings ceased; besides there were many Freedom Fighters in the house.
- (12e) I knew it only from food trucks and from radio broadcasts which were broadcasted in other cities.
- (13) Yes I knew about them. My fiance as well as my sister's fiance and h my brother-in-law were picked up on the streets once and deported to Russia. My sister and I too were almost taken to Russia. We escaped however.

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- (13a) I didn't dare to listen what they had to say when they came home (my fiance, my sister's fiance and my brother-in-law).

 My fiance entered the Party and asked me to join the Party too; I didn't join the Party, however, and our engagement broke up.
- bacterial warfare. However, the Koreans are lazy and their number imarganess increases fast, the climate is such too that bacteriums can easily cause sicknesses and death; there is no need for assistance from outside. There were lots of Korean children, refugees in Budapest; they were respected very much, image there were also some Greek children who took part in our revolution.
- (13e) I don't know.
- (13d) Yes he was, he organized the AVO in revenge and with this he actually made his own doom. The Gestapo was nearly not as cruel as was the AVO to the Hungarians. It was so known that Tito's sister was Rajk's wife.
- (13e) I didn't know anything about it; I just heard about it here.

 I know Hungary was waiting for an West Germany to rearm.
- (13f) I don't know anything.
- (13g) I don't know anything.

- (1) The AVO has to cease to exist in the way it did up till now.

 Women should not be sent for physical work to the factories.

 They all get sick and have all troubles with their female organs.
- (la) I would keep the day nurseries, the sport possibilities for young people. I disapprove of the practice that whoever can sing nicely or dance nicely even though does not have a real talent in those things will have to sing and dance in all sorts of meetings and is taken away from his or her we work.
- Only, to whoever is predestined for this. As a matter of fact if
 I think it's better in there are no parties at all and if the ministerium takes care of those things.
- (2a) Parties bring always to a quar quarrel be between people.
- (2b) I thing think that parties come to be only because certain people have the desire to play a big role and be leaders.
- (2c) I wouldn't allow any parties and that's that. The only organization that should exist is the trade unions.
- (3) Everybody should have the right to free speach and to read free press.
- (3a) If there would be no terror we would trust our country much more. There would be no people who would go against the country.
- (3b) No this should not be forbidden. The government should be such that there should be nothing to be criticized men it.
- (4) Yes people should be free to hold meetings. If they can hold

meetings in the open they will not do it in secret.

- (4a) Yes, even then.
- (4b) The graduate government should behave in such a way that it should be able to take criticism. If it does not behave in such a way then something should be done about it.
- (4c) This is very important. The government should not force anything on the nation. If the population is not intelligent enough to understand certain things, the government should explain.
- (4d) I would allow meetings only if first there h would be a presentation of the material of the meeting to some neutral person in the government who should decide whether the meeting should be held or not.
- (4e) If a government does not try to achieve the best for the people, but works for other interests like for the private interests of the leaders in the government, then an armed revolution is justified.
- (5) I do approve of that.
- (5a) This way the government gets the profit and not private firms.
- (5b) I don't know.
- (5e) Does not apply.
- (5d) No, I don't disapprove of it, only about big profits of a big factory owner who takes the profits from the work of many workers.

 A factory always has a larger profit than does a small tradesman.

 A small tradesman gives himself in his work, but a factory owner usually doesn't do even the management of his factory.
- (6) Yes, I approve of it.

- There wouldn't be in such a case such a big competition and (6a) consequently the faith of the workers wouldn't be held so low as 11 15 when one now.
- (6b) I don't know.
- I don't know what a monopoly is. (7)
- I have the worst opinion of that. (8)
- This awful hurrying is not good, and I am sorry for the people (8a) who cannot keep up with this fast rate of work and whose salaries are reduced because of that.
- The plans do not always work out in practice. (8b)
- I don't know. (8e)
- I approve of that. (9)
- Those things have to be in the hands of the government, because (9a) one has to trust those services. The government will always be responsible but/those things are managed by private people they can commit suicide and what is going to happen then.
- Yes, I would handle them alike. (9b)
- I approve of that too. (10) frombles
- Joblessness and hunger bring always additional bad things. (10a)
- No. (10b)
- I could pay only with my honest good work. (10e)
- Yes, they are. (11)
- I disapprove for example of the government's influence on housing (11a) conditions. I don't think that it is right that a family of four people, parents and two children, should live in one room. It is no good for the children to have in one room with the parents.
- The government should not decide what profession one should choose. (11b) This should depend solely on one's own decision.

- (12) Yes, I think so.
- (12b) One should be loyal to one's country and not to a foreign country.

 One should not work for a foreign country's interest.
- (12c) Yes.
- (12d) Yes. I disapprove however of taking the young men to the army just when they makes have started to study a trade or profession. Young boys should be taken periodically for exercises when they are high school students so that when they finish high school in only six months they should be completing their military training.
- (12e) Yes.
- (12f) For a normal system of government.
- (13) No. (concerning the
- The doctors would not tell if somebody is sick in order to keep him on the job and keep him out of the overcrowded hospitals.

 Besides, if one is sick one has to receive a certain percentage of one's salary and the government does not want to give much of that.
- (14a) No, it became worse.
- (14b) No, nobody gets a better opportunity for medical care than before.
- They have more experience and more physicians to examine the patient. Besides one cannot trust the private doctors, if one is poor then the doctor will tell him that he is healthy because he will not take the chance of starting to treat a patient who

might not be able to pay him. If a private doctor has a rich patient he will tell him that he is sick even if he isn't because he can see the possibility of withdrawing money from him. The clinic is also better because while a private doctor would examine his patient all alone a clinic patient will be examined by many doctors in the clinic.

- (14d) This is good.
- (14e) It is only good if it is not done by a private members insurance company.
- (14f) The hospitals are overcrowded and there are too few hospitals.
- from Too little medicine, too few doctors and name nurses.
- (14g) I had a personal experience. I mentioned before that I was examined just before I left Hungary and the doctor told me I wasn't sick at all and there was nothing wrong with me. As soon as I arrived in Vienna I was examined again and they found calcium deposit in my lungs which was of long standing.
- (15) No. Only 10% of the movie houses are open now.
- (15a) The people are tired already from so many propaganda movies.

 They don't like to see always war pictures either. They would like to see foreign films.
- (15b) No.
- (15c) Yes.
- (15d) Factory workers are compelled to go.
- (15e) This is a compulsory opportunity.
- (15f) Everybody can go if he wants to. The trouble is that they compel such people to go to the theatres and to concerts who are not

interested in those performances while other people who have no jobs outside like myself have trouble getting tickets for from people who have to buy tickets who were compelled to have buy them for theatre performances. I also used to have season tickets under another person's name, a person who was an employed worker.

- (16a) No they don't.
- (16b) They eat better today.
- (16e) They eat better today.
- (16d) The Yes there are differences. Certain people can receive better food and more, and certain foods can be reached only by certain people.
- (16e) The AVO people are the best off. They receive everything for a lower price on the one hand and on the other hand they have a better pay than other people have. Soldiers and policemen have advantages also over other ordinary people.
- (17a) No.
- (17b) They dress better today.
- (17c) They dress better today.
- (17d) For too long they had no m opportunity to dress better. Now that they can they try to do it.
- (17e) It's about the same.
- (18) Yes. It developed naturally, but not in quality.
- (18a) There is too much defaulty products.
- (18b) No.
- (18c) Yes, certain things should have remained unaltered in the small industries.

- (19) The collectives should be terminated.
- (19a) No, only the private land should remain.
- (19b) Yes.
- (19c) The land should be distributed equally between the members so that competitive production should take place. There should be government supervision however in order to protect the individual peasants from their neighbors who are competing with them.
- (19d) They too should be distributed.
- (19f) Only that much land should be returned to its owner which is as much as he the owner could week himself.
- (19g) Only as much land should be given back to kulaks which is as much as he needs for his own living and as much as he himself is able to cultivate.
- (19h) Yes, that's possible.
- (191) The state.
- in (20) I would keep those in government hands and I would rent them to the peasants.
- (20a) Yes.
- (20b) I would rent them.
- (20d) I don't know.
- (20e) I don't think that this is good in everything, because lots of grain is lost, if machines are collecting the grain.
- (21) If a worker can make the management should take this into account.
- (21a) The trade unions should represent the interests of the workers.
- (21b) They cannot be altogether independent of the government since they have mutual interests with the government. Besides, many

workers are government employees.

- (2le) Yes.
- (21d) Only paying the membership fees.
- (2le) I don't know.
- (21f) I don't know.
- (21g) I don't know.
- (21h) I don't know.
- (211) Specialized people should manage the factories, those who know their jobs and if the factories belong to the government these should be responsibility to the government and to the workers.
- (22) If a Party member is a member because of conviction he should be allowed to remain in the Party, but the masses should not be compelled to enter the Party.
- (22a) No.
- (22b) I would check and examine whether this leader did or did not represent the interests of the workers. If he did, I have nothing against him.
- (22e) I don't know, this should depend on what they have been doing in the past.
- (22d) Nothing special should happen to those. I would examine whether they have committed some crime, but otherwise I would leave them alone.
- (22e) I wouldn't allow its existence as a political organization.
- (22f) I would terminate the AVH too. I don't know what I would do with its members. I wouldn't wish to punish them, they should enter civilian life and accept jobs in civilian life. I would do nothing with the police.

- (22g) I don't know.
- (22h) I don't know. I think that the AVO people were taken into prison by the freedom fighters, and in turn freedom fighters were taken to prison by the AVO.
- (23) The most important subject in schools is the Russian language. (/)
 All the old textbooks from the schools were destroyed. Little
 children had to read poems about standanovite workers.
- (23a) There is more possibility and opportunity for children to study.
- (23b) Yes, except that people have trouble because of their origin.
- (23e) Its not bad except for the people who have no opportunity because of their origin.
- (23d) Yes, I definitely do think so.
- (24a) Yes.
- (24b) All of them should be independent now.
- (24e) Yes, the churches should receive governmental aid but they should not be allowed large landholdings. Yes, religious lessons should be restored in the schools. It's impossible to live without religion.

 And political ideas do not replace the necessity for religion.
- (24d) No.
- (25) Hungary contributed to the Western culture musicians like Baskukm
 Bartok, Kodaly, Franz Liszt, and many other outstanding people.
- (26) I don't know.
- (26a) Hungary was oppressed during the Hapsburg regime, Marantha and the 1848 Revolution was maken suppressed just as much as this recent revolution.
- (26b) I don't know, maybe they were looking for advanture.
- (26e) I don't know.

- (26d) I don't know.
- (26e) Some people were well off, others were not. The workers' lot was not good but the clerks were very well off. This was the period of the officials and clerks. There were many privately owned factories and projects. I had a very hard time.
- (26f) Yes.
- (26g) We should have remained neutral. There was no sense for us to participate in the war.
- (26h) The period between 1944 and 1947 was much worse than the period before 1944. The From Cross era was really not as long and as horrible as the period after it. After 1947 it became better.
- (27) Yes, I guess there is. The Hungarian cannot bear a forceful rule, even then when such a rule intermediate brings some valuable and good reforms.
- (27a) Yes, it differs from the German character since the German places himself above all, and is very proud.
- (27b) The Russian is violent and brutal while the Hungarians are rhapsodic, easily excited.
- I don't know enough about Americans, has that I should be able to tell their characteristics but I think that Hungarians made friends easter in and they adjust themselves faster than the Americans.
- (27d) Yes, they lost some of their backbone.
- (27e) Yes.
- (28) No, that's no good.
- (28b) It would be nice to be able to travel from land to land.
- (28c) yes.
- (28d) They are in Transylvania and upper Hungary (Selvitek), this

territory used to belong to us and was taken away.

- (28e) Yes, mm the Russians do.
- (28f) Yes, I think so.
- (28g) Such oppositions and dislikes are between Hungarians and Bulggrians, Hungarians and Rumanians, Hungarians and Czechs.
- (281) I don't know, I don't think they like each other.
- (28j) I don't know about today's relationships between the two nations but I know that they minimum didn't used to like each other.
- (28k) They are in very good relationship. We are a livele bit more rhapsodic and they are friendlier.
- (281) These two are always quarreling.
- (28m) Not very well.
- (28n) They can't bear to live in a Christian country. Why don't they minuse choose then another country? They held themselves superior. The Jewish business people and the Christian trades people should go together hand in hand, minuse race questions should be excluded.
- (29) I think this would be very useful.
- (29a) It should stand on an economic basis.
- (29b) It should commercial interchange and trade.
- (29c) Hungarians could contribute with their agricultural goods and trade.
- (29d) I don't know, maybe the whole of Europe should be under a federation.
- (30) I met some very nice ones, and some not very nice ones. They were are Mongols and brutal, but after all they too are human beings as we are and I am sorry for them as well.
- (30a) Yes.
- (30b) Yes, definitely.
- (30c) I don't know.

- (30d) No. 1 looked forward to their arrival
- (30e) They wanted them to come, but later they were disillusioned.
- (30f) By that time they wanted very much to get rid of them.
- (30g) We hoped that they would leave.
- (31) No.
- (3la,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j) I don't know.
- (31k) I think this is better than Communism.
- (311,m) I don't know.
- (32) making No.
- (32a,b,c,d,e) I don't know.
- (33) I think it would have been better. The terror would have been much less.
- (33a) I don't know, the politicians don't always keep their promises.

 Maybe he mann too was one who wanted to have a great role.
- (34a) This is good. Socialism represents the human well being and equality.
- (34b) This is no good, it doesn't represent the interests of the small countries but the large countries to whom they belong.

 Nevertheless we wanted to belong to the United States (Mathicus)
- (34)(c) This is no good, the classes should not be enemies.
- (34d) I don't know what this is.
- (34e) I don't know what it is.
- (34f) This is good, but I would like that we shouldn't have any need for that.
- (34g) This is accessed. The big factory owners work for their own profit and do not like to pay their workers.
- (34h) This isn't good either. This creates social differences.
- (35) The people who belong to the same social group are about the

same age as I am manufarman and are women and have I think the same opinions. Maybe men think differently.

- (36a) They received less.
- (36b) I don't know.
- (36c) They received less.
- (36d) I don't know.
- (36e) They received less.
- (36f) I don't know. I know that physicians received less.
- (36g) I don't know.
- (36h) Some received more, some received less.
- (361) The leaders received more the ordinary members did not receive more.
- (36j) They received less.
- (36k) They were all on the government payroll. They received less.
- (361) They remains received less.
- (37a) At least there were job possibilities.
- (37b) There were no TSZCS members.
- (37c) They were better off.
- (37d) They were better off.
- (37e) They m were better off.
- (37f) They were better off. There were less professionals, of that time.
- (37g) Financially worse them, otherwise, they were better off.
- (37h) They were worse off.
- (371) There were no Party members.
- (37j) They were better off.
- (37k) They were better off.

(371) They were better off.

(38a) I don't know.

(38b) They coincide.

(38c) They conflict.

(38d) I don't know, I think they are in conflict.

(38e) They are in conflict.

(38f) They are in conflict.

(38g) They are in conflict.

(38h) They coincide.

(38i) I don't knew.

(38j) They are in conflict.

(38k) I don't know.

(39) I don't even know whether there were such people who would fight for the regime. Maybe the peasants, since 70% of the AVO were peasant boys. But I am not sure about that.

(39a) The middle class, the workers, and the intellectuals would fight against the regime.

- (la) I don't know.
- (1b) You will get many interesting materials, but also many stupid things. For example, I am sure I answered all sorts of stupid things about politics for I don't know anything about it.
- I wouldn't trust all that the freedom fighters say. They have (le) a big mouth. It's true that many people really took part, and especially the workers. There were many people, however, Who didn't even set foot on the street when the fighting was going on.
- (ld) Yes. I think so, but you should be careful.
- (le) I don't know.
- (2) If I go, I would go only for a visit.
- (3)(a) I don't know about such material.
- (3b) No, I didn't write and I do not plan to write.
- (3c) No, I don't suggest a "B" interview.
- (3d) No, not at the memm moment.

End of interview.