- Hungary is a very small point for an American to be concerned (1) about. But the Soviet Union isn't, & gaining knowledge about the Soviet Union, means, at the same time, gaining x know-
- ledge about its satellites. This is where Hungary steps into the picture. If for nothing else, Hungary should be put on the map of an American for the terror which is reigning there. The average American should be made conscious about the fact that the closer geographically a country is the Soviet Union, the less chance it has to escape from its influence and, at the same time, as paradoxically as this may sound, he should be made conscious of the fact trans that in a very short time geographical proximity will no more be a factor in the mumax constantly spreading influence of the Soviet Union and, what should "be brought home" to an American more than anything else is this feeling of helpmessness associated with one's smallness. In other words, the Americans should be made aware of the impossibility of a small country to successfully fight for its freedom, even if the majority of its citizens are willing to sacrifice their lives for it. countries need the protection of big countries - Hungary needs America. This protection should be carried out through peaceful means. If another world war occurred in this century, that would mean the liquidation of Western culture.
- As each Revolution, the Hungarian Revolution of October, 1956, (2) had its spiritual forerunners who prepared the terrain.

A longlasting suppression gives birth to resistance. This is expressed most tersely by the pro-eminent representatives of the suppressed people. In Hungary, the part of resistance was distraibuted and played most successfully by the writers. Spiritual freedom is always a reflection, a projection of general freedom and while the writers were fighting for spiritual freedom, they fought, simultaneously, for a freer, a more human life of the makes Hungarian nation. In this connection, Respondent remebers a series of articles in which newspapermen and writers debated about the over-simplified optimism imposed by the regime and the road which would have to a complex, we but truer attitude which might have been labelled a healthy pessimism.

The "incubation" period had manifestations also in the economic field, naturally. Some confessions were given in the field of industry - private "ventures" were encouraged - and in that of agriculture.

The part of the AVH was reduced, and the cult of personalities taken out from the limelight. There is no doubt about the fact that Stalin is one of the greatest personalities of the 20th Century even if Respondent is reluctant to affix a positive sign to this statement. Hitler belonged to the same category, although there was a big difference: Hitler was able to spread fire but he became so insane by the flames he had instigated himself that he was unable to stabilize his own ideas. If Respondent were to

compare Stalin with Lenin she would affirm without any hestitation that Lenin was greater, in the sense that he was more European. Actually, many of Lenin's ideas were definitely worthwhile to be uttered in the history of manking. His thesis about Communist ethics which produced an atmosphere of hatred still permeating the air of the 20th Century was a basic mistake. His second great mistake: while he is procedularing collectivity and introducing socialist thoughts in his principles, he is definitely aiming toward autocracy, tyranny and gradually liquidates all those who are also Communists but with certain modifications.

Stalin who is not even the original delineator and creator of water collective ideas, is only carrying further, due to his tremendous ambition, exclusively those ideas which should have been rejected from the beginning and the thus is only strengthening the terror. His force was so penetrating, though, that, during his life, no tendency for freedom could gain any ground.

- (2c) Definitely.
- (2d) This did not influence directly the Hungarian events only inasmuch as the representatives of Communist ideas made for the first time confessions and accepted the fact that they were not infallible. Its significance lies also in the fact that it happened between a great power and a small country and thus, this way, indirectly, it did have bearing on the Hungarian events.
- (2e) It did have a great influence. The newspapers never stopped writing

about it.

- (2f) Each effort is encouraging and enticing. Of course, nobody believed at the time that its impact will eventually lead to a Revolution in Hungary but the feeling was unanimous that a thaw will follow and that events are going to take a turn to the right in the good sense of the word rather that efforts will be made to find the good middle way.
- (2g) It meant a great relief for practically everybody.
- (2h) The Soviet Writers' Union starting to throw light on the fact that creative work cannot be done within the framework of each Kolkhozes houses, that it cannot be manufactired. Ehrenburg emphasized this at the reception given in his honor by the Hungarian Writers' Union.
- (2i) The gradual concessions proved that changes were going on but
 Respondent did not believe that suddenly the Hungarian people will
 decide to bring about radical changes. Actually, it would have
 been much better if the path of gradual changes had not been suddenly blocked.
- (3) See above.

The proclafmation of Austria's neutrality also awakened the feeling of impending cultural and economic changes.

Hope was also nourished by the alleged friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union, the basis of the road leading toward peaceful freedom. (The exchange of agricultural experts

rather of the mutual visit of agricultural experts was greeted with joy in Hungary.)

- (3c) She cannot answer this question. Undoubtedly the situation was most mature am at that particular moment. But why exactely then? She cannot answer this question.
- (4a) It was definitely an aspiration toward freedom which lacked wisdoms the Hungarian nation should have known that it cannot bring about
 decisive changes through Revolution.
- (4b) Not applicable.
- (4c) According to different groups of people, the aims varied to a certain degree. But, as far as the yearning for freedom was concerned, there was absolute unanimity.
- (4d) The goals of the spiritual preparers of the Revolution were unquestionably present but also those tendencies inherent in every human being which, during revolutionary times, compells him to behave in a slightly sadistic manner. Proofs to the latter statement are furnished by the liquidation of some AVH percent personnel without the proper legal settings.
- (4e) In each society, individuals revolt if their basic human rights are restricted. Under the aegis of collectivism, individualistic aspirations, strivings, and pursuits were gradually and in a very unhealthy way liquidated.
- (4f) Peaceful, calm, free life. (The so-called color and spice are invariably furnished by a rich emotional life whichm, to a

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certain degree, can be led under any circumstances.)

- (4g) Time was running short and practically only minutes were left for people to express what they really wanted thus, many desires could not be expressed, much less put into application.
- (4h) Independent domestic and foreign policy.
- (4i) She could not state that it was 100 percent anti-Communist. (for instance, Imre Nagy was a Communist.) But it definitely was 100 percent anti-Russian and it was directed against those members of the Communist Party which represented the Russian-Stalinist line.
- (4jk) See sub-question (1).
- (41) A free independent government where each party would have been represented.
- (4m) Yes.
- (4n) Roesn't know about them.
- (40) Openly nobody, in covert way those who were afraid of reprisals.
- (5) She did see fights and fighters.
- (5a) No.
- (5b) Not applicable.
- (6a) She listened to radio broadcasts (domestic and foreign) read newspapers and watched the streets from her window.
- (6b) Thanks to her lucidity, she practically had no doubts about the unfavorable outcome of the Revolution.

R Besides this, she is against armed fighting.

- The preparation and distribution of leaflets would have meant (6c) the approval of the armed fighting.
- She did not/part see sub-questions (bande). (6d)

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- (6e) Nothingw.
- No where. (6f)
- Here and there she saw fighters; actually, one was only able (7a) to see one side of the fighting. If one had been in the position to watch both, then, in a couple of minutes, one couldn&t have watched anything anymore,
- (7b) No.
- She saw hanged people (AVH) at the neighborhood of the Andrassy (7c) Street and of the Korut.
- (7d) Nothing - see above.
- (8) Not applicable.
- She did not take part. (9)
- With great joy. Finally many truths were expressed. (10)
- Yes. Irodalmi Ujsag, the new variant of the Nepszava, publications (10ab) addressed to the youth, etc.
- The news learned that way was not really important. (10c)
- Foreign and domestic -she was most interested in the way the (10d) Hungarian Revolution echoed in the West. The enticing carried on by Radio Free Europe was repulsive. The domestic broadcasts gave accurate reports about the Revolutionary events and phases.
- Yes. Old and new acquaintances would relate about the different (10e)

events going on in the various districts of Budapest.

(10f) The Hungarian radio became reliable.

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- (10g) She learned about local and national news especially through broadcast
- (11) They were dissolved.

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- (lla) The Party buildings were used by the Freedom Fighters. Many functionaries sides with the Revolution on the basis of old until then
 concelaed attitudes or on the basis of one adopted under the
 pressure of the circumstances.
- (11b) The majority sided with the Revolution.
- (11c) Was dissolved.
- (11d) Did not function.
- (11e) See sub-question (b). Officers and soldiers.
- (11f) Did not function.
- (11g) Does not know.
- (11h) The new government with new ministries was founded.
- (11i) The different leaders of the different churches finally had a access to their followers through the medium of the radio.
- (11k) The University organizations.
- (11j) The Party and the AVH collapsed, the ministries received new hip leadersing.
- (11m) Revolutionary and Workers Councils.
- (11m) Administrative activities, in lieu of councils.
- (lln) Multi-party system.
- (12)a) Yes.

- (12b) Those troops which had been stationed in Hungary understated in the majority of the cases the aspirations of the Revolution.
- (12c) No.
- (12d) She doesn't know but she has heard about them.
- (12e,f) Probably.
- (12g) Full power.
- (12h) The Soviet dictatorship also collapsed and as a consequence the Revolution could take place.
- (£13) At the end of November.
- (13a) She realized that the situation is going to be worse than it had been before the Revolution.
- (13b) With her parents and her brother. (The two of them left together.)
- (13c) Yes. At the time, the crossing of the border toward Austria was a commercial enterprise, done by people who knew the roads and the spots where the AVH or Soviet units were stationed.
- (13d) She did not have any; at the time, she only wanted to leave Hungary. She does not want to elaborate about those factors mg which
 convinced her to chose America. **REMP** (Respondent practically
 dictated this sentence in English.)
- (13e) She would have tak taught but felt pretty weak to be able to continue her profession under the regime of Kader.
- (14)a) The answer is affirmative, The X international prestige of the Hungarian nation was manufold increased and Respondent feels

that the Revolution will play an important part in the internal development of the nation.

- (14b) No
- (14c) Nothing.
- (14d) Doesn't know.
- Has no opinion. (14e)
- Maleter, Kovacs. (14f)
- (14g) She doesn't believe in heroes.
- (14h) Young intellectuals, members of armed units (officers and soldiers alike), unskilled workers, non-collectivites peasants. In essence, each social group was represented.
- (141)Yes.
- (14j)Yes.
- (14k) Was one of the preparers of the Revolution.
- (141) She couldn't define it.

(la) Teacher of backward children.

not only

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A In Hungary, by backward children those individuals are designated whose intelligence is defective, but also those who are deaf, mute, blind.

Actually, she was a therapist/for insane people.

Her job, besides teaching, included testing with slight psych0logical coloring.

In Hungary, her degree entitled her to perform so-called psychological work - yet, she personally felt that she was not adequately prepared for it.

Psychology, as such, ceased to be taught at Hungarian universities in '49 - this decree, like every other decree issued during the last decade, was modified and sometimes not taken into consideration. This meant that actually courses in psychology were given at different universities but the subject taught consisted mainlik of Soviet psychology or of out-dated Western psychology. From the point of view of the history of culture, these courses were rather interesting. But, necessarily, the students in "psychology" were not able

**Example And In Psychology to acquire the same amount/knowledge their colleagues in Western universities were or, for that matter, those Hungarian students in psychology who graduated before '49. And in practice no Western developments were introduced in Hungarian pack psychological institutes was became more and more obsolete.

She thinks that it is worthwhile mentioning that her teacher,

Kardos, who is an excellent psychologist, im in the Western sense of the word, held public seminars in which he demonstrated that Western psychology is not founded on a scientific basis. One of his pet lectures was Freudism or Scientific Psychology, in which he proved, of course, that Freudism has no scientific basis whatsoever. Of course, he knew better, his students knew better, and even the public knew better. So, there was a silent understanding between the lecturers and his public - everybody knew that he meant the contrary of what he was saying. Double talk became a refined art in Hungary. Coming back to the original thought, Kardos's contention about Freudism becoming society game in Hungary, during the Horthy regime, was true. (This was the situation Illyes so splendidly caricatured in his play entitled: Lelekbuvar.)

The biggest absurdities taught were: the defects are results of social conmittions - the part heredity played was almost reduced to nothing - which thus improved social conditions erase defects.

- (1b) Wholesale merchant in mm costume jewelry until the cessation of private sector; lately inspector in a watch repair cooperative.
- (2) Theraputic pedagogue teacher.

Lately she was not employed by the state but gave private treatments at home.

(2b) Teaching of backward children, of juvenile deliquents.

Age range: 6-18-even 20.

The curing was not the central problem, as it should have been. Backward children were put to work. It is undoubter v true that work, per se, has a therapatic effect, but their are so many other ways to bring about a cure which mx were not tak? into consideration in Hungary.

Classes were not divided according to the differen t types of defects the pupils had, as should have been the case.

Corporal punishment was a constant problem. Generally, the noble theories remained theories and in practice the unfortunate pupils, rather patients, were beaten by their impatient teachers.

(2c) From '53 to '56.

In the afternoons, she privately treated individual cases.

(2de) The last institute was at Szentendre - it actually consisted of a therapmeutic - pedagogical class functioning within a regular school.

> The equipment was rather poor; of course, even an excellent, up to date equipment could not have been a www.kkwx substitute for an adequately trained pedagogical staff. The poor psychological background to cope with the children (normal and am abnormal) was sadly evident.

- She was deeply interested in the life the children who were kept (3)a) in institutes were leading - sometimes she stayed all day long, although she didn't have to, in order to get a complete picture.
- The poor scholastic background of the teaching staff. (3b)

- (3c) Not applicable.
- (4ab) Was too young at the time.
- (4c) 1,160 forints.
- (4e) She paid about 100-120 forints of taxes (peace loans, trade union fees, tax for absense of issue, etc.)
- (4f) She never received any premiums it would have been indeed a noteworthy event if somebody had received it for his or her performed work and not for being "in line" with the Party's policies.
- (4g) Private treatment.
- (4h) An average worker who had no political backing made about the same salary she did.
- (4i) The salary of a physician was equal to hers and his chances of being promoted were also financially midentical.

* The high school teachers beginning wint salary was less than hers - high school teachers were pitifully remunerated. They were we obliged to give in the afternoons private lessons and thus had no time to prepare for their classes. This accounts for the low scholastic level and it also explains the fact that high school teachers were more than willing to accept bribes from parents.

- (5) Four hours but she travelled four hours, too.
- (5a) Six.
- (5b) Many times voluntarily.
- (5cd) Communist holidays were always celebrated, but two or three days were also given for Christmas and Easter vacation. Sometimes, they

SECTION W

Holidays depended on the mometary political situation. For instance, the 7th of November became the greatest national holiday. (The anniversary of the Russian Revolution.) When the cult of personalitities was "erased" then the birthdays of Stalin and Rakosi were not wim celebrated anymore.

- (5ef) Due to the shortage of fuel - thus/punctuality of trains, lateness was understood and forgiven.
- (6)b) Bearable
- (6cd) Doesn't apply.

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- (6e) By train.
- (7a) In essence, people having similar salaries live under similar economic circumstances.
- (7b) Technical problems caused annoyances but the relations were, nevertheless, good.
- (7c) Of course.
- (7d) To the extent people are generally frank to each other. People are generally sincere to each other; life in a Communist country demands from the part of the people - whether Party members or not - a terrific amount of hypocrisy.

Generally a school principal had to be a Party member. (This

was true 98 percent.) The job entailed many advantages plus a much higher salary then that of the highest paid teachers.

- (7e) Naturally, she preferred to be with those with whom she could discuss professional subjects.
- (7f) It is human to have antipathies and sympathies.
- (7g) In an obligatory way see obligatory seminars.
- (7h) Yes, pressure was exerted on Party and non-Party members alike.
- (7i) Yes.
- (7k) In People's Democracies, the Trade Unions have no function their duties don't consist anymore to fight for better wages, better working conditions, for the bettering of the workers' lives generally because these are assured by the socialistic state apparatus.

 ("Did I learn my seminar lesson well?")
- (71) Its duties consisted of vacation and recreationm arrangements.
- (7m) She doesn't know.
- (7n) She was no more a in government service at the time when they were created.
- (78) s She does not know this expression.
- (7p) With great difficulties.
- (7q) Neutrality was equated with political unreliability.
- (7r) A great number.
- (7s) Starting from 1953, the professional background of a person was taken more and more in consideration. (However, this situation did not apply to therapeutic pedagogy.)

- (7t) Activities centering around the kaders were constantly going on.
- (7u) She did not have any contact with them.
- (8a) After receiving a degree, the holders of the respective degrees had to accept the jobs to which they were assigned. After two years, there were some slight chances for them to become situated in the field which actually corresponded to their interests.
- (8b) She is more interested in giving individual treatments then in teaching.
- (8d) Since her early childhood, she was attracted by the so-called social problems, and she loves to help the underdog. Furthermore, she is attracted by so-called "responsible", scientific work.
- (8e) No.
- (8f) This depends on what is understood by "carger". This With great difficulty, she could have managed to fulfill a position which would have most corresponded to her sphere of interests. Actually, this search for finding the right position made her leave her country. She believed less and less in the possibility of finding it in Hungary.
- (8g) Everybody likes to/acknowledged in his own field. Everbody likes to have his work appreciated work which he performs to the best of his abilities -/this is called success, in that case everybody wants to be successful.
- (8i) She'd love a modest but comfortable apartment furnished with many

books and records - she would attend many concerts, theater and opera performances and travel.

- (8j) T Distance gives to everything a new color viewing things rationally, no; viewing them emotionally, yes. Thus, looking at them objectively, no.
- (8k) She is a great believer in freedom. Thus she does not believe in exercising pressure.
- (9a) There were five and four were working.
- (9b) They did change they deteriorated.
- (9c) One could not afford to buy luxery articles from an average salary.
- (9d) Her parents earned less. Her mother was the administrator of at the watchrepair cooperative where her father worked as an inspector.
- (9e) 200-300 forints rented apartment.
- (9f) they couldn't afford to paint the apartment.
- (9g) About 300 forints a week, on a family basis.
- (9h) The most necessary 100-200 forints per month.
- (9i) Everything.
- (9j) 80 monthly payment for electricity and gas.
- (9k) She does not know. All she knows is that it constituted a problem, also firewithker financially.
- (91) SZTK.
- (9n) He did not go for a vacation.

 Radio 10 forints; movies 20 forints; cigarettes 20-30

monthly; alcohol - nothing; she usually read books and newspapers in libraries.

- (10) No.
- (10a) She felt this mostly in connection with her parents.
- (10b) Yes.
- (10c) Russians.
- (10e) Didn't make sense in the eyes of those who had to pay them.
- (10f) She is not well versed economically.
- (10g) Oh, God, yes.
- (lla) No.
- (11b) Yes.
- (11c) As a result of the economic suppression, the cultural situation was also miserable certain books were not published for years: the works of Babits, Koskztolanyi, Karinthy were not available for years. When the finally were published, an introductory note told you how different passages were to be interpreted.
- (11d) Doesn't know.
- (11e) It ameliorated for sometime, then it stagnated and later deteriorated.
- (11g) Did not believe in it.
- (11h) Believed in it but it could not have been carried out.
- (11i) No.
- (11j) It was equally bad.
- (12a) She believes in being able to free herself of financial conditions.

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Of course, there is a certain minimum which is necessary.

In a cultural field. (There were years, when whole passages (12b)from the works of Shakespeare and Moliere were West out.)

Only Marxist philosophy was taught - the rest of the philosophical schools were only mentioned to be rejected.

There .as no private life.

Cr pulsory seminars.

Deportations - "marked" people.

The kulak problem. (It wasn't enough to deprize im of his finamicial goods, he was tortured, in addition.)

(12c) Deported people.

Kulaks.

Intelligentsia. (They had no time and no money to study further.

- Doesn't know about it. (12d)
- They could not express it. (12e)
- In the majority of cases, courageously. (12f)

- (la) 1938 '53.
- (1b) Teachers diploma in therapeutic pedagogy.
- (1c) Teachers' College therapeubic pedagogy.
- (2a) High school, college.
- (2b) No.
- (2c) No.
- (2d) No.
- (2e) At college.
- (2f) She loved it it's her profession.
- (3a) She wanted a diploma in psychology.
- (3) No.
- (3b) She's more interested in psychology then in anything elsex.
- (3c) Due to the political suppression, psychology is not taught anymore in Hungary,
- (4) No.
- (4ab) See above.
- (4d) Definitely, for the last years she could have done what she really would have loved to do
- (5a)b) See above.
- (5c) No.
- (5d) It was closely related to psychology.
- (6) Good.
- (6a) She loved studying.
- (7a) No. Partly because her political views were known, partly because

- she was considered a class alien. The unanimous verdict of her high school teachers was that no university should accept her.

 As a high school student, she went to a Jewish denominational school, she did not subscribe the petition which asked the state to nationalize the particular school and did not sign that petition either which demanded, in connection with the Mindszenty trial, that the cardinal be punished. In order to make up for her past "crimes", she worked for three months, without remuneration, after k graduation, doing all types of office chores, in order to change the "verdict" of her ex-teachers.
- (7b) Many. As a matter of fact, she even had to pay tuition during the first year. (500 forints.)

Who? Those who subcribed to the policies of the system.

- (8a) In Hungary, there is no free choice.
 - The courses to be taken during one particular school year, are prescribed.
- (8b) She loved political economy, but she was not particularly attracted to Marxism.
- (8c) She objects to the compulsory teaching of the Russian language a language, which, in itself, is very interesting.
- (8d) Each pakkwit political subject is interesting in itself, if taught properly; in Hungary, generally, the ideological subjects were not taught by people who had the necessary background to do it. Actually, the so-called "teaching" consisted in their reading

passages from the works of Marx and Lenin.

SHe personally is extremely attracted by philosphical trends and she first finds extremely interesting those parts of Marxism which relate to dialectics. (Actually they should be attached more to the name of Hegel then to that of Marx.) And yet, the materialistic attitude is "foreign" to her because she doesn't have enough courage to proclaim herself with 100 percent certitude and atheist.

- (8e) Her class was the last one for whom it was not obligatory.

 So, she doesn't know much about it.
- (8f) Generally she dislikes "obligatory" things. She believes in sports, she believes in a healthy mind"inhabiting" a healthy body, but...
- (9) It was extremely effective, even though it achieved the contrary results of what it aimed to achieve. Proof to the above statement is furnished by the Revolution, in which the youth, educated by the Communists, had a very important part, in the positive sense of the word.
- (9a) It "tuned" them against the Communist society.

 Akos Dudka and Tibor Dery wrote about this during the Revolution.
- (9b) No.
- (9c) Communist slogans will always be remembered but not with the meaning attached to them by the Communists.

- (9d) The question is vague.
- (9e) If the child hears in family circles the contrary of what he is being taught at school, the teachings of the schools cannot bring the desired results. (The influence of the family is much stronger, from this point of view; the school teaches, the ducation is given by the family.)
- (9f) Doesn't know to what this question is specifically referred to.
- (10)a) Middle class.
- (10b) Notapplicable.
- (11) "Declassé"elements.
- (12)a) He was a wholesele merchant before 1914; after '44, he became a small industrialist (manufactured costume jewelry); later he took a job.
- (12b) He has been employed by the state since 1951.
- (12c) Since 1951, his salary was ridiculously low.

Before '44, his commercial contacts tied him to the West - after '44, there was no possibility for him to keep the above-mentioned contacts.

Coming back to the low salary earned during the past five years, this hurt him and thus his wife and his daughter and family generally more pshchologically then financially. For a man to be unable to provide for his family is a very discouraging feeling.

(13) Very well - in the bourgeois sense of the word. She was given private lessons in different languages and also learned how to

play the piano; furthermore, the whole family went each year for a month's vacation on the Lake Balaton.

- (13a) See above.
- (14) When?
- (14a) One died.
- (14b) Grandmother, parents and younger brother.
- (14c) This way it was easier to make ends meet.
- (15) Her grandmother took core of the household, here younger brother went to high school and later was accepted at medical school.
- (16) It was to her disadvantage,
- (16a) She was stamped as a clas alien.
- (17) No.
- (18-21) Not applicable.
- (22) The relationship was extremely good.
- (23) Yes.
- (23a) Everybody was overjoyed to be able to talk free.

 They usually would listen to Western broadcasts and cuss them.
- (24) The question is not clear.
- (25) She could not respect her parents more then she does.
- (26a) Very close.
- (26b) It was a typical form of good family life.
- (26c) She read and attended theater, opera performances, and also went to

concerts, whenever the occasion presented itself.

- (26d) They played chess, cards, listened to the radio and made excursions.
- (26e) In a Communist society there is very little free time.
- (26f) She would have loved to study more psychology.
- (27b) Not everywhere.
- (27c) Sometimes, yes.
- (27d) Generally, no.
- (27e) There is a great difference between urban and rural life, so, there is a difference also from the point of view of family life.
- (28) Yes.
- (28a) The respect for the female sex was strongly undermined and thuse the relationship between girls and boys underwent big changes.
- (28b) Marriages are concluded at a very early age and luck does not always accompany them.
- (28c) To a great extent. The forms of the social relations changed and, as part of this, also the courtship and marriage. During the past few years, though, people started to realize more and

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more that the forms also have their significance, if used with the proper contents. (Boys again started to give small gifts to girls and again they started to accompany them home.)

She herself does not agree with the type of life which emhasized formality, but she wholeheartedly disagrees with its opposite, too. IN any human relationship, she's for an attitude which expresses respect and love.

- (28e) Not officially.
- (28f) They were more strict especially with Party members in their cases, the purity of family life was demanded.
- (28g) Children should be born only to those parents who can take care of them properly.

Due to the extremely difficult financial situation, brought about by the Communist regime, many couples practiced birth control. Yet, for years this was prohmibited very strictly. Recently, under certain circumstances (lack of financial means, illness, advanced age, many children) birth control was practiced.

It is a inutile to add that even during the times of the strictest at rules, abortions were performed, if the respective party was willing to make financial sacrifices.

- (29)a) Judge.
- (29b) 25 years old; he belonged to the middle class.
- (29c) They discussed politics, literature, individual grievances.
- (29d) Of course.

- (29e) No.
- (29f) Yes, he stayed in Hungary.
- (29g) "A friend in need is a friend indeed." (Respondent said this in English.)
- (29h) She cannot imagine to be friends with anybody who is not just as strong a believer in the idea of freedom as she is.
- (30) Jewish.
- (30a) Their attitude was very similiar.
- (30b) She believes in religion being a private affair to the extent that she even resents being interviewed on this score, she laughing-ly added.
- (31ab) Yes. Church attendance and other religious movements were strongly restricted and sometimes even prohibited. (For Party members, for instance.)
- (31c) Their activities were very restricted. (Denominational schools had been nationalized.)
- (31d) Partly because idealism and materialism are incompatible and partly because the Reformed and Catholic churches had a strong influence on their followers that's why the Party felt endangered.
- (31e) Ultimately the goal was to liquidate religion; meanwhile, the Communists tried to use their remenants for their own purposes.

 (Peace priests.)
- (31f) It was directed against both. Of course, the leaders who represented their followers, had a much more difficult situation.

- (1) Very much, especially from the age of 1.5-22.
 Today she is less interested.
- (la) It is everybody's duty to find out what is happensing in the world and his own country.
- (1b) She was merely an observer.
- (1c) The sphere of her interest was quite big.
- (ld) Once she played a part in a cabaret. (She participated in an election.) And at one time she was, automatically, a member of the DISZ.
- (le) There was no difference between her and her environment, from this point of view.
- (lf) See question (1)
- (2) She had to travel a lot in order to get to her working place she had to get up at 5:00 a.m.

She did not have the possibility to become a psychologist.

The restrictions in cultural life were extremely unpleasant.

(press policy)

The accompanying tortures of being labelled a class alien were y unbelieveable great. A

- (2a) She would find them equally unbearable.
- (2b) IX, XI, VI, III.
- (2c) I, II, IV, VI, VII, IX.
- (2d) III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX.
- (2e) IV, VI, VII, IX, X, XI.

- (2f) Many, due to their background or their social feeling of responsibility, saw the very difficult situation at many individuals from various social strata and believed that under the aegis of Communism, this will be solved. But, when they saw that no solution was arrived at, they became gradually disappointed.
- (2g) In the early morning hours, when she was unable to find a seat in the crowded train which was taking her to her employment place, she felt the weight of everyday's worries.
- (2h) She talked this cree with her friends.
- (21) Efforts were made to improve the situation: the pressure put on religiour life was somewhat released, more emphasis was put on family life, national consciousness was restored to a certain degree (some traditions were revived) and improvements were put into effect in connection with the housing situation.

She personally tried to improve her situation and she achieved to be transferred to Budapest.

- (3) She sympathized with the so-called radical party (Bala Zsolt) the aspirations of which were closest to her own.
- (3b) No.
- (3c) <u>V</u>.
- (3d) As the Communist Party did less and less for the benefits of the majority of the populations, her opinion of it became worse and worse.
- (3e) Many felt the way she did, but didn't dare voice their opinion -

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INADVERTENT MISNUMBER

ING. CONTINUITY IS

CORRECT.

and of course, there were many who didn't feel the way she did.

that the terror was so strong; there could have been a passive resistance, though, and she actually always objected against its not being more widespread. Of course, it was extremely difficult to carry out - it was an everyday job: not applaud when everybody else was applauding, not approve of things one had to approve of, etc.

The peasants were the only ones who resisted successfully - in silence.

- (4) The Soviet Union.
- (4a) She knows for sure that no decision of major importance was taken without Moscow having its say.
- (4b) The Party.
- (4c) Within the Party, the real power was in the hands of the socalled Moscovites.
- (5) The Soviet Union.
- (5a) Puppet show.
- (5b) Cabaret.
- (5c) No. Everything was directed by the Party.
- (5d) There was no change in the size of bureaucracy; it used to be tremendous and was tremendous.
- (5e) Yes, due to the extremely low salaries, teachers were liable to

be bribed.

- (5f) Workers' and peasants' kaders were the prime requisites.

 Many advantages were connected with these jobs good salaries, comfortable living quarters, etc.
- (6a) There was no advantage connected with being a simple member disadvantages were connected though with refusing to become a member.
- (6b) Joining was almost automatic.
- (6c) She doesn't recall exactely; in back of her mind, she remembers vaguely some recruiting tactics, but she did not attribute them any importance.
- (6d) Declare: no, I will not join.
- (6e) There was so much bitterness, that disappointment, and hurt feelings in connection with the system that some of the youngsters refused to enter an organization which was supposed to represent the youth of the system.
- (6f) Yes.
- (6g) In 1951, she did not say: no, I want won't join.
- (6h) None.
- (61) None.
- (6j) None.
- (6k) It didn't take any time at all because she never attended the meetings.
- (7a) Nobody.
- there
 (7b) MEE Mostly careerists and knew were some who agreed with the system

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and there were also some - actually many ~ who did it to save their lives.

- (7c) He partakes in Party movements and meetings, & pays membership fees, attends seminars and is allowed to go to Party school.
- (7d) Same as those enumerated under sub-question (c).
- (7e) Many. A great part joined in the beginning and some joined later when they would get some advantages.
- (7f) There were some who were not able to counterbalance either their background or their clerical attitude. *
- (7g) No.
- (7h,i,k) Not applicable.
- (71) They might have forgiven her background.
- (7m) She had difficulties getting transferred to Budapest and never received any premiums.
- (7n) 1) Workers.
 - 2) Intelligentsia.
 - 3) Peasantry.
- (70) To a great extent.
- (7p) The Soviet Communist Party and its representatives in Hungary.
 - (?) Few, r,s,t,u the influence of the Party is extremely great.
- (8)a) Trade Union.
- (8b) In order to exist one had to be a member of some type of organization.
- (8c) Trade Unions, DISZ, the Soviet-Hungarian Society, etc.

- (8d) As each of the mass organizations was under the influence of the Party, the people's opinion of the Party influenced their opinion about the respective organizations.
- (8e) Trade Union.
- (8f) Teachers' Trade Union.
- See sub-question (b). (8g)
- (8h) Attend some meetings, pay membership fees.
- (8i) It should have represented the interests of people grouped under the same profession.
- The membership in itself did not bring people closer to x each (8j) other.
- (8k) She never met any leaders.
- (81) She doesn't know.
- (8m) Doesn't know.
- (8n) Varied, rather negative.
- (8o) She did not approve of any.
- Generally people disapproved & of the Party. This was done by (8p) outsiders and by those who had been disappointed in the Party.
- (9)a) Actually, the DISZ functioned only nominally.

Communist education achieved awaitement exactely the contrary of its goals. That part of the youth which was explicitly anti-Communist (and this meant the greater part of it) easily took the power in its hands within the framework of the DISZ.

which were made publicity known.

X

(10) This a subject she doesn't know too much about. As far as she could observe, the rank and file members a had either a peasant or a workers background. The core of the officers was mainly composed of people with a middle class background. The best way she could describe them was that they had no direct contact work with productive/and were no intemplectuals either. Yet, it was a known fact that also chemists and physicians make worked in the AVH. This fact was inferred from the confessions - only after having been "prepared" do people make the type of confessions

There certainly must have been an age limit - and this probably was no secret either. Politically, one had to assume that they were blindly executing the Party's policies. She does not believe that the AVH had any political convictions at all - they must have been primitive people who were incapable of seeing beyond themselves. These are the ones who under any system adopt the obligatory political conception.

- (10c) This probably depended assignment, on their character and maybe it was originally fear which drove them to the AVH. (The latter view might be worth considering.)
- (10d) Definitely. Being an informer was usually a part-time job and, unfortunately, it wouldn't be too far away from the truth if one said that in a Communist Party everybody, at one time or another, played the part of an informer.

Actually, one should make a difference between the parttime and fulltime informers (the latter were the ones who made a profession out of a hobby), even if on their identification card their "employment" was not stated (or was substituted with another type of workk).

- (11) No.
- (12) In a form of state in which the secret police played an increasingly big part, one has to be a psychologist in order to survive. Of course, no precise prescriptions were hanced out different people in different situations gave millions of variants.
- (12a) The eventual dangers were not depending on professions one could encounter danger in each profession. Nevertheless, it was true that certain positions leading positions in any profession were "riskier" than the minor ones.
- (12b) Many advantages could be deriged from a right political attitude.
- (higher salary, more comfortable way of life.) But if the individual did not have the qualities of a weather-cock, his downfall was imminent. As the currents within the Party were constantly changing, a good nose was imperative.
- (12c) Of course it is pleasant to be connected with the right type of people this is true in each most system.
- (12d) It is definitely an advantage. A person without a peasant kacer trying to achieve the same things one with a genuine peasant

kader easily achieved, had to put in twice as much energy and even then was not assured of success.

- (12e) Always.
- (12f) In most cases, yes.
- (12g) There were certain periods when a persecution wave or campaign touched more a certain group of people then it did others. (In connection with the Mindszenty trials, the g Catholic clergy was put on the spot.)
- (13) The most interesting organization, from a political viewpoint, in was the AVH. Actually it had a separate court which ix so-called serious cases did not function at all there were no sentences, people simply disappeared.

Sometime the counst were obliged to bring sentences a priori.

Judicial independence was violated. (Either the judges were told what type of sentence to bring, or so-called assessors were brought into the picture whose judgment, whose sentenceing was enforced; during the course of a trial, the presence of one judge was necessary, but two assessors had the right to overrule the judge. These assessors were "in line" politically.

The blue police was the most deckent - if such a word can be used in connection with such a subject - actually, it would be more accurate to say that the police was relatively decent.

(13a) Each one was unjust in equal proportions. But a sentence brought in a petty offense could not be so heavy as one which pertained to

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a different sphere of the law.

The older judges who had an excellent legal training and were (13b) decent in addition had great difficulties adopting themselves to the new terroristic legal forms - that's why they were pushed into the backgorund and relieved of their jobs.

> The new generation of judges started out on their careers without any moral basisx Im fulfill the demands of their very difficult positions. (Of course, judging is only difficult if it constitutes a problem; a judgment has no value unless it is adequate; imprisonment of a person should be correctional thus should deter him from the road of criminal actions; in order to achieve this, society has to be on a very high level and the guardians of jails be cultured.)

The sentences brought at against class aliens were repulsive the size of the punishment was not determined by that of the crime but the social position of the individual.

- (13c) As general dissatisfaction grew, the dissatisfaction within the AVH increased more and more. From a certain point of view, it matured slower within AVH circles but other viewpoints, their dissatisfaction took greater proportions. (They had reasons to be afraid.)
- Definitely. In recent times, the AVH units were reduced in (14) size and a difference was noticeable in the methods applied.
- (14a) Their methods applied at trials to force confessions changed. (It

is a known fact that every human being, with proper "preparation" confesses anything - the human will has its limits.)

- (14b) Yes, "the healthy spirit of criticism and self-criticism started to develope." (Actually, these expressions contained wisdom if one is able to separate them from Communist experiences.)
- (15) Very great.
- (15a) The questions of great significance which affected Hungary's international situation were invariably decided in Moscow.
- (15b) The above statement is based on personal experiences. She carefully observed the political situation through the media at her disposal: press and radio.
- (15c) It was evident in the policies of the whole government, but espescially in those of the following ministries: defense, foreign
 affairs, and department of the interior.

There were hardly any exceptions to this, although it happened sometimes, that at the head of a ministry a politician be placed who was not an extremist: the cases of Darvas, Ortutay, and Dezso Keresztury as ministers of Remarks people's Culture and public education.

- (15d) No.
- (15e) In industry and agriculture.

In the latter field, Communists met their greatest opponents, even if silent,-the peasants.

Being attached to the soil and love it deeply is an instinctive

feeling (the simplified religious conception is a result of the former) the Communist dogmas could not cope with.

As stated, the greatest resistance came from the peasants because that's where the greatest pressure was.

She does not know the answer to the question where the Soviet influence was the weakest.

- (15f) She personally had no contacts whatsoever with enterprises, but she heard about the presence of Russian advisors.
- (16) Do they ever behave they would want to? Of course, in a Communist regime, they don't behave that way either.

An ideal form of government is the prime requisite for people to approach the stage where they would indeed behave they would not indeed behave they would want to.

- (16a) They are afraid. Afraid of reprisals and afraid of being misunderstood.
- (16b) She has so many examples at her fingertips that it would be worthless to point to a single one.
- (16de) That depended where the political xx center of interest was concentrated upon. (There were periods when a so-called clen(cal attitude was labelled a sin and others when the adherents of bourgeois literature and philosophy or of modern art were labelled criminals, etc.)
- (17) Possibilities are always given.
- (17a) Of course. Since the creation of laws, the interpretation of

them is a chapter apart in the science of law - that's how lawyers make a living.

- (17b) She is pretty sure of it, but at the moment she can't think of any examples.
- (17c) By maneuvering.
- (17d) Through personal contacts or through changes in the political situation. (One couldn't go very wrong on counting on them.)
- (17e) The intechange of labor, based on personal decisions, was frowned upon.

Actually, only an independent person (one who had not family) could permit himself the luxery to risk giving up his jcb who voluntarily. An independent personse had greater changes - from a psychological point of view, also - to achieve this because he was not afraid.

- (17f) She knows of a number of cases when students went to work in factories and later the factories themselves recommended them for further study.
- (18) According to her opinion, two types of people have chances to be successful: 1) Those who belonged to a compromising type and 2) those who can skillfully circumvent laws and decree s.
- (19a) The poor quality of the work rendered (this was not always don, consciously) can be conceived as a form of resistance; about the peasantry it was known that it did makes lots of maneuvering when it came to the compulsory deliveries; the intelligentsia

(especially those placed in high positions) also resisted passively.

- (19b) The peasants (the so-called kulaks, smallholders), and the ex-
- entirely correspond to reality because, in the final analysis, they were the ones who turned against the kek regime, namely the youth. Ex The psychological explanation: it is very hard to bear responsibilities and gratitude), thus, not as result of a political attitude but as a result of their particular situation.

A strange duality characterized the latter category of people:
on one hand, they fought against the remenants of the bourgeoise,
on the other hand, they tried to put into effect for themselves
whatever they liked in the bourgeios culture. Of course, it is
almost an impossibility m to have a society where each member is
should be given the possibilities of becoming a bourgeois. (Social
injustices are inherent in the structure of any society and it is
only natural that these injustices produces remorse in artistsindividuals who feel and think deeper then others - but nevertheless, it is a fact that some than fill themselves and others
cannot. Even in the case of equal chances, the capabilities
are not equal.)

- (19d) It increased.
- (19e) In many cases it was individual, but within the intelligentsia the existence of certain groups was known.

(19f) The fact that within the Party there were fractions were was no secret. Thus, she believes that certain resistance existed also within the Party.

The youth is/known to be ready to oppose - sometimes even what is good.

The resistance of the writers was unquestionably the strongest.

- (19g) The Writers' Union became the stroghold of the resistance and the most "resisting" articles were written by the former wildest Communists. (Hay); those who are going to have an honorable place in Hungarian literature, due to their literary zifts, resisted even then when Communism was at its peak: Illyes, Dery, Juhasz, and not only then when resistance was "en vogue".
- (19h) They were circulating in secrecy.

The official funny paper the Ludas Matyi caricatured only those mistakes which were acknowledged by the Party. (in a healthy political system, one should be able to make a joke in reference to the most "sacred" things.)

- (19i) About the poor quality of the work see sub-question (a).
- (19j) About the fractions see sub-question (f).
- (19k) The organization of resistance was not possible and yet, as stated before, there were groups within the circle of the intelligentsia.
- (191) She doesn't know much about the MEFESZ.

 The Petofi Circle brought also in deeds the new spirit of

healthy criticismk; its debates were greeted with much interest and tremendous wake enthusiasm.

During the course of debates, not only political questions were touched, but also pedagogical and scientific ones.

A She herself assisted at one debate - the atmosphere was unbelieveably marvelous - it was the first place where, under the aegis of the Communist banner, a counter-opinion did wax not meet with reprisals.

- (la) Radio, newspapers.
- (1b) News received from reliable persons.
- (2a) Szabad Nép, Művelt Nep, Irodalmi Ujság, Magyar Nemzet. Élet és Tudomány and Csillag.
- (2b) Regularly.
- (2c)' She wanted to be informed as much as it was possible.
- (2d) The ads they give one a pretty clear picture of a country's life.
- (2e) Not regularly.
- (2f) Articles concerned with literature.
- (2g) This depended on the particular newspaper or magazine.
- (2h) Seldom.
- (2i) Wall newspapers were concerned with local news the newspapers related about events which concerned the whole country.
- (2j) Generally, local news about political events.
- (2k) Seldom.
- (21) Partly in king libraries and partly in the homes of some acquaintances.
- She saw them so seldom that she could not form a precise about them; generally they threw a completely different light on political events this new perspective definitely widened her political horizon.
- (3) Once or twice.
- (3a) That depended entirely on where those movies were shown which she

wanted to see.

- (3b) Neo-realistic films x (Danish, Italian, French.), like:

 Sunday in the Park (Italian-French)

 The Game is Forbidden (Danish)

 Forbidden Games (French)

 Moulin Rouge (American)
- (3c) The above movies were concerned with eternal human problems.
- (3d) If they were good (for instance, Romeo and Juliet, a Soviet film with the music of Prokofieff, then she loved them.
- Yes, see above, but she also saw Hungarian movies, like: Ward Num9,
 ber Xeveaxx Deryne.

 If Hungarian movies were good, she liked them just as much the
 foreign ones.
- (3f) See above.
- (3g) Man Seldom. Movies were more easily accessible.
- (3h) National, Kamara, Nepi Hadsereg Theaters, depending on the place.
- (3i) To a great extent: Madach was not played for years. And for a long time social realistic plays Soviet ones prevailed.
- (4) Yes.
- (4b) 40-50.
- (4c) Akos Dudkai: Holnap Varosa (Tomorrow's City)
 Thornton Wilder: The Bridge of San Luis Rey
 Thomas Mann: Zauberberg (The Magic Mountain)
 Hemingway: A Farewell to Arms

- (4d) She loves to read literature which brings peace messages.
- (4e) Partly she heard about them, partly she read about them.
- (4f) Yes. Western technical books were not easily accessible. The dean of her school had to issue a statement m according to m which she was politically mature enough to read them.

For years, writers like Babits, Laszlo Nemethex, Lorinc Szabo

And for years, librarians had to make reports about what each reader was reading. Actually, it took courage to askm for Aldous Huxley's Brave New World.

- (5) Yes.
- (5b) Orion.
- (5c) Budapest, Voice of America, BBC, Radio Free Europe. (The latter's broadcasts were repulsive.) And occasionally to Radio Paris.

 She tried to be as well informed as possible.
- (5d) News and music.
- (5e) Two-three hours; mostly in the evenings, starting from six o'clock.
- (5f) At home.
- (5g) Concerts.
- (5c) Yes, see above.
- (5bc) See above.
- (5d) See question (5e)
- () They were not always reliable.
- () See the abominable part Radio Free Europe played during the

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Revolution.

- (7b) Literary lectures Academy of Max Music.
- (7c) She went voluntarily.
- (7d) Once twice monthly.
- (7e) Ferenc Karinthy's lecture about his father.

 Dudka's lecture about Ady.

 Recitals given by Oszkar Ascher, etc.
- (7f) She wouldn't know.
- (7g) Two-three hours.
- (7h) It is safe to assume that those people who were there were definitely interested.
- (7i) This was not customary.
- (8) Naturally.
- (8a) Political and every other type.
- (8b) From friends, acquaintances, colleagues, and in streetcar: listening to strangers.
- (8c) At a newsstand, she heard reports about a meeting held in the Petofi Circle which she herself had attended. The contents were completely distorted although the good intentions of the speaker were indeed visible.
- (8d) This depended entirely upon the realibility or un reliability of the respective person.
- (8e) Mixed.
- (8f) What news didn't she hear by word of mouth?

Where didn't she hear them? (8g)

€8:

12...

18

13.

- Family circle and that of friends. (8h)
- Those who had access to Western papers newspapermen, writers, (81) and those who returned from abread.
- It was more secure to discuss them at home then anywhere else. (83)
- Those who had been imprisoned could, naturally, give informa-(8k) 18 tion about prison conditions.
- Gyula I?lyés had written an article about Lorincz Szabó, 3% (81) (8) the publication of which was not permitted. She read it "illegally" (a friend of hers werk brought it), actually the article consisted of nothing more than an objective criticism of Lorinc Szabo. Bit, apparently, one was not allowed to talk objectively about zabo because that necessarily meant to acknowledge him as a (8. great literary figure.
- (9) As far as she was concerned, she had no access to reliable news about events in the Hungarian Party.
- ((91) The broadcasts of BBC m and Voice of America.

Sometimes, through friends mostly, she received some foreign newspapers.

In the so-called "Dokumentacios Kozpont" (Center of Documentation) every foreign publication was available but, as far as she was concerned, they were not accessible.

A friend of hers worked in the above mentioned center and he was the one who, occasionally, stole some issues of The Readers

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Digest.

Actually, not even technical publications were available to those interested in them - she knows of a case where an engineer friend of hers could not get an article (in English) about rail-roads.

- (9b) She would listen to domestic sports news or simply ask her brother who read the "Sportujsag" from A to Z.
- (9c) The family had an old friend, an excellent economist, who, in '47 and '48, had worked in the Prime Minister's office; this friend had nothing else to do but read all day for the last six years he was unable to get a job and ate each day at a different friend's house.
- (10a) This depended entirely upon the particular newspaper and upon the particular period of the life of the respective newspaper and on the momentary political situation. The reliability of the Irodalmi Ujsag and of the Csillag kept increasing during the years.
- (10c) M After the 20th Congress, domestic newspapers became more reliable, as far as internal events were concerned.
- (10d) News about America Test least reliable, even after the 20th Congress.
- (10e) In essence, Radio Petofi and Kossuth were one.
- (10fg) Its aspiration which kept increasing and thus became more and more x apparent, namely that literature should present the totality of life, in its domestic and foreign variants.
- (11) Due to the ever increasing dissatisfaction, more and more people

tried to find out the reasons for it.

- Mostly those who were deeply dissatisfied and/or disappointed. (11a)
- Mostly those who were associated closely with the functioning (11b) of the regime.
- Radio, newspapers, wirel circle of friends. (12)
- Way? How can one answer this question? (12a)
- Western and domestic broadcasts were equally important. (12b)
- They had friends working at the railroad company. (12c)
- She heard about them but doesn't know anything concrete. (13)
- Does not know the truth about it. (13b)
- Does not know. (13c)

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- Never found out and/if he had been guilty he should not have been (13d) killed. She does not believe in capital punishment.
- All she knows is that it exists. (13e)
- it probably was a movement similar to the Hungarian Revolution. (13f)
- 'hile at home, never heard about them. (13g)

Here, she personally would not get involved in any Hungarian movement.

(1) Free elections? Whether they would be held on a sound basis is a question and a problem - one has to ask oneself whether the pre oppression of the long years might not cause apathy or whether the emergence of the hitherto deeply buried emotions would not create some type of political extremes.

SECTION I

Let's assume though that free elections would be held. As a result, independent political parties would be established, the freedom of the press would be granted and each political party would have its own daily paper.

Assuming, again, that the elections were indeed held on a sound basis, the forming of the government would have to play an important part . it certainly should extent beyond the establishment of sound dowstic and foreign policy to the field of properly guided education - the importance of the latter is decisive with respect to the forming of them future.

In the field of foreign policy, it would be imperative to find a good fore gn minister.

- (la) State management should be continued in the case of large industrial plants, mines, and in the field of agriculture, as far as the peasant peasantries willing to go along with it.
- (2a,b,c) It would be simple to say "yes", but she would not dare state it that simply.

Based on one's personal experiences, on the teachings of world history, it certainly would be an ideal thing to say that free

political parties have a ground for existence; yet, at the same time, it would be correct to make sure that the leadership would be in the ma hands of people who are capable of manum assuming the necessary responsibility. Maybe Hungary would come under this chapter - maybe the nation did arrive to this point of its maturity - after the present regime works me removed.

(It would very wrong to let irresponsible elements gain power in order for them to be in a position where they could play politics.)

Sound freedom of expression can be achieved only within the framework of a multi-party system.

Yes. All people should be free to say anything they want but (3a) a distinction should be made when deciding whose word should carry weight.

> A country which has the right type of government there should arise no swell question which could not be discussed publically. It is definitely right that people should say anything they please.

If the majority of the people were satisfied, only a very small (35) percentage would say harmful things. However, if an individual decides that he wants to say something harmful, then he should be permitted to do so because it is better to let him get it off his chest then to suppress it. - Suppressed feelings might be

the hotbed for dormant anti-state activities.

- (4) Yes, within the proper a "setting".
- While, on one hand, it is right for people to voice their opinions about the activities of the government, on the other hand, it is definitely adviseable to avoid the possibility of clashes between the police and the participants of meetings. Such clashes would invariably lead to crists in the life of the state.
- (4bc) Assuming that manifested dissatisfaction comes to the knowledge of the government and the government tries to introduce corrective measurespectament then, in such cases it is implicitly acviseable to permit the holding of meetings.
- (4e) Respondent does not maker believed that armed were uprisings are justified.

At a certain level &-of course, axe for this proper leaders are necessary - everything can be taken care of at a round table.

- (5) Yes.
- (5a) Within an industrial branch, the state-designated representatives of the totality of the workers could supposedly better represent the interests of the latter then those individuals whose aim would be private profit.
- (5b) She is unable to make a clear distinction. She feels, though, tlat, as a compromise, state guidance would be advisable. State owners be ship would/the ideal solution in case the state had the proper functionaries to accomplish this task.

JLB

- (5c) Not applicable.
- (5d) She does not object to 50, but she/for state few control.
- (6) Yes.
- (6a) See question (5a).

 Within the Sove framethough, individuals ideas should be honored.
- (6b) She doesn't know the answer to this.
- (6c) Not applicable.
- (7) Yes.
- (7a) There are certain basic requirements which should be handled by the state and not be put at the whim of private interests.
- (7b) Fuel, tobacco, food articles, if possible, etc.
- (7c) She does not know.
- (8g) She is firmly convinced that each "sound statelife" is based on planning, to a certain degree. It is definitely correct that the state keep in mind its own interests and not those of foreign powers.
- (8b) Planning should be based on the economic xex resources and on the kam labor pool of the respective country.
- (8c) Neither worked out but this fact does not deduct from the value of government planning, as such it is nothing but a proof that it was not done right.
- (%d) If the plans are rigid and no place is given to mementary adjustments, then the planning is bad.

- (9) She is in favor of it.
- (9a) Transportation is also a pasic requirement and it is adviscable to have it under state guidance, if not in state ownership.
- (9b) No.
- (10) She is for it.
- (10a) It is a a state's duty to assure work possibilities for its citizens.
- (10b) She does tot see any.
- (10c) She would love to live decently without being compelled to pay for 'Co
- (11) De initely, private life.
- (11a) It is within a wx human's right to have his individual freedom guaranteed.
- (11) The question of freedom of religion.

 She does not think that churches should play a great part in the political and economic life of a country. This question seems to be an eternal problem in world history.
- (12' Definitely.
- (1'a) Not applicable.
- (2b,c,d,e,) Yes, all of them.
- (12f) Of course this refers to a type of government which approaches the ideal one.
- (13) No.

She knows little about the economic structure of the capitalist states - she doesn't know the proportions between private ownership,

knowledge about the relationship between the workers taking part in productions and their employers; in other words, she does the not know the factors in/name of which she could measure the capitalistic economic structure against the Communist one.

And yet, she kant has the feeling that even if she knew them, she would be inclined to approve of the socialistic mx economy - d the latter is a later step in the evolution of manking and serves more the idea of universal progress.

- (14) Yes.
- (14a) Great flaws could be discerned in the quality.
- (14b) Wider groups of the population were able to afford medical care.

 Primarily the workers and the peasants.
- (14c) It is natural that if a physician is more interested financially, e than the care he provides is more embracing.
- (14d) Good.
- (1Le) None.
- (14f) Not applicable.
- (11,g) She was treated several times and well.
- (15) Yes.
- (15a) In a way it was made obligatory.
- (15b) She did not need it to be compelled.
- (15c) Naturally.
- (15d) She knows of a group which was not taken care of well, from this

point of view either: the teachers.

- (15e) This depends entirely on the individual.
- (15f) Financial means are necessary. If one really wants something, one finds time for it.
- (16) Better today.
- (16a) Better than in 1940 and better than in 1946.
- Respondent that thinks that the Hungarian citizen eats better today then in '40 and '46.
- (16c) No changes are noticeable if compared to 1950.
- (16de) There is a certain group which was worse off also from the point of view than in '40: the ex-middle class.

Of course, those who have better wages can afford more and better food.

It is also true, though, that almost everybody had the possibility to procure the most necessary food items.

During the months preceeding the Revolution, the food situation improved considerably.

- (17a) Certain stratum is better off and certain stratum is worse off.
- (17b) The situation is the same as described i under sub-question (a).
- (17c) There is no noticeable difference between '56 and '50, although in '50, the quality was extremely poor and there was no place given to fashion considerations.
- (17d) She did not close her eyes.
- (17e) It should be pointed out that various strata of the population had

various requirements - even if the same financial conditions were assured through various strata, they certainly would not spend on clothing morey in equal proportions.

- (18) Yes.
- (18a) Because the goal of the economy was industrialization.
- (18b) To a my common certain degree, yes, but it isn't "a good thing" if symm branches of industry are established which do not have the proper economic basis.
- (18c) les sir.
- (19a) She approves of the collective character of agriculture to a certain degree, but only inasmuch as the peasantry is willing to go along with it. The two tendencies collective and privately owned farms should be side by side.
- (195) Let the peasantry decide.
- (29c) If representatives accepted by the peasantry, would discuss this problem, in that case the result would be a healthy and proportionate division of the farming land between private and collective owners.
- (19d) Their fate should be identical with that of the land.
- (19f) She does not know the answer. The She is under the impression, though, that this will depend upon the claims of the former owners and man especially upon the opinion of the peasantry in the final analysis, the latter should carry more weight then any other consideration.

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- (19g) She's under the impression that this the proper answer to this question constitutes a problem even to those who are much more versed in political and economic problems then she is.
- (19h) That would be the ideal.
- (19i)She does not know their structure.
- (20ab) Their fate would be an outcome of the decisions brought to the above problems.
- (20c) She does not know the answer.
- (20b)She does not have any first-hand knowledge, but she has the feeling that that particular field was not exempt of mistakes either.
- (20e) She is a strong believer in widening the horizon of the peasantry from each point of view.
- (2].) It is correct, to a certain degree, to assure the workers a certain part in the leadership of factories and the enterprises by always taking into consideration the competence. Nevertheless, it would be a catastrophic mistake if workers decided in questions which pertained to the fieldsof engineers and experts.
- (2la) The labor unions should protect the interests of the workers.
- (21b) Completely.
- (alc) It should not be compulsory.
- (2ld) None.
- (2le) It did not represent any particular hardship.
- (22)According to Respondent's opinion, every man, no matter what

political mistakes or errom he has committed, should be granted a place in society. Reprisals should be reduced to the absolute minimum. Reprisals only leave the punished individuals with a thirds for revenge.

- Of course not. Within the Party not everyone carried the same (22a) weight, thus equal treatment would be a great mistake.
- In a multi-party xx system, the existence of a Communist Party (22b) is justified. In such case, leaders are needed. So, let the ex-leaders be the future leaders.
- They should try to find their place in the healthy new government. (22c)
- (22d) Same.
- During recent years, this was not strong. Youth should be granted (22e) the right to partake in organized life, but, in the future, its m coloring should not be political.
- Reprisals should be reduced to the absolute minimum also as far (22f) as the AVH and police personnel is concerned.
- She does not know. (22g)
- The liquidation of the AVH and of the Party. (22h)
- In the beginning, a great part of attention was focused on the (23) youth and extensive organizational m life was brought into being. But as the years went on this diminished little by little, until it ceased completely.

In the field of education, permanent and more regular artificial changes were made retmanently,

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in each scholastic year new schoolbooks appeared and axx schools generally restricted their activities to teaching and neglected education.

As the Communist system lost more and more ground, and lost its feeling of security, at the same time less attention was paid to the youth, although the chief theoreticians of Communism especially Lenin - assure in the works, at least, a place of honor to the youth.

Each form of state/perceives its own perspective, naturally, wants to take care of the youth, the depository of its continuityg. This was not true during the last years in Hungary.

The difference lies in the administration of the schools - during (23a) the past system, the majority were denominational, during the present system, they were public, at thus centrally directed.

> From the above it is evident that changes took place in the setup of the educational material - changes which were sometimes advantageous to the pupils and sometimes disadvantageous.

According to Respondent's opinion, the scientific view which had been ousted from the rigidly dogmatic denominational schools on the basis that the scientific attitude was equated with atheism, gained ground gradually. It is true, of course, that even from a scientific view one can arrive at theism a or/amother world view for that matter but it is also true that in the education of a lucid-minded youth the presenting of scientific reasoning

is absolutely necessary.

According to Respondent, an extremely harmful innovation was the introduction of everyday politics in scholastic material. Thile it is undoubtedly made correct to talk about politics with children who have reached a certain level of maturity, it is incorrect to confuse children, on an elementary level, at an age where their individual judgment is not developed yet. An illustrational durings the cult of personalitizes, pages were consecrated to Stalin and company. Later, the pages remained in the books but deep silence enveloped them - this gave the children a feeling of insecurity.

masses were being taught as in the previous system. Especially in the beginning, forement tremendous amount of advantages were heaped upon those who had nothing else but a good kader. Among the advantages, were high positions. Pretty soon it was realized, though, that without the necessary scholastic background they were completely unable to fulfill the requirements of their positions. Intensive courses were devised for them which, alas, did not help the majority. The Communist leaders had to realize that in order to fulfill the requirements of managerial positions, a good kade-in itself was not enough. They had to wait for the next generation of good kaders. This new generation, educated under better circumstances then their parents had been, did possess the necessary capacities to assimilate the scholastic material. So,

everybody had to arrive at the conclusion which was never voiced that in scholastic fields class-thoughts don't have a place and if somewhere freedom is needed, in the interest of progress, that it is necessarily and primarily in the scientific world.

The part of the teachers was made unbelieveably difficult
the thesis about the leading part of the teacher in education

to

remained a theory which was never put in/practice. Pupils were

given grades a priori according to their background. This the system which proclaimed itself the implementor of freedom,

developed in each field the new theory of the value of ancestry.

And finally it should be mentioned that there was a period in education when each & scientific or technical accomplishment had to be tied to the name of a Soviet inventor - that was the spirit of the century.

- (23b) In the name of the newly-founded ancestry theory, the offspring of workers and peasants were given enormous advantages in the beginning, any socialistically minded person was inclined to approve of this, but later with discrimination could not be justified even from an economic viewpoint.
- (23c) It is unquestionably correct to give everybody the right and the possibility to study.

Before 1944, with the exception of some religious discrimination, everybody, without regard to his social background, was given the right to study; but the financial possibilities did not accompany the right; maybe in this field the new systems in fees novations were welcome: tuitions were minimal and, in most cases,

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He expenses and the books were made so cheap that they were easily accessible to anybody who wanted to study.

- (23d) If With regard to the scholastic material, starting from '53 the trend in practice before '44 was more and more adopted, namely the so-called liberal education. Early specialization was pushed more and more into the background. In order to give a liberal education, the state has to be well off financially and it is only fair to acknowledge the fact that in recent years stress was put on the fact that children should go to school for a longer period of time and thus acquire wider and higher qualifications.
- (24ab) According to Respondent's opinion, the ideal would be completely separate the church from the state. It is not right for any church to interfere with the affairs of the state. The attention of the church should be centered around faith.
- (24c) Yet, each church needs a financial basis and this should be provided by the state.
- (24d) That view according to which receiving a religious education toward was considered a sin **Explication** the regime, was undoubtedly erroneous. And yet, she does not believe that religious education of should be made obligative.

In connection with the above, a tremendous problem can be brought up which could be called the question of morel education. Although the previous regime did not succeed in implementation.

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menting a deeply moral world view, nevertheless, the duty of a religious education is to give a moral basis. Makarenko, a great Russian pedagogue, also sees clearly that, by ousting religious education, the a great vacuum is created - the youth is not given any more a moral support. Another fact which should be emperphasized is the importance of teaching the Bible. As a conclusion, according to her, the ideal would be if one divised an educational system rich in moral examples which also taught wik Ethics, as such, and made the study of the Bible obligatory, with-

(Weltonschanung)
She believes in an education which does not give any world view. (24e) Stated differently: the world view of which is no world view.

She does not believe that any historical event taken in itself (25) would be so important as to attach to it a world historical significance, but if we look at the evolution of Hungary from the viewpoint of the forming of world history, we could witness all those events which are considered having a world history significance as part of Hungary's history.

> If Western culture had been infiltrated into the broad masses of the Hungarian nation, then, she believes, that the history of the last 35 years would not have been so rich in catastrophies.

The guiding spirits of Hungarianism, like Széchenyi, always stressed the importance of Western orientation. During recent years, due to Hungary's geographical position and on the basis of decisions taken by great powers, Hungary was pushed to the

East.

Nevertheless, she feels that if not Hungary in itself, we did some Hungarians, reached and deepend Western culture (Szentgyorgyi, Bartok, Ady, Jozsef, Madach, Babits, Illyes, Arany.)

- (26) She does not believe that any government was popular in Hungary.

 Arrow Cross government was a mass hysteria.
- (26a) Hungary's national independence was afflicted. Thus, the problem of the rights of national minorities became burning. (Ady).
- (26b) There was unemplyoyment.
- (26c) In essence, yes.
- (26d) In one phase of makingd's evolution, feudalism was a necessity thus it was neither bad nor good. If it continued today, it would be bad.
- (26e) Only a very small stratum benefited.
- (26f) Horribly great if they had not been, the Communist Party could not have assumed a leading part, Although, it should be noted that the Communist Party was not made by proletarians.
- (26g) Neutrality would have been the answer; but, she does not know whether it could have been carried out.
- (26h) In order for the period in MR question to take place, the miserable years preceding it were necessary. After '45m, the great desire of revival was noticeable. After the horrowns of the war, in the majority of the Hungarian society a decisive, healthy, constructive tendency was prevalent. Unfortunately than though,

the Ramk Babel-like confusion which existed between the Party and their leaders resulted in the shift to the extreme left.

She believes that even those who spoke an identical language misunderstood each other. Furthermore, that if one had given thought to the intensions behind their expressions, more understanding and harmony - a progress without touching extremes could have resulted. In the same order my of ideas, maybe it would be worth mentioning that the confusions of our days might be partly due to the so-called diplomatic language. What should be emphasized, though, beyond the obligatory politeness is, within the diplomatic language, the respect of the given works

(27)The Hungarain national character definitely exist, Features which are generally accepted as characteristic are: the socalled "virtus" (paywess, gallantry, bravura), quickiess of temper, and the so-often mentioned fighting makes spirit.

(27a,b,c,) Definitely.

- (27d) Yes, the maturity brought on by the last years actually diminished the fighting spirit. (In essence, the armed Revolution was not done by grown-ups.)
- (27e) Who could answer this question?
- (27f) Between social classes there are also differences in character, among many other differences.
- Until those generations live who remember a map of the old "great" (28)Hungary, the question of territorial right will be a latent

problem.

- (28ab) The problem is too complex to answer it with a simple "yes" or "no".
- (28c) Those territories where the national feeling is so strong that even after having been annexed to the body of another state, the Hungarian language is maintained and cannot be superfeded by the respective state's language. Furthermore, where in the cultural field, Hungarian national traditions are demanded, those territories will have to be given back to Hungary or at least have their autonomy assured.
- (28d) Rumania, &x Czechoslavakia, Yugoslavia, Russia.
- (28f) She does not believe that it exists in the hearts of the people.
- (28g) Not applicable.
- (28h) Conflicts are instigated, there is no doubt about it; this ker weans that they can be eliminated through proper education and by fulin filling each nation's rightful claims.
- (28i, j, k, 1) She has no presixpresk precise knowledge on this score.
- (28m) Very bad.
- (28n) No.

This question has two sides: 1) Whether the Hungarians consider the Jews Hungarians and 2) whether the Jews consider themselves Hungarians.

Jews are mark more or less unconsciously fired Jews and then Hungarians . This attitude could be the result of the hatred

Jewish characteristic. She, herself, is not convinced whether the Jews are entitled to such attitude when living in a state other than Israel. On the other hand, the recommendation of dubious values. (Respondent asked me to make a note at the end of this ment section to the effect that she herself was Jewish.)

- (29) A federation would be an excellent solution.
- (29a) Each member's internal politics should be assured and a new type of unitarian external politics adopted.
- (29b) The above mentioned external politics should be the pivot.
- (29c) The countries should have equal rights and duties.
- (29.) She would not know the difference.
- (0) Russians are human just like any other humans are.
- (20a) Within the Soviet Union there are tremendous national differences.
- \$2(30b) T Being human they are good and bad.
- (30c) Of course not.
- (30d) No.
- (30e) All depended whether their actions were called liberation or selze. Those who felt that the Russians had assaulted Budapest and Hungary, generally, hated them, of course.
- (30f) As the Soviet suppression was tremendous, the hatred toward the Russians was also tremendous.
- (30g) In essence the same,

- (31) It is an extremely interesting historical-cultural phenomenin the product of a scholar who looked at society without taking
 into consideration human nature.
- (3la) It deals with the problems of the broader masses.
- (31b) Those answers which "solve" the problems of the broader masses.
- (31cd) She studied Marxism in secondary school and high school. For about six years.
- (3le) As many as Soviet Communists did.
- (31g) No, she doesn't think so.
- (31h) Even less.
- (31i) Partyly. Their thesis about the revolutionizing of the world coincides.
- (311) Definitely yes.
- (31k) She couldn't define it, a although she does have the feeling that she herself is a good democrat.
- (311) In 1947.
- (31m) Tito is Tito and nothing else.
- (32) She doesn't know too much about it. National Communism was created by Tito and it is **Tikken** Titoism.
- (32a) Probably.
- (32b) She couldn't answer in detail.
- (32cd) She doesn't know too much about it.
- (32e) & Definitely.
- (33) Yes.

- (33a) A form of democracy.
- (34a) Does not exist.
- (34b) Bad.
- (34c) Bad.
- (34d) Does not know.
- (34e) Bad.
- (34f) Good.
- (34g) Isn't good either.
- (34h) What type of a movement is it?
- (35) There are many Hungarians and thus many answers to this these questions
- (36a) Fifty-fifty.
- (36b) Less.
- (36c) Less.
- (36d) Much less.
- (36e) More.
- (36f) Lawyers and teachers less, physicians more.
- (36g) More.
- (36h) More.
- (36i) Much muchem much more.
- (36j) Less than some (peace priests) (more).
- (36k) Less.
- (361) Less.
- (37a) Less.

- (37b)This category did not exist.
- (37c) More.
- (37d) More.
- (37e) Less
- (37h) The fate of artists and actors was always good.
- (37kl) More.
- £2(38a) Their interests do not conflict and do not coincide.
- (38b) Same.
- (38c) Conflict.
- (38d) Do not conflict but do not coincide either.
- (38e) Same as (d).
- (38f) Same as (d).
- (38g) Same as (d).
- She doesn't believe in the past always continuing in the future. (38h)
- If an aristocrat happened to be an intellectual then his interest (38i) coincided with those of the intelligentsia.
- If an aristocrat happened to be part of the intelligentsia his (381) interest coincided with those of the workers.
- (38k) Conflict.
- (29) In case of war, the problem of the regime would not pose it elf the max country would be completely unanimous depending on t.e wh enemy from the outside; the question of the regime would again emerge after the war and then the population would be unanimously against anti- amount of regime.

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(39a) Only those would not fight against it who would be afraid of reprisals.

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- (1) No not officially. (Privately, Respondent asked me millions of questions which did not stop with the interview but continued during a long correspondence which is still going on.)
- (la) She would be extremely interested in the results of the Project's findings.
- (1b) Regardless whether the interviewee in itself would be interesting or not, the material furnished with will neccessarily be interesting ting for an American project.
- (1c) If the interviewer knows unconsciously and consciously how to handle people, there is not danger. If he does not have thise very important faculty, any urging on her part to beware of langer would come too late.
- (ld) Depending on what type of person the interviewer is. She was 100 percent honest, which she always tries to be. But, in addition, a she was make 100 percent willing to rack her brains in order to give answers to the best of her ability. The latter effort is a compliment to the interviewer's ability.
- (le) Within the listed categories, she cannot think of one additional question.
- (2a) Yes, she feels she would like to go back to Hungary, but her desires, in connection with this, are limited to windwested visits. She would not want to live "eternally" in Hungary, even if real freedom were finally established in that unfortunate country.
- (3) If she met the other interviewersk, she might be able to give

suggestions about how things should not be done.

On the basis of this one interview, she feels that it has been a work of art which she thoroughly enjoyed. (Respondent insisted and made me promise that I would be put her remarks in word for word.) She only wishes for herself and for her fellow refugees, that they should meet with so much understanding to as she has met in the offices of the Project.

- (3a) She doesn't know about any.
- (3b) The way she would write, would not be interesting from a political viewpoint. And from a literary viewpoint, it definitely would have flaws.
- (3d) If she had good friends among Hungarian refugees, she would recommend them, if for nothing else then procuring them, an unexpected pleasure. She is sorry that she is unable to further furnish us with one single name.

After one session, which finished about 8:00 p.m., Respondent came to my hotel and she interviewed me about America untilk way past midnight. Although the questions asked were extremely revealing, I cannot repeat them as I promised not to.

Ax: All I can say, as a conclusion, is that I enjoyed this interview as much as she seemed to enjoy hers.