

(1)

Respondent talked to a relative of his, a French woman, one day before the revolution broke out. This lady had been in Budapest around the '30s and respondent asked her what the difference between the present and the past was in her estimation. She felt that the atmosphere was completely changed, that at present there was a gloominess, grayness, restlessness in Hungary--"Fear can be detected, something will happen."--she asserted. Before she came to Hungary she talked to a French Communist who told her; "Now, you'll see what real life is like." After she had seen this "real life", she will never forget it. And this is, according to the respondent, what every Westerner should know about the Hungarian situation: "There was no life in Hungary during the last decade."

(2a, b)

The ^{process} ~~process~~ started with the ^{death} ~~last~~ of Stalin, as a direct consequence of which, the Party tried to get closer to the West, But once started, the ^{process} ~~process~~ could not be stopped. The ghost was ~~conjured~~ ^{conjured}, but it could not be commanded any more.

The poem appeared in the Irodalmi Ujsag entitled "Ode to the West", in which a writer, (respondent forgets his name, but is fairly sure that he has been a Communist) asks who has the right to hinder the free citizens to travel?!

First term "tonalith"? was taken over by political papers-- a newspaper appeared the role of which was to represent a moderate reaction (Hetfoi Hirlap) for copies of which people were struggling to get hold of. This shows that

people were longing toward something which would contradict--even mildly--the regime, something which was close to the truth.

(2c)

At the time, respondent, during his summer vacation, worked in the County of Fejér ^{on} a state farm (Fish Hatcheries). He had to hitchhike for his meals--as a matter of fact, he was on the move about four hours a day traveling to and from the places he would get his meals. If he would ask the peasants to pick him up by addressing him "Good morning, Comrade", the peasant would spit in his direction. If he would say, "Good morning," the peasant would turn his head. But if he would say, "God give you a good morning," (Adj Isten, Jonapot) then the peasant would gladly offer him a ride on his horse wagon. ~~is~~ This too shows what the spiritual climate was like on a state farm. When Imre Nagy became premier this climate could be expressed with: "Something will happen soon." This The suppression of this mood contributed to the outbreak of the revolution.

(2d)

To the extent to which this again proved that the Soviet politics ~~was~~ ^{was} a policy of opportunism. "Serious" newspapers would be greeted as funny papers--"Whom are we going to rehabilitate today?!" was the question people would ask each other laughingly.

(2e)

See (2b). The events of Pögnan set an example which was arduously followed by Hungarians. During the revolution,

parallels would be drawn by Hungarian patriots. They would say: "The events from Požnan were small stuff compared to our revolution."

(2g) For an extended period, the situation was more than ridiculous: Rajk had been rehabilitated, but Rakosi was still not replaced. Everybody expected that, if the situation, will develop according to the outlines laid down at the 20th Congress, then Rakosi should be replaced. This did not happen. The situation was indeed queer. The Party condemned Rakosi's politics, and yet he was the secretary of the Party.

(2h) Stalin's death, of which the 20th Congress was the direct outgrowth.

(2i) Whenever there was a meeting of some type, and an official of the central committee of the Party spoke, everybody ~~see~~ expected him to announce a ~~an~~ exchange. As a matter of fact, on October 23 everybody expected Gerő to announce a big change.

(3a) The revolution was initiated by the student body. The standard of living of the students was extremely low. They were dissatisfied because of economic conditions, but they were more dissatisfied because of the spiritual obstacles they would be bumping into wherever they would be turning. Youth demands freedom, and this freedom was not granted to it during the Communist regime.

And when the newspapers gave vent to a discussion about approaching from a cultural ~~point~~ ^{of view} the West, this attitude was immediately condemned by a decree of the Party. One could not travel, there were border zones, and the minute somebody would approach the border zone leading to Austria or to the Soviet Union, he was suspicious.

Students were taught so much Marxism, Leninism, the history of the Bolsheviks that there was no time left for them to study their major field. Why was it necessary, in order to study what the person wanted to study, for him to study what he did not want to study, everybody asked.

As far as the personal history of respondent himself is concerned, he was not accepted at the university. He passed the admission exam (law) but he received a note that the administration of the university regrets that they cannot offer him a place. He appealed to the dean who turned him down. Then he asked them to for an audience with the minister of education, Albert Konya. The audience was granted. The minister was very kind and a few days afterwards, the respondent received again a negative answer. He wanted to appeal to the Party. He tried to, but he was flatly refused. His kader, his father used to work independently as a small industrialist, and this was enough to cut his son's career off forever.

Respondent was regarded as a class alien and this "stamp" could not ever be erased. →

The workers were also extremely dissatisfied because of the high norm system. The norms were constantly screwed up to a point where nobody could fulfill them. And even if they had fulfilled them, they still could not have gotten the salaries, ~~and~~ an Austrian worker would have gotten, for instance, for the same amount of work. Everybody was aware of this fact.

The peasants identified themselves 100 % with the revolution, although, it is true, there was no armed fighting in the villages, but there was no need for this. Each village took care of its own gangsters-- those who had served the regime--whether they were in the Party or not--by beating him to death and destroying everything he owned. The beating should not be taken in the lateral sense of the word. Sometimes the person was not beaten to death. All the respondent wanted to say was that he was well taken care of, to be silenced for the coming year. The people "taken care of" in this way, were those who served the regime in harming their fellow-man, but it is true that the Communist regime cannot very well be served otherwise.

The situation of the intellig^tencia was preposterous, namely that of the older generation. Respondent is referring to those who had had the proper schooling, and who

although ^{they} did not belong to the workers class, did not belong to the exploiters either. He is referring to people like chief engineers, for instance, who on the kader sheet were classified under "Others", and this classification was bad. It was usually applied to people who were of an older generation, whose knowledge was more ^{appreciated} ~~depreciated~~ during the previous regime, and who, in the comparison they made within themselves, had to realize that the previous regime was better. But this comparison was not only done within themselves. It was also done by the new leaders. And yet, it nevertheless held ~~true~~ true that the technical management of a factory could not be done with knowledge of Marxism. ^{So} ~~But~~ the chief engineer of the Horthy Regime had to be used, but his leader was a 25 years old young *man* whose only concern was to squeeze out of the factory what was prescribed. This brought the real technical manager into a situation when the Communist leaders thought that the lack of confidence was completely justified because they did not see that the machines were old, that the supply of material was bad. What they wanted to see was that the chief engineering ~~ing~~ was sabotaging. This situation was so general that ^{concrete} ~~complete~~ examples are unnecessary to be brought up.

The younger generation, due to the fact that they were younger, could only learn from the older ones, concerning the profession and trade. But, they wanted

to go one step further. They were interested in what was being done abroad. In order to find out, they had to go into libraries and study, but in the libraries they would *find* only the technical books of the ~~people's~~ ^{people's} Democracy--technical books they knew too well. That's another obstacle.

What type of people formed the new intelligencia^{ts}? The Hungarian peasant (who was an invincible ~~zaza~~ fort as far as Communism was concerned) did not send his children to universities, although children of peasants were accepted whether the entrance examination succeeded or not. The children of workers, even if they had wanted to, could not go because of the very difficult conditions their family was living in. They had to go out and make money as soon as possible. Thus, only the children of the old intellegencia^{ts} studied. This was one of the main complaints voiced by the party. Namely, that the social composition of the ~~an~~ student body is still *the same*. The Party tried to ~~remedy~~ ^{Remedy} the situation by giving special material help to workers' and peasant's children, but despite everything, it was still the previous middle class whose children were represented at the university, although the openings in different fields were extremely limited for them.

As far as the ~~m2~~ officers are concerned, they were for the regime. Till recently there was no need for a graduation certificate ^{From} of a secondary school to be

accepted at a military academy. In other words, the officers were the most narrow minded, the most stupid people of the Hungarian population, but it was not surprising. They were the ones who supported the regime.

(3c) Respondent couldn't answer why the revolution broke out exactly at the date it did break out, but the fact is that the literary and political fights would drag out for such a long time, that the situation was so unclear, that one simply had to get to a breaking point. X

It is interesting to note that ~~xx~~ even the students of the Lenin institute (where the Russian language, history of literature, Marxism, Leninism, history of the Soviet Union was taught in Russian by Russian professors and the students of which were mostly Communists) demonstrated vehemently against the system. In other words, there was a saturation, everybody was fed up for one reason or another.

(4) Yes, but it is never the less true that a force, or an organ which would have formulated this was in existence.

(4a, b, c) The students were printing in the ~~print~~ shop of the Szikra Print shop their claims; ~~8,10,12,14~~, etc. The most important, and generally asked demands were:

1. Immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops
2. The assurance of the country's independence
3. Free elections.

- (4d) Freedom of expression, of action, every possible type of freedom because every possible type of limitations of restrictions were in existence since the Communist Party took over.
- (4e) Russians go home.
- (4f) The country should be entitled to freely choose the road on which it desires to progress--this can only be done through free election.
- (4g) The slogans were: "Russians go home." "Free elections". These free elections would have been the answer to Hungary.
- (4h) A country should be free to voice its beliefs and these should be considered by all other countries as pertaining to the internal affairs of the respective states.
- (4i, j) The revolution was 100% against Communism. The fact that Communists joined can be explained that ^{there} ~~they~~ were two types ~~the~~ sized of people who were Party members:
1. Those who used their Party membership book as a bread coupon, and maybe one should include in this category those who joined because they were not able to size up the situation.
 2. The sadists and the gangsters (in this category belongs the AVOS)
- People from the first category did join. If the Russians had not intervened, the situation could not have possibly have developed as it did in Poland. After the free elections, the Party of Cardinal Mindzenty would have

come out victorious because the majority of the peasantry belongs to this Party. As far as the respondent is concerned, he could not have considered this tendency most suitable. He personally would have preferred the Social Democrats with rightist tendencies to take over--the attitudes are not Annakethly represents.

(4m) There are individuals, there are necessarily individual goals. But they were in no way in conflict with the central general goals.

(4o) The so-called Sadistic gangster stratum of the Communist Party--these people did not fight the revolution out of conviction (having no backbone, how could they have conviction?) but, because their material interests were at stake; and even more, their personal safety (these were the people who had denounced--because of them people were carried off, liquidated, thus they necessarily supported the regime out of sheer fear.

(6a) Respondent left the country on November 23, and until that day he took part in the revolution under one form or another. He had arms and fought, but did not belong to any group. He took part in two more serious armed fights. He was at the building of the Szabad Nep. He took part in the fights at the corner of the Szentkirly Street and at the Nyugati station was in the Buda at the Moscov circle and at the Moritz Zsigmond Circle. In other words, he was roaming around in the streets almost permanently.

- (6c) The fact that he took more part in the fight at the places he took part was more or less accidental.
- (6d) He knew that if the revolution would not succeed (until November 4, he had hoped that it would succeed) then he would have to answer for his actions in front of a court-- if he were around. The reasons for his not being around would have been either voluntary leaving of the country or his involuntary leaving (deportation).
- (6e) He would have been very ashamed. Everybody took part in one way or another.
- (6f) See (z).
- (7a) He saw a fight between Hungarian police and Hungarian soldiers. It happened on October 23 or 24. The place was the Thokoly Road in the 14th District. The police patrol of the 14th District did not want to surrender the arms the Freedom Fighters (around 80) were asking for and threatened the Freedom Fighters by saying that if they insist ^{they} ~~there~~ ~~were~~ will be shot at. The Freedom Fighters asked ~~for~~ ~~help~~ soldiers (30-40) to help which these boys did and with the help of two tanks disarmed the police patrol.

Talking about getting arms and ammunition, the factory of the 14th District manufactured ammunition and the Freedom Fighters had access to the arsenal of the above mentioned factory.

(7b)

He did not see any Russian soldier

But he did see Hungarian soldiers fight half heartedly at the outbreak of the revolution of October 23 in the Muzem Garden. The AVOs were shooting at the crowd and the 20-30 soldiers who were present, although gave their arms to the crowd, did not use them themselves. They left and allegedly went to the radio building.

(7c)

No.

(7d)

When the Russians came back (November 4) the soldiers of the barracks of Kerepesi Road were sent home. These soldiers fought the Russians after joining different groups of Freedom Fighters.

(8a)

See (6a).

(8b,c)

As far as respondent knows, individual fighters would be accepted by different groups.

Interesting to note that in the first three days of the revolution, if ~~the~~ a Freedom Fighter died, his ^{buddy} ~~body~~ immediately took the identification papers and made sure that they were given to the right person.

(8d,e,f)

Not applicable.

(8g)

The most varied type of people depending what type of group it was. The leaders were elected on the basis of the respect they inspired.

(8h)

Those persons were most suitable to become leaders who had smelled gun powder in the past; in other words, those who possessed the liberating power. In view of the fact

that the enemy was in numerical superiority, in view of the fact that the Hungarians were fighting against heavy odds, those people were most appreciated who used their brains and experience.

(81)§§

Not applicable.

(8k)j)

Partly through those individuals who would go from one group to another, and partly through the announcement of the Hungarian radio who helped indirectly by summoning § certain groups (calling them by names and giving the locations they were at) to surrender.

(8k,l,m,n)

Not applicable.

(8o)

According to respondent's opinion, there were no serious divergences relating to matters of principle; there were divergences of opinion as to what was going to happen after the revolution.

(8r)

Beautifully. There were no discriminations whatsoever. People would find themselves next to each other and never even ask what the name of the co-fighters was.

(8q)

Not applicable.

(9a)

Took part in the demonstration before the Parliament.

(9b)

Yes, generally speaking this was the most powerful weapon of the revolution and it showed the unity of the whole country with the exception of the food industry and the public services (water, gas, electricity) every branch of every industry was on strike, but it was publicly announced that if the workers of the Ssepel Factory would start work then the food industry would go on strike.

(8c)

This was accidental too, as so many happenings during the revolution. He was carrying two loaves of bread to a relative and while going to his relative's apartment, he gave the bread to the Freedom Fighters he encountered on the way en route.

(9d,e)

No.

(9f)

No.

agabá (9g,h)

He was at the corner of the Szentkirály and Rakoczi Road when somebody from somewhere shot at the crowd and it was amazing to note that in a matter of seconds the people looking, passersby would be armed and ready to fight too. This happened around November 8-10.

(9i)

People were driven by the events. He cannot motivate each of his actions. He just let himself be driven.

During the first day of the revolution he thought that in Hungary's present condition, she would not be able to fight. So for him the fact that she fought so brilliantly was a surprise and the fact that not only one stratum, but all social strata were represented and in the harmony there were which was unique in the history of Hungary was another tremendous surprise from which his soul will be fed for the coming years.

(9j)

Not applicable.

(10a)

During the revolution the most varied newspapers appeared in tremendous quantity. One of the touching features of the most interesting features of

this output of the new free press was that on November 4 the edition of Irodalmi Újság appeared only on half a sheet because the editing office was besieged while the paper was being printed.

Everybody read avidly the newspapers about the events of the past (the functioning of the AVH, and about the things of the Communist regime) and about the epoch which will follow the revolution.

(10b) Out of the Szabad Nep became Nepszabadsag and it pledged that it will not lie anymore. Of course, it did not become a popular paper, but it did become an interesting one. But in spite of the fact that at this point it was considered by some interesting, others tore it apart. He himself saw this happen at the Baross Square after November 4 when it was already kader's newspaper.

(10c) He listened to the domestic broadcasts, namely to the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe. Respondent had a very bad opinion about the latter. It was more scoop hunting than effective and it did not help the revolution at all. On the contrary; it made unequivocal hints about the help which will be coming from the West. The BBC was most objective before and during the revolution.

(10e) This means of communication was mostly used by members of the same family. They would call each other up to enquire whether any harm has happened, and if they

reciprocally reassured themselves, when they would give detailed descriptions of what had happened in their neighborhood.

(10f)

The most unreliable news came from those people who were never anywhere, but who would be talking about everything. The most reliable news came from those people who actually were present at the events, but of course, even in that case, one has to take everything with a grain of salt. ~~End~~

Before the revolution the news service was equal to zero. Only those news which were gnawed through by the Party would be printed, but thus, people would only subscribe to papers in factories ~~in~~ or in enterprises mostly that his superiors should see that he is reading them, but actually nobody was. As far as schools were concerned, each school had to subscribe to a certain number of Szabad Ifjusag (the newspaper of the DISZ). Pupils would read exclusively the sports column.

(10g)

~~a friend of his who came from Pecs~~ During the revolution, a friend of his came from Pecs to Budapest and told the respondent about the events which happened in the provinces.

Respondent himself traveled to a great part of the country (November 22-24 Pest--Csaszar--Gyor--Bosarkanyos--Mosonszentjanos.) Thus he got first hand news of the after effects of the revolution.

- (11a) The Party buildings were in the storm or were peacefully taken over. The organization stopped functioning. The Party members together with the informers from different enterprises were given over to revolutionaries Freedom Fighters.
- (11b) With the exception of a few cases, the police behaved decently. Usually they handed their arms over to the Freedom Fighters.
- (11c) The AVH would be hunted, and if found, they would be liquidated on the spot. Thus, they did not dare go on the streets. They did not have any identification cards, rather they did not dare show it; it would be more accurate to say that they did not want to show any identification cards because they had many with the same picture, but of course made out with different names. Most of them changed uniforms and were dressed as policemen but they could easily be detected because of the fact that the new police uniforms had black buttons. Another criterion which gave them away was the type of shoes they were wearing. The Russian officers had the same type.
- (11d) Does not know anything about the court.
- (11e) The officers were generally on the side of the regime and the soldiers generally fought whole-heartedly with the Freedom Fighters.

Under this chapter one could talk about the so-called green AVOs. They were performing patrolling duty at the

border and the bulk of them behaved very decently during the revolution. Respondent himself was guided by two such green AVOs, unless they were with Russian units they tried to help everybody by giving judgement and by telling where the Russians were.

(11f) Respondent thinks that the format of the trade union was not changed in enterprises.

(11g) The local councils took care of emergencies like assigning apartments to those whose apartments were destroyed during the revolution, or those who up till then had lived in shops or cellars. As a matter of fact, during the revolution, even offices and public buildings were assigned as apartments because of the great need.

(11h) Respondent knows only as much as appeared in newspapers or as much as app he heard on the radio. The ministries were closed.

(11i) Immense crowds went to Sunday services. It was more a demonstration against the regime as a manifestation of religious feeling.

(11j) During the revolution, nobody knew exactly what organization will be kept. It is the respondent's feeling that after the free elections, only those would have been kept which hadzshewazempz would have shown democratic tendencies, those which would have led the country toward a ~~dem~~ democratic form of government.

(11k)

Very few could be used. That's why the revolution was mostly depending on new organizations--Party.

(11 l)

Parties were revived, the Scout movement got new strength. and old sport clubs were revived

(11m)

As Imre Nagy was a Communist, he was dedicated to the idea of having the worker's counsel govern the state. But unfortunately, the workers' counsel did not have the authority they should have; it happened in many instances, that some people would be chased out of certain enterprises on the basis of individual actions and the workers' counsel would bring the decisions related to this days and days later. The scheme of their functioning was the following:

- Planned workers' counsel
- Enterprise workers' counsel
- District workers' counsel
- Budapest workers' counsel
- National workers' counsel

The problem was though that the National workers' counsel existed only in principle. Some of the representatives met, they did not represent the whole country, thus they did not, in their conferences with the government, carry weight.

(11n)

If after the revolution, Imre Nagy had taken matters into his hands, the government would have been Communist, but very moderate. And, as in a moderate Communist government, Western Parties could have been represented. This would necessarily have led to a democracy in the Western sense of the word.

- (12a) Respondent said, "I thought you knew that I came from Hungary."
- (12b) There definitely were differences. Those who were in cities were so afraid that they never knew where they were shot at, so they practically never knew where they were shooting at. But those troops who were stationed in the provinces were mostly composed of neutral people.
- (12d) Doesn't know about them.
- (12e) Not applicable.
- (12g f) He couldn't tell.
- (12g)
 1. Before October 23, they upheld the regime
 2. They ~~fight~~ fought the revolution
 3. They took over 100% the situation.
- (12h) Due to the fact that this system was built on the Soviet bayonets, ~~and~~ its situation in Hungary was untenable. With bayonets, one can terrorize the country, but no fakir can climb on top of them and stay there. This stunt was not yet produced by world history (Gallius) preceded
 The decision ~~preceded~~ the revolution.
- (13a) 415z
 Generally speaking this was desired by a greater part of Hungarian youth. They knew that in Austria they could achieve more during the period of one month than they could in Hungary during the period of many years. After November 4, respondent decided to leave because he had no possibilities of ever getting ahead (Less than before and before he had very light possibilities) and because he had taken part ~~partly~~ ~~in~~ in the revolution.

- (13b) With friends and parents and his twin brother with whom he came.
- (13c) The two of them decided that ~~they~~ if they would be captured they would not go to Siberia. Not even the Russians had the power to do that.
- (13d) The situation was very confused. All he knew was that he wanted to study further.
- (13e) He completely excluded the possibility of staying in Hungary.
- (14a,b,c) He, and many others, would do everything again. They might organize it better, but without Western help they could not succeed. Yes, he would like to do it again, and he feels that many young people feel the same way.
- (14d) The answer lies in the Hungarian nature, do something in spite of heavy odds. This "in spite of " explains the revolution, as it explained so many events during the course of the Hungarian history.
- (14e) Imre Nagy is a Communist, ^{thus} ~~but~~ he sees everything from this viewpoint; he might be well-intentioned, but he is a bad leader. Respondent doesn't understand Imre Nagy-- how he could stay a Communist when he was beat up in the literal and figurative sense of the word.
- (14f) Bela fought well, but is a shady character. It is a fact that he was imprisoned, but nevertheless, it is also a fact that he was a deputy of the Minister of the Interior. Tildy was a name, not a big brain and not a big politician, but he represented a period where there

was relative freedom. Respondent's opinion about Anna Kethly is good. She managed to keep her name pure, so to speak. Cardinal Mindszenty's speech was a perfect example of a man who said everything and said nothing. He should have been much more decisive. The situation itself was mixed up; why mix it up more?

(14g)

The youth.

(14h)

Writers, students, unskilled workers, skilled workers, soldiers, peasants, and white collar workers.

(14i)

No, it surprised him.

(14j)

No, it was another surprise.

(14k)

Yes, because at one point, the activities of the Petofi circle it suddenly became clear in what amazing minority the Communists were, even within the ^{sphere} ~~circle~~ of the Petofi Circle.

(14l)

The peasantry is not a revolutionary stratum, and yet, it supported the revolution whole-heartedly. It fed Budapest. Of course, the very fact that the compulsory deliveries were immediately wiped out, contributed to the enthusiasm with which the peasantry supported the revolution.

- (1a) He graduated secondary school in June and only worked for a couple weeks as a dispatcher at the Ikarusz Trust factory.
- (1b) His father is a chief storekeeper at a watch and precision tool shop.
- (2a) Ikarusz Export Trust Factory.
- (2b) He had to make reports about the supply situation of ~~Skazewz~~ Screws and nails.
- (2c) Dispatches.
- (2d) Two weeks.
- (2e) Yes, but he does not know too much about it.
- (2f) He didn't have too much time to look around.
- (3-4) Not applicable.
- (5) 8 hours.
- (5a) 8-4:30.
- (5b) 6 days.
- (5c) No.
- (5d) Yes.
- (5e) Not applicable.
- (5f) If he was late one minute, a whole half hour would be deducted. /If he had stayed away one day without justifying it, one day would have been deducted from his yearly vacation plus the lunch money for one whole month would have been deducted.
- (5g) Yes,
- (5i) The norm system was high.
- (5j~~zkz~~) Not applicable.

- (5k, 1) Has no knowledge about these problems.
- (6a) The work conditions were not too bad because it was a factory working for exports.
- (6b) The offices were crowded and the problem of ~~mixing~~ ^{ventilation} was not well solved. Neither was the heating.
- (6d) The product--the buses were of the worst quality. Everybody remarked that they only got to their place of destination (Burma) because they were shipped on trains. They would have never made it if they had been driven.
- (7a-j) Can answer that he had no personal contacts whatsoever. He suspected that there were many Communists and he knew that he had to envelope himself in deep silence at least for the time being while he would have a chance to observe.
- (7k) No. But
- (7l-o) He cannot answer.
- (7p) If the person happened to be indispensable.
- (7q) Under Communism, neutrality was not accepted--"Those who are not with us are against us."
- (7r) This was common knowledge in Hungary.
- (7s-v) Cannot answer.
- (8) Can only answer on a few points.
- (8g) f) Young people like himself (he is 18 years of age) had buried their future. His future was born the minute he left Hungary. (He intends to study psychology at a New York University.)
- (8g) (h) The person who does not strive to get ahead is not helped. The desire for success is the most natural human trait

and it was one of the biggest crimes of Communism that it tried to suppress it. The one who tried to get ahead was labelled as a "careerist" -- the one who tried to get ahead and succeeded was called an ambitious man, but the one who tried to get ahead and did not succeed was called a "careerist".

- (8i) He would have studied psychology and philosophy. In his spare time he would have gone to movies, theaters, and made excursions. He would like to dress properly and with all his heart and abilities whether he would be labelled "ambitious" or "careerist", he would like to get ahead.
- (8j) No, they did not.
- (8k) He believes in freedom and this applies also to the future of his children.
- (9a, b, c) His father who used to have a plant before the war (he manufactured substitutes for coffee) became unemployed in '50-'51-'52 after he had been a night watchman and after he had worked in a steel factory where accidents would happen daily and he just could not take the sight of them. His mother was obliged to work and his twin brother had to quit school and became an apprentice in a photo shop while before the war the family had everything and during the war up till '45 and '46 maybe '47 they used to live comfortably. Their economic situation deteriorated very much during the last ten years. As a matter of fact, without the help of an American uncle who would send them packages almost monthly they would have practically starved.

- (9d) 1. His father--1100; his mother 1000 forints
He--for two weeks, 700 forints; His brother, 250
- (9e) 180 forints. They had a one room apartment in an apart-
ment house.
- (9f) They were crowded, but, to look at the situation optimistically,
they always told themselves that it would be worse if they
had co-tenants.
- (9g) 1400. In this was included the food of two old relatives
who had no means of support and who had been deported.
- (9h) The minimum.
- (9i) His mother was the one who did the buying.
- (9j) 1000 forints were spent on fuel and there were many diffi-
culties in obtaining them. 100 forints for electricity and
no difficulties connected with it. They did not use any gas.
- (9l) Medical care was taken care of by Satk.
- (9m) Not applicable.
- (9n) Did not spend much on entertainment because he saved his
money to buy books.
- (10) ~~Definitely~~ Far from it.
- (10)(A) Definitely.
- (10b) Definitely.
- (10c) By the upper stratum of Communists and by the Soviet Union.
- (10d) Does not have any first hand information.
- (10e) Robbery done by the state.
- (10f) Does not know exactly how the country stood from this point
of view. All he knew was that under one label or another
Hungary gave a tremendous quantity of goods to the Soviet Union.

- (10g) Yes, at school.
- (11a)(a-e) After 1944, the economic life started to develop in a healthy direction, but since 1948, the Communist Party exploited the country for the benefit of the Soviet Union.
- (Bag 11f) It was a means used by the Communist Party to lay its hands on the power.
- (11g) Was a means used by the Communist Party to keep the Power.
- (11h) There is notelling now where it might have led the country because Imre Nagy did not have the power to carry his plan through. The fact is that it meant a breather for the country.
- (11i) Allegedly, there was a faction within the Communist Party which asserted that more consumer's goods should be manufactured instead of putting the emphasis on heavy industry because it is true that one should build Socialism, but it is just as true that meanwhile one should be able to live.
- (11j) Many stored goods came somehow to the surface during the revolution which meant that Hungary would be able to support herself economically if her goods would not be exported. It is an agricultural country ~~that~~ which means that its own soil is always at its disposal and its soil should be used to the best interests of the population.

- (12) Economic conditions are extremely important. This fact is just as visible in Hungary as in the United States. In this country people due to the general tremendous wealth, do not care about the world situation as they should, because in this way implicitly they do not seem to care about their own futures either.
- (12a) Respondent is no exception to the general rule.
- (12b) 1. The economic ~~and~~ situation
2. The exploitation of the country by the Russians
3. The lack of freedom in almost every field
- (12c) The most afflicted classes were the workers and the peasants.
- (12d) Has no knowledge about it.
- (12e,f) They were the ones who made the revolution.