

- (1) At the time of the revolution I was a soldier ^{at} ~~at~~ Gyer. There I received the news about the Revolution. I was told that old reactionary ~~xxxxxxx~~ Arrow Cross leaders started the revolution and that we too had to take ~~xxxxxx~~ up arms in its support. There in Gyer we didn't see the situation clearly. I heard that the AVO was disarmed and that the soldiers joined the revolution. The revolution could have succeeded if the Russians ~~g~~ would not have interfered and would not have sent foreign troops against the revolutionaries.
- (2) The revolution started when the students demonstrated in front of the Parliament on the 23rd of October.
- (2b) The main thing that contributed to the outbreak of the revolution was the twelve years oppression. The Russians promised that they would bring well being to the people, but they oppressed the urban population as well as the country people for twelve years. If the students would not have started the revolution, then nobody would have dared to do that and there would not have been a revolution. After Stalin's death the deeds of the latter were criticised, but soon after that the regime became more severe than in the Stalin era. That was the time when the ~~xxxxx~~ ^{TSCs} (Collective Farms) was organized. I do not know whether Imre Nagy's premiership from 1953 to 1955 did or did not contribute to the outbreak of the revolution. The reconciliation of Moscow with Tito did not contribute. The twentieth Congress did not play a big role in it since criticism was expressed even after the Congress, as a matter of fact the regime became even more strict in matters of criticism than before. I do not know about the ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{Foznan} events. After the replacement of Rak Rakosi the situation became a little less severe, but only for a half a year. After that time the regime became again strict. I do not know what the funeral of Rakj contributed.

Gomulka's return to power in October 19, 1956 influenced much the students. After this event the students asked for their rights in Hungary.

- (2c) No there is no such a point.
- (2e) The part played by the writers was very important, because the writers could keep the youth together and could help them in discussing the matters. I heard that the Petöfi Circle played an important role in the revolution.
- (2f) I haven't read newspapers at least not for the news, but only for sport events or stories.
- (3) ~~The major~~^{factors} ~~leading to the revolt~~ were the facts that the people did not have freedom, that while the Communist ~~pre~~ promised a high standard of living the standard of living in Hungary was the lowest possible, that the Russians exploited Hungary, exporting all the goods Hungary produced without returns and without leaving enough for the country's consumption. The Hungarian goods were sold on foreign markets for very low prices or for money which was given to the Russians. The Hungarians had not incentive to produce, since whatever they did the country became ~~poor~~ poorer and poorer.
- (3a) I wouldn't know that.
- (3b) There were not too many people in the control organizations. Once the masses revolted against the regime even with lack of arms and their sheer majority succeeded to disarm the AVE. The AVE was not helped neither by the soldiers nor the police.
- (3c) The people ~~in~~ who staged the demonstration of October 23 did not mean to start a revolution. They did not plan bloodshed, they only wanted to

received some allowances, concessions from the government. The AVH, however, ~~started~~ started to shoot into the crowd, and that's the way the revolution started.

- (3D) The AVH started to shoot into the crowd, the police were disarmed by the demonstrators and with the arms taken from the police the crowd started to fight the AVH. Later the soldiers helped the demonstrators, supplying them with ^{cars} ~~weapons~~ and arms.
- (3e) At first everybody's purpose was to get rid of the Russians and the Hungarian political leaders, but after achieving these purposes no doubt the different sections of the revolutionaries would have struggled among each other for power.
- (3f) Communists in higher positions ~~it~~ were opposed to the revolt.
- (3g) There were no neutrals. People were either with the revolution or they were Communists and were against it.
- (3h) The most popular slogans were : To Cease the existence of the AVH; To oust the Communists from the country's leadership.
^{anti}
- (3i) It was ~~anti~~-Communist.
- (3j) It meant that the Communists wanted to change our system of government and to annul the Communist laws.
- (3k) Only such Communists joined the revolt who were not Communists in their belief, who only joined the Communist party in order to be able to keep their jobs. For example there were such Communists who were office workers, who could have received other sorts of jobs but wanted to keep on working in the offices, and therefore joined the Communist party.
- (3l) Yes, most probably there were.

the revolution they resumed their powerful status.

- (9) I found out about the course of events through the radio. I listened to ^{Dunántúli} Radio Free Europe, to the ~~Hungarian~~ Radios (Dunántúl is the western part of Hungary, the territory west from the Danube), and to the Petőfi rádió.
- (9a) I do not know what part the newspapers played, because I haven't read any revolutionary newspaper.
- (9b) I heard about events from Budapest from soldier friends who served in Budapest. I heard that the Red Russians defeated them.
- (9c) I listened to the Petőfi rádió, to the Dunántúli rádió, to Free Europe Radió and as soon as I was back from the army I listened to English, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav radios, too. I avoided politics as much as I could, that's why I didn't even read newspapers.
- (10) The old regime was replaced, and the party organizations dissolved. These latter had no influence at all in the government. They didn't function at all during the revolution.
- (10a) The army and the police ~~organization~~ collapsed. The police were disarmed and the army joined willingly the revolution. The Diss ^{did} remained and joined the revolution so ~~at~~ the trade unions. The Communist leaders of these latter organizations could not influence these organizations against joining the revolution.
- (10b) The party did not function at all during the revolution. I do not know ^{who had no} whether they were investigated. The party leaders, ~~any~~ crimes against the people were not punished.
- (10c) The uniformed police collapsed altogether.

- (10d) So did the AVH.
- (10e) The court collapsed too. The judges of the system could not ^{function} ~~not function~~ during the revolution.
- (10f) It collapsed also.
- (10g) Collapsed.
- (10h) Collapsed, too. Revolutionary councils were organized everywhere.
- (10i) Nothing happened to the churches.
- (10j) They used the Diss and the trade unions.
- (10k) I do not know.
- (10l) The workers councils were chosen by the ~~workers~~ workers themselves in the ~~factories~~ factories. They represented the ~~workers~~ workers interest- the revolutionary committee and the factory leaders.
- (10m) I do not know.
- (11) Oh, yes, I do think much about it.
- (11a) ~~It~~ It was useful because the face of Communism is shown now to the whole world.
- (11b) Yes, it would have succeeded if the Russians had not interfered. The interference of the West would not have helped because this would have brought to a world war.
- (11c) Yes, we did. We expected medical help, which really arrived, and when the Russians interfered we expected arms and troops from the West.
- (11d) I do not know.
- (11e) He was a communist, too. He exercised Communism in a different ^{way} ~~was~~ from the leaders of today. He did not think only of the exploitation and the oppression of the people, but also of the well-being and the possibility

of making a living.

- (11f) Mindszenty, Anna ^{Key} ~~Ker~~, and Maléter. These were the people who were trusted by the nation. (I asked about Kiraly, Tomas Aczel, Lukacs, Tildy, Dudas, but the respondent did ^{not} hear about these people.)
- (11g) First, students, then workers, then intellectuals, the soldiers in small numbers, only from Budapest and its neighborhood, then peasants. Irresponsible elements were among the workers as well as among the peasants and these people were turncoats who were at once on two sides.
- (11h) Yes, I did because always students started all revolutions.
- (12) As soon as I saw that the revolution would not succeed and that the Russians took over the power, I decided to leave Hungary. At that time the government started to search for escapee soldiers. I did not want to be a soldier any longer. I decided to leave Hungary on the 18-19 of November and I left on the 20th.
- (12a) I did not want to go back to the army, I could not bear this system which is there now.
- (12b) I talked it over with my parents. They had no choice but to agree.
- (12c) If it had been summer and not winter, I could have remained in Hungary and stayed in hiding for a while. This was impossible, however, during winter time. I did not want to leave my parents.

- (1) First I worked in a tractor and agricultural machinery station in a village near Győr. The name of the village was Győrsévényháza. After that I worked in Győr as an electrician.
- (1a) I am an electrician.
- (2)(a) I drove tractors and thrashing mashing machines.
- (2b) I was a tractor and thrashing machine driver.
- (2c) I was in this position from 1950-53. (The respondent is 22 years old which means that he received the position when he was fifteen years old.)
- (2d) Yes, I was promoted after I finished a so-called second rate agricultural machinery school. I learned here to handle larger machines and also learned the mechanism of these machines in theory.
- (2e) The station was quite well organized, there was plenty of work, the machines were in good shape. We did smaller repair jobs too, for larger repair jobs the machines were taken to a repair shop.
- (2g) It was the tractor and machinery station of Győrsévényháza. For the next job (2a) I worked in repairing electrical equipment and installation. (2b) First I was an apprentice for a year and a half and then I became an assistant for about half a year. In 1956 I was recruited to the army. We also attended a school where we were taught the theoretical part of our job. The school was maintained by the company itself.
- (2c) I held this position for two years.
- (2d) Yes, I became an assistant from an apprentice. One could really learn the trade here well. This was quite a large state owned company and one had the opportunity to work in a variety of jobs. One was never left alone to work on all sorts of things and so one could learn really much. Would I have worked with a private

firm, I would not have had the opportunity to learn as much as I learned here. Besides had I been an apprentice at a private firm I would have had to take an exam to become an assistant. In a state owned company one became an assistant automatically after being an apprentice for about a year and a half.

(2e) This was the electrician company of Győr and Szécsény counties. The company had several workshops in the two counties. I worked first in a small workshop in Győr and then in Óvár. In Győr we were about fifteen to twenty in the workshop. In Óvár we were six people, three apprentices and three assistants. In Győr was the center of the company and there were the offices. I do not know how many workers and office workers worked in the whole company altogether.

(2f) The company worked in installments of electricity into buildings, repair jobs in electricity installments, we didn't repair electrical motors. The company worked for state projects as well as individual private projects or private people. Approximately there were about an hundred and fifty people working in the company. The company was quite efficient and successful. It was the leading ^{electrical} ~~state~~ company in the whole Dunántul (western part of Hungary, west from the Danube) There were competition among the different state owned county electrical ~~companies~~ ^{companies} each year and ours used to be the winner of the competition. Our company received compensations for being the winner, but most of the compensations went to the leaders.

(2g) It was an electrical company, state owned and was called the Electrical Company of Győr and Szécsény counties.

- (3) I liked the job, but I would have preferred to be a mechanic.
- (3a) I like to work with electricity. It was interesting.
- (3b) I liked it. There was nothing I disliked about it. I just would have preferred to be a mechanic.
- (3c) The working conditions were much better than in my other previous jobs. There, where I worked in the tractor and machine station we worked summer and winter outdoors with the machines, we had to work much harder than here in the electrical company, we received less pay than here and it was not a clean job, we were always oily and dirty from the machines.
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(3d) The ~~work~~ technical conditions were good. We had all the necessary equipment. The ~~workshop~~ workshop was not big and we did in this shop only repair work on lamps and heating equipment. The shop was clean and big enough for the number of workers who worked there. The equipment was not new but not obsolete either. The quality of services was good.
- (3e) I did not always work in these two workshops I mentioned. Sometimes we had to go to the surrounding villages to do a job of installation there. Whenever we were taken to work in the country we received food and board, but whenever this place was not far from my home (he lived in a village called XXXXXXXXXX) I would rather go home to live with my parents and went to work by train. If we did not receive XXXXXXXXXX board and room, if we worked outside of Győr, then we received twenty-five forints a day for food and board which amount was given to us in addition to our wages. I could only go home to sleep come back to my work by train if there was good weather. The railway station was about fourteen kilometers from our village and I had to ~~not~~ ride the bicycle to get to the station. It took me two hours to get from home to Győr by bicycle and then train.

- (3f) I worked eight hours a day.
- (3g) Six days a week, but during the summer we worked five days but then we worked nine and a half hours a day.
- (3h) We were not allowed to work overtime in Gyor. When we were in the countryside, however, we worked ~~was~~ piecework and then we worked actually as many hours as we could or wanted. They paid us piece wise.
- (3i) First of May, fourth of April and the twentieth of August were legal holidays and in addition Christmas Day and Easter Sunday and Easter Monday were legal holidays. In order not to break up the flow of the work sometimes a holiday which would have been on a Friday was shifted to Saturday or which would have been on a Tuesday was shifted for a Monday.
- (3j) After working for twelve months I received twelve days paid holiday and every additional year I received one day more.
- (3k) No this was the same in every job.
- (3l) Yes, there were punishments. People were shifted from one working place to the other as a punishment or their vacation was reduced.
- (3m) They raised the norm. One had to do more pieces from the same money. Stachanovist There were ~~Stachanovist~~ workers who raised the norms.
- (3n) There was no need for ["]speed up system["] because as the norm was raised everybody tried to work ["]more["] in order to make some more money.
- (3o) I had health insurance, old age insurance. , I was actually registered in the trade union but I never paid my dues. The ones who ~~actually~~-paid union fees- had the advantage of receiving benefits in vacation places, etc.
- (4a) The people with whom I worked were about my age - mostly young people no more than middle aged. The younger ones who studied during this regime had at least eight years of elementary schools. The older ones, who

studied during the past regime, had at least six years of elementary school. My co-workers were from peasant families and urban worker families.

- (4b) People got along very well at work except in such cases where the bosses were Communist party members and wanted to rush the work.
- (4c) No I have not because we were not from the same villages.
- (4d) No, I haven't discussed politics with any of them.
- (4e) Yes, there was a difference. The party members received better jobs and better pay.
- (4f) I don't know since I did not participate in the trade unions.
- (4g) Does not apply.
- (4h) No, I have not.
- (4i) I do not know.
- (4j) He could get ahead if he worked well.
- (4k) Yes, there were.
- (4l) There were such cases on the machine station, but not in the electrical company. During the spring time we were always repairing the agricultural machines for the use of the next season. We had two months to finish this work. The Communists of the station, however, offered to finish the work in a month and a half. We were rushed to do the repairing job and certainly could not do a really good job on the machines. The machines were taken so soon to the repair shops again, they could not work efficiently and handicapped the farmers in their work.
- (4m) I do not know.
- (4n) Party members were good ^{kardars} ~~kards~~ and from among the young people those

who were not yet party members, but who did some propaganda work among the people. People from the families of former landowners, factory ~~man~~ owners, or business men were called exploiters and could not advance during this regime.

- (4p) I know that there were informers at my place of work, but it was hard ^{they were} to know who ~~informers~~ though in most of the cases we had a notion of who it might be. People who were ready to do this sort of job were poor workers and poor peasants who tried to get ahead. They ~~gave~~ gave information about what ~~they~~ their co-workers did and talked about.
- (5) From 1952 to 1954 it was practically impossible to change jobs. If one left one's job by one's own will, this fact was written into the person's working booklet and this person could not receive another good job for at least six months. The only jobs he could do during this period were occasional badly paid jobs. Before 1952 and after 1954 one could change jobs if one was not sent away, because of disciplinary offenses.
- (5a) I changed jobs in 1953, because the working conditions and the pay were very bad at my first job. When I left my job in 1953 the only work I could get was a very bad and badly paid work. I worked with a dredger in a canal cleaning job. After completing this job, they wrote into my working papers that I was eligible for a better job and then I received my position with the electrician company.
- (5b) If I could have picked my work, I would have worked in mechanics. I always liked to work in machine repairing job. My father was a farmer and I went to a country school which I did not like at all. I hated to sit in one

place and I left school as soon as I could. As soon as I left school after eight years, I went to a mechanics school as an apprentice but my father could not pay for that and then I went to work at the locksmith's place where I wanted to study this trade. I could not continue, however, because this was the time when private trade was abolished and the person with whom I worked could not continue to work in his workshop. After that I went to work on the tractor and machine station. There was a school there, too, where we learned mechanics, but first we did not have the facilities to study mechanics in practice, we only studied it in theory. I liked to work with machines but I was there only a driver and not a mechanic. Since I could not be what I wanted to be, I left ~~the~~ this position.

- (5c) I could have been successful in being an electrician and once I had left the army I could have gotten more money and much more work and I would have already had more experience.
- (5d) Yes, I did think so.
- (5e) I don't know what I would do with the money. In my free time I would love to travel abroad to see all the interesting and famous places.
- (5f) I had the same idea ^{of} ~~at~~ this.
- (5g) I do not know. I never thought about that. I'm only twenty-two years old.
- (6a) It was somewhat easier than right after the war.
- (6b) We could buy only domestic products. Imported products were not available. We couldn't buy the tropical fruit like oranges or products which were better than ours imported from foreign countries.

I couldn't afford to buy a scooter or a car.

- (6c) We were left only that many products as much we needed for the family. Everything else was taken away from us. I also helped the x family with the money I earned. In the family I had a seventeen year old sister and a brother twenty-five years old who was graduated from high school but was not admitted to the university to study mechanical engineering because my family was considered to be anti-communist. My brother works as a buyer of products for a cooperative.
- (6d) Yes, I've heard that we were exploited. ~~parents~~ ^{exploited} The government ~~exploit~~ us because they took away the products my father worked for. They paid almost nothing for what they took away.
- (7a) In 1947 I did not work yet. (He was twelve years old.) In 1952 I received about one thousand forints a month. In 1955 I received about a thousand three hundred forints in a month.
- (7b) In 1952 the average wages were about a thousand two hundred forints a month. In 1955 also about a thousand two hundred forints. In agricultural work the wages were always somewhat less than for example in the building industry.
- (7c) It was about the same than of others of the same kind of work.
- (7d) My father, my brother and I worked. My sister went to school.
- (8) (The English version of the budget questionnaire is turned in together with the face sheet.)
- (9) Our house was quite new and we had no trouble or repairs. We were not crowded.
- (9a) There was no ~~waiting~~ waiting in queues in the villages. Beside there were things we had to buy in shops. All the food needed at home was produced

on our farm and the only food products we had to buy were the spices and salt. We didn't have to stand in line for clothing or shoes.

- (9b) If there was some variation then it varied only in the cities, not in the villages.
- (9c) I don't know.
- (9d) No, it was always the same. We produced always all the food at home.
- (10a) It wasn't a healthy development.
- (10b) Everything was nationalized and from the fall of 1955 until the revolution every farmer had to join the collectives.
- (10c) The production before 1944 in Hungary was more, but the way of production was not as modern as later. The country was not as much mechanized. (he means mainly agriculturally).
- (10c2) I do not know.
- (10d) It was an improvement with the mechanization, but since the farms were nationalized and the farmers forced to join the collectives. The collectives left many lands uncultivated. This happened mainly, because the collectives did not want to employ workers, and there were not enough people to cultivate the land.
- (10e) I did not hear about any such thing.
- (10f) From '49 to '50 the private sector was quite the artisans and tradesmen alright and made a good living. From '50 to '54 it was oppressed. From '54 on it was again possible to receive trade licenses, but it was so expensive that few tradespeople could only pay for it and receive it.
- (10g) It was somewhat better than before.
- (11) Material conditions were the most important from among the complaints. There was no use to work because even if one worked well and received much pay one

could not buy anything on one's money. It was impossible to buy a house or layd or invest money in any private enterprise.

- (11a) These were the most important grievances. Poor people could not live well.
- (11b) I don't know anything else except for this complaint and the complaint of
of
for lack of freedom .
- (11c) These complaints were common to everyone.

- (1) I had eight years of general school. (This is elementary or primary school here.)
- (1a) I attended school from 1941-49. There was no school from September 1944, to May 1945, because this was the war time. ~~xxxx~~ Instead of this year we missed, we studied during the summer of 1945 and therefore could advance during the fall of 1945, if we would have studied all the time.
- (1b) I attended public school in Marketabédelye. (This is a village in the northwestern part of ~~xxxx~~ Hungary not far from the town of Győr.)
- (1c) Yes, I did. Discipline was not as great after 1945 as it was before. There were no religious lessons. There was a change in the teaching of history. Before '45 we studied Hungarian history, while after '45 we mainly studied Russian history.
- (1d) Yes, I attended a special technical school at the tractor and machine station for a year and a half.
- (1e) I wanted to study mechanics and besides I worked with machines already on the tractor and machine station. I also went to a course of electricity while I was working as an electrician..
- (2) No I did not receive as much as I wanted, because I wanted to finish in studying the trade of mechanics.
- (2a) I wanted to finish studying the above trade.
- (2b) Does not apply.
- (2c) Yes, I am sure that it would have been better. I could have worked in what I liked .
- (2d) I was an average student.

- (2e) Yes, I did.
- (3) We had political classes twice a week.
- (3a) I liked history, geography, chemistry and hygiene. I didn't like grammar, the political lessons and politics which was included in history.
- (3b) No at this time we didn't have Russian courses yet. There were not enough teachers who could have taught Russian. Now they have already introduced in the schools Russians.
there
- (3c) No, there were not.
- (3d) We didn't have that.
- (3e) No, it was not.
- (4) The main objective was to educate the students to be Communists.
- (4a) I do not know.
- (4b) It was not effective at all.
- (4b2) Most of the teachers taught Communism only because they were ^{compelled} to teach that. ^{There} Many were also some Communist teachers.
Almost
- (4c) Almost all of them disliked it.
- (4d) Nothing at all.
- (4e) They disliked the whole theory of Communism.
- (4f) No, there was no change except that later on people got even farther away from Communism.
- (4h) I do not know.
- (4i) Communist education is the most effective with small children. It is not effective, however, in our district where all the parents teach the children different things than Communism. For older children the school has no effect at all.

- (5) My father was a farmer.
- (5a) He had no job, he ~~had~~^{owned} the land which he cultivated.
- (5b) I do not know.
- (5c) He had six years of elementary school.
- (5d) We never had servants.
- (5e) Yes, we had land and the house. The fall of '55 my father had to join a collective.
- (5f) About average.
- (5g) We were five. I had a smaller sister and a bigger brother, my father and my mother.
- (5h) They are all at home.
- (5i) They were all at home except myself. I was a soldier in 1956.
- (5j) I do not want to answer.
- (5k) It was/^{an}advantage~~ous~~ because my father was a farmer and we had some small land.
- (6) No, I was not.
- (11) Yes, we got along very well and we trusted each other.
- (12) No, I did not.
- (12a) Does not apply.
- (12b) No, there was no change.
- (13) No I didn't.
- (13a) No, I did not.
- (13b) I had no trouble in this either.
- (13c) No trouble in politics either.
- (13d) I had no trouble with my parents about religion.
- (13e) Not about sex education.

- (13f) About nothing else.
- (14a) Our family life was good. We were close together. Lately I was quite independent. My parents did not even intervene into my affairs.
- (14b) This was quite typical though there were some exceptions, many people drank too much and this reflected into family life.
- (14c) I read and did some sports and I ~~xxx~~ ^{went} swimming.
- (14d) We were not together much during the day since we all worked, and in the evening we used to talk.
- (14e) I spent very little time at home because mostly I was working away from home and did not come home even for a night. For a year I was a soldier and could not go home except for a very few times .
- (14f) I had time for everything I wanted to do. I did sports. I watched and played football, etc.
- (14g) Yes, I was/ free with my leisure time.
- (15) At certain places family ties loosened because of political disagreements. In general, however, it remained the same.
- (15a) Yes, they can.
- (15b) Yes, they are.
- (15c) No, they are not.
- (15d) I do not know.
- (15e) No, there have been no changes.
- (15f) I do not know.
- (16) Not much. Previously a poor fellow could not talk to a rich man's daughter, but today such differences do not count.

- (16a) The ages are varying but in general people marry at a younger age.
- (16b) There is not too much difference.
- (16c) I think the changes were for good. Before the parents chose the husband
or a wife for the young people. Today everybody can ~~choose~~^{choose} his or her own
husband and wife.
- (16d) No there was not.
- (16e) There was not.
- (16f) I do not know.
- (16h) Illegitimate children are treated just the same as legitimate children, ^{where before they were}
discriminated against.
- (16i) Yes, it did change. At work women could now fill positions which were al-
ways filled by men before. This wasn't good, because on many places they
were not as efficient as men workers were.
- (17) The state of morals changed. It became better. There was much less im-
morality than was before. There was now moral guard policemen who
guarded the morals. (He thought probably on sexual immoralities since the
word morals has such a connotation in Hungarian that it usually applies
x to sexual morals.)
- (17b) There was no stealing in our district. There were no great stealings
at all.
- (17c) I do not know.
- (17d) I do not know what it is.
- (18) I met my best friend in our village. He was my age.
- (18a) He was a driver.
- (18b) Yes, it was, though he was one year younger.
- (18c) We used to have entertainments together, we used to go to the movies or
dancing and to the pub.

- (18d) No we did not.
- (18e) No it did not.
- (18f) Yes, we are. As a matter of fact he is in the United States but I do not know his address.
- (18g) I value most honesty and understanding, ~~and~~ ^{friendship without} quarreling and ~~and~~ disputes.
- (18h) Yes, it was.
- (18i) Most of my friends are older than I am. This one is the only younger one. Most of them are abroad. Only two are at home.
- (18j) It was very important from the point of view of entertainment. The time past much better together. Besides we helped each other in all sorts of troubles and problems.
- (18k) Yes, this would have affected our friendship. We could not have been so good friends any more. Maybe we would not have remained friends at all.
- (18l) No one was a party member from among my friends.
- (19) My parents were Roman Catholics.
- (19a) We were all Roman Catholics.
- (19b) I am also a Roman Catholic and as to my attitude ^{would} rather not discuss it.
- (20) Yes it did. It might be said that religion was forbidden. No religious lessons were taught at school.
- (20a) They were affected equally.
- (20b) They rather wanted to stamp out religion. They could not use religion for their own ends since Communist teaching was opposite to religion.
- (20c) I don't know much about them. We had one of these in our village. They were pro-Communist. In certain things they helped the Communists. They talked about Communism even in their ^{sermons.} They were "interest people."

I do not think that they were sincere.

- (20d) The Party disappropriated the lands and other belongings of the Catholic clergy and distributed ~~them~~ those properties. They did not allow the teaching of religion in schools and they opposed going to ~~the~~ church.
- (20e) Nothing.
- (20f) Yes. One could freely attend church if one was not a government employee in a government office. When I was a soldier, I was not allowed to go to the church. Policemen are not ~~also~~ allowed to go to church either.
- (20g) No, nobody did.
- (20h) Yes, I did every Sunday and every holiday.
Older
- (20i) ~~More~~ people attended church more frequently. This was the same in the urban areas. It might be said that younger people from the urban areas attended less than others. They were more afraid of the ~~more~~ ^{party} than country people.
- (20j) I don't know.
- (20j2) I do not know.
- (20k) Yes, it is less important than it was to their parents. The way of ~~teach-~~ ^{teach-}ing is different, ~~that~~ they are not educated into the religion as were their parents. They only learn religion from their parents.
- (20l) I do not know.
- (20m) Now after the revolution in 1956 they already taught religion in schools. There were religion lessons each week.
- (21) I would advise him to be either a barber or a tailor. These occupations are not difficult and generally are very well paid. They are also accepted

everywhere in the world.

- (21b) I would have told him to study his trade well. The more he knows his trade the better he can live from it.
- (21c) Anybody could have learned these trades, whoever wanted to.
- (22) I would say that the worst off were the agricultural workers and the best off were the intellectuals.
- (22a) I belonged to the industrial workers.
- (22b) I wanted to belong to the industrial workers.
- (22c) They were pretty well off.
- (22d) They were well off, too.
- (22) Agricultural workers, industrial workers, and intellectuals.
- (22a) I do not know.
- (22b) No, it does not represent a change. Then too the classes were the same, there was only a difference in property.
- (22c) I cannot answer.
- (22d) One could not even be aware of the differences.
- (22e) I do not know.
- (22f) Does not apply.
- (22g) I don't think that there were any changes in this respect.
- (24) No, I don't think so. There were no minority groups where I lived. The Germans were taken back to Germany in 1945.
- (24a) I do not know about that.
- (25) They were in an advantage. They were not ~~persecuted~~ persecuted. The managers and directors of greater enterprises were mostly ~~Jews~~ Jews.
- (25a) I do not know.

- (25a) They received the greatest roles. Rákosi, too, was a Jew together with many other leaders.
- (25b) I had no Jewish acquaintances.
- (25c) They didn't do a thing. They were the ones who left Hungary as the first refugees.
- (25d) They were hated.
- (25e) No it did not change.
- (25f) There was no more anti-semitism as was before.
- (25g) If the regime would change, then surely the Jews might have no future in Hungary.
- (26) (What is your attitude toward the Jews?)

Answer: I would rather not answer this question.

- (1) I am interested to know what happens in the world.
- (1a) It isn't great.
- (1b) It didn't very much because I wasn't too much interested in politics at home. I knew that everything was just misleading.
- (1c) No, I have not.
- (2a) I could not have sympathized, since I was a child/then.
- (2b) He belonged to the Smallholders' Party after the war.
- (2c) It is non-applicable.
- (2d) I don't know.
- (2e) I wasn't influenced by Communism at all.
- (2f) Never interested in politics.
- (2g) I do not know.
- (2h) People were compelled to do so. Whoever did not comply with the regime was imprisoned and was not allowed to talk about his tortures in the prison when he got out.
- (3a) The most important were: Roman numeral: i, vi, xi.
- (3b) The least important for me were numbers iii, v, xii.
- (3c) The most important for the intellectuals were: viii, x, xi.
- (3d) The most important for the peasants were: ii, xii, xv.
- (3e) For the workers: iii, v, xv.
- (3f) I thought about these grievances all day long.
- (3g) People talked about these things among each other.
- (3h) Most of these grievances could have been cured only with a change in the regime.
- (3i) Working offers and money offers for the Soviet Union or peace were x

some of those little annoyances.

- (3j) There were no such things.
- (4) The Communists were the real power in Hungary and they received their orders from the Russians.
- (4a) All the leading positions were filled by Communists.
- (4b) I do not know.
- (4c) The government was run since 1948 by Im Rákosi, then Imre Nagy, Gere, Kadar.
- (4d) I don't know.
- (4e) They held elections in order to mislead the nation and Europe. They arrange the elections in such a way that the Communists were always in a great majority.
- (4f) Yes, there was a great bureaucracy. Previously it was not so extensive.
- (4g) There was not so much graft, but there was favoritism in favor of the Communists.
- (4h) Only Communists went into government service.
- (4i) Only Communists and Communist friends became professional army officers. They had not special advantages.
- (4j) Only Communists became managers and as a matter of fact only they were the ones who filled all important positions.
- (5) The advantages which belonged to it were that people had opportunities to do sport.
- (5a) I do ^{not}/knew about it that.
- (5b) No, one did not have to join.
- (5c) People who did not want to participate in sports did not join the Diss.

- (5e) I was a member from '50-'53 and I only joined because I ^{wanted} to/the opportunity for sport.
- (5f) I joined only to have the opportunity to play games and to participate in sport actions since I had no other opportunity ever since I left school.
- (5g) I had no duty there. I only had to pay/^amembership fee and I had to do whatever the leaders ordered me to do.
- (5h) This did not occupy any time only the sport activities did.
- (5i) Only sport took time.
- (6) Not everybody could ^{become} a party member. Party members had to do propaganda work among other people. The Party members had to do pre-
(the)
ganda work. They had/advantage everywhere.
- (6a) Everyone who filled an important position, ^{workers' supervisor} ~~and~~ who was a ~~leading worker~~
OR
~~member~~ a leading official, had to ~~must~~ enter the Party.
- (6b) There were two kinds of people who wanted to be members. First the ones who were Communists by conviction, even before this regime, secondly, people who wanted to enter the Party to advance their own financial and other interests.
- ^g
(6c) The members had no special rights, they were supposed to comply with laws and orders just as any other people had to. On the other hand, however, they were given advantages, unofficially, everywhere. They had to go to meetings and to do propaganda work. I do not know about the inner Party organizations.
- (6d) There were some party members in the village where I lived. I don't know anything particularly about them. I know about some young people who be-

came AVH people after having been Diss members.

- (6e) The ones who became members of the Communist Party started to prepagate the theories and ideas of Communism.
- (6f) These Communists who became dissatisfied were disappointed in seeing the oppression of the Communist regime exerted on the people. They never imagined the Communist regime to be such as it turned out to be.
- (6g) Certain positions were actually reserved for the Communists. For example if army officers or police officers could be only Communists .
- (6h) No, I was not.
- (6p) No, I could not have joined. My family was not considered to be faithful to the regime. My uncle was imprisoned for having been a guide for refugees who passed through the Hungarian-Austrian border illegally. It was known also that my parents were anti-Communists.
- (6q) The fact that I was not a member of the Party did not affect my work as long as I was at home. If I would return now, however, after having deserted the army, I certainly would meet with lots of trouble.
- (6r) Rakosi used to run the Party, I do not know who took over his place.
- (6s) I do not know enough about them.
- (6t) It remained the same.
- (7) No, I did not belong to any other organization or society since 1950.
- (8) About half of the Hungarian Communists really believed in Communism. by the Communists
- (9) Even though the youth movement was actually called the foundation of the Communist Party, it was composed mostly of youths who were not Communists in their beliefs at all. Most of the Diss members joined the movement only to have an opportunity to play sports games and

- to have other entertainment. Such people who left school early had no other opportunity of meeting these young people and participating in sports.
- (10) In general everybody was afraid to talk what was on his mind.
- (10a) One did not have to be arrested or been imprisoned to suffer from the Terror. Everybody was frightened because everyone knew that whoever uttered a bad word, would be arrested.
- (10b) The AVH was mainly an investigator organisation. Many of its people were in civilian clothes and their job was to detect the opposition to the regime. People who got into the AVH's hands were tortured and many imprisoned.
- (10c) No, I do not.
- (10d) Such people were everywhere among the workers. They were well paid in order to give out information to the Communists. These people were unscrupulous people who were ready to do anything for money.
- (10e) People who filled the important and high positions were volunteers. As to the other AVH people, the recruiting committee first investigated their background and their political affiliation before they recruited them.
- (10g) I do not know.
- (10i) The informers were in civilian clothes while the ordinary AVH people were uniforms. Informers were installed into every workshop.
- (10j) The AVH and the police were in close contact. If someone was accused of something, he was first taken to the police and then to the AVH.
- (10k) They were very closely connected. I think that the AVH had more authority.
- (10l) I didn't know any police chiefs personally.

- (11) One of my friends was arrested and also my uncle.
- (11a) The case of my uncle made the greatest impression on me. He was arrested on the grounds that he helped illegal border crossers. He actually only gave them information about the best ways to cross the border. One of the groups which wanted to cross the border illegally from Hungary to Austria was arrested by the border guards and investigated. A member of this arrested group gave the police the names of all the people who gave them information or helped them in any way to cross the border. In this way my uncle was ~~xxxxx~~ arrested. First he was taken to a prison and later to a working camp. He never had a trial and he was there for three years. In the working camp he worked in building^{jobs.} They did not treat him badly in prison. He received a small salary when he left the prison. He had no problem of finding a job after leaving prison because he, too, as my father, was a farmer and therefore ~~xxxxx~~ returned to his land. In his absence his wife and children cultivated the land. He was a kulak.
- (11b) I know about several arrests but I would not be able to give particulars. I do not remember particulars. I know about some of my acquaintances who were imprisoned for different political offenses for a year or two.
- (11c) Here again I do not know particulars, but I know that whoever got to the AVH was tortured.
- (11d) The ones who were arrested by the AVH were mainly former landowners, business men, or other previously rich people. Their property was confiscated and they themselves were arrested.
- (11f) As long as one was in the AVH nobody could get in touch with him. As soon

^{one}
as one was ~~imprisoned~~ imprisoned, ~~xxx~~ could go to visit him. I don't know just how often one could be visited in prison.

- (11g) No, I do not.
- (11h) I do not know about it. As long as I was home, there were no forced deportations.
- (12) Does not apply.
- (13) I would advise him to keep quiet and not to utter a word against the Communists in any public place. I would advise him not to criticize the regime in such places.
- (13a) No, there are no safe professions. Everybody is in the same danger.
- (13b) No, it does not.
- (13c) No, they do not.
- (13d) Yes, this might help, though not in all respects. It is impossible, however, to conceal one's unfavorable class background.
- (13e) No, it does not help in order to clear someone from trouble with the secret police.
- (13f) To keep one's mouth shut is of great help to anyone to escape trouble.
- (13g) No, there are no such groups. The different religions were treated equally. As to my minority groups, there were very few foreigners in Hungary.
- (14) During the premiership of Imre Nagy as well as before the revolution in 1956, there was a milder in the Terror of the regime. The same was apparent at the time of reconciliation with Tito and the replacement of Rakosi.
- (14a) Yes, I recall great purges in 1952.
- (14b) I did not notice any change in '53.

- (14e) As I said, before the revolution in 1956 there was a milder situation in the situation.
- (15) If the Soviet Union would not have interfered in Hungarian affairs, then the situation in Hungary would have changed a long time ago. Even elections in Hungary were made under their supervision.
- (15a) For every decision orders were taken from Moscow. Everything was directed from Moscow. I do not know, however, how this was actually made.
- (15b) I heard as everybody else did.
- (15c) I do not know.
- (15d) No, I had no contact with Soviet personnel.
- (15e) It was the same everywhere. Everything was conducted after Soviet example.
- (15f) All the larger factories and mines had Soviet advisers or other Soviet personnel assigned to them.
- (16) They cannot manifest their feelings under the Communists at all.
- (16a) Nobody could say anything about what was in one's mind, or thought because as soon as it got to the ears of the AVH, the person was considered anti-Communist and an enemy of the people and was arrested and imprisoned.
- (16b) Works offering or money offerings ^{to} ~~for~~ the Party or the regime were to be accepted and done without complaint. One could not try to do anything about one's arrest. One could not complain or try to get out.
- (16c) Only with one's best friends and acquaintances and one's family could people be frank. One was never sure about others.
- (16d) One could actually talk about everything concerning daily life, work, sports, but one could not talk about the Communist leaders, the system, or western

countries.

- (16e) During the premiership of Imre Nagy and somewhat before the revolution there were some changes. People could talk more freely. These was true, however, only concerning financial problems. Political problems could not be discussed freely in those times either. Whoever did try to discuss political problems was arrested by the AVH.
- (17) There is no such way for a Hungarian citizen.
- (17a) No, I did not manage to protect my own interests.
- (17b) This is impossible. The government took everything away straight from the people. They paid only three-fourths of the market price for products which they took away.
- (17c) Lately this could be done, but only in such cases where the worker was sure that the position he wanted to receive was free for him. In that case he could leave his previous position and go to the other. If he was not sure that he would receive the other position, he would better have to stay in his previous job.
- (17e) I do not know.
- (18) The power of the regime was in the support of Soviet Russia.
- (18a) The only cohesive force was adherence to Russia and Russian support.
- (18b) The feelings of the people and their hatred of the regime was the most destructive force. Would Hungary have been neutral, Russia could not have interferred into Hungarian affairs and the whole system would have collapsed a long time ago. Ninety percent of the population lived in oppression and hated the present regime.

- (19) I do not know.
- (19b) The groups who were most hostile to the present regime were the former landowners, factory owners, the poor workers and all the peasants, the y intelligentsia has to be included too. Actually the majority of the gain population was against the regime.
- (19c) It is hard to isolate a group and say that this group was the least hostile. In all the groups there were people in good paying positions and they favored the regime.
- (19d) I think that opposition increased continually.
- (19e) It was about the same, though there was some lightening in 1956.
- (19f) I do not know.
- (19g) No, I never heard about that.
- (19h) There was no opposition in the army.
- (19i) No, I do not know about that.
- (19j) I do not know about that.
- (19k) Yes, but not too many sabotage or slow-down cases.
- (19l) I do not know about it.
- (19m) No, I did not know about it.

- (1) I received most of my information from the radio. I listened to Radio Free Europe, but not too often.
- (1a) This was the only source, Radio Free Europe, since I did not read newspapers.
- ²
(a) I did not read newspapers and magazines. If I did read some then I only read stories and sports news, but not other news. I read these stories and sport news in the Szabad Nep.
- (2a) I read the Szabad Nep, but only for stories and sport news. I also read the ^{Sport} ~~magazine~~ Ujsag.
- (2b) I didn't read it regularly.
- (2c) I read them only for sport news and stories.
- (2d) I do not know.
- (2e) Yes, there were more papers.
- (2f) All ~~paper~~ papers had local news. This was written by office people in the workshops and concerned the workers in the workshops. If somebody had a good achievement in his work, this was announced on the wallpaper. Also people who did not work well appeared as such on the wallpapers. News ^{punishment} about ~~punishment~~ of people for late coming or other offenses were also on the wallpapers.
- (2g) No, I have not.
- (2j) I saw some leaflets brought by balloons and sent by the Americans. I read some, too.
- (3) I went to the movies every week about once or twice depending on how many good films there were.
- (3a) I preferred to see foreign pictures and also such Hungarian pictures ^{which} ~~when~~

contained

not too much politics. The foreign pictures were usually pleasanter and not full of politics. Russian pictures were all propaganda films.

- (3b) I saw/entertaining educational and other pictures ~~mostly~~ ^{mostly}
- (3c) Yes, I saw many foreign films.
- (3d) I do not know. Sometimes I saw foreign films for a whole month.
- (3e) Sometimes I did go in Győr.
- (3f) I do not remember. I went very rarely.
- (4) Yes, I did.
- (4a) I read about ~~20~~ ^{one} hundred or more a year.
- (4b) I read the novels of Mór Jókai, for an example THE STARS OF HUNGARY, I read the poems of Petöfi, Ady, I also read foreign writers but I do not recall the names of the authors and the titles.
- (4c) I liked them.
- (4d) Yes, I had difficulty in getting those which I wanted. Hungarian historical novels, which I liked very much, were available. Foreign books, however, were very scarce. The latter would not/^{be}found in libraries only in private libraries. Libraries did not carry other books than modern Hungarian writers and Russian writers. Therefore, I did not read in libraries and I was not a member of any library, but read the books of my friends and acquaintances.
- (4e) My favorites were the stories of János Arany. (As far as I know the latter never wrote stories only poetry.) I also loved the poems of Petöfi.
- (4f) Yes, I did, but I do not remember the authors or the titles. (A.P.)
- (4g) No, they did not.

- (5) Yes, I did.
- (5b) I had a Néprádié (means people's radio, it was the name of a domestic product.) This set had originally no short waves, but I improved it and we could listen to short waves, too.
- (5d) I listened particularly to music, sport news. I loved music and was interested in sports.
- (5e) I don't know how many hours a day.
- (5f) I listened at home and at work also at some friends houses.
- (6) I listened only to Free Europe.
- (6a) I listened to music also to information especially about Hungarian news. I was interested to hear such news about Hungary which was not available in the Hungarian press and domestic radio.
- (6b) I didn't listen regularly. I don't know how often.
- (6c) I liked the station.
- (6d) In certain things they gave very good information, ^(Free Europe) in other things they only broadcasted promises. Certain things were broadcast exactly and reliably ~~was~~ but others not.
- (6e) I heard that there were such cases where people were punished for listening to foreign broadcasts. I do not know about particular cases in our neighborhood.
- (7) No, I did not.
- (7b) I can't recall any rumors.
- (7g) Yes, there were people who listened more to radios and they knew more than ^(7h) other people. I would be more likely to discuss current events at home and among friends and acquaintances than in any other place.
- (7i) Yes, this is still true. People mostly talk about politics in coffee houses or pubs. People drank very much lately.

- (8) I did not like any of the news which I read in newspapers, I did not believe them at all. All the news was only about the ~~xxxxxx~~ successes of the Communists.
- (8a) The most reliable information was broadcasted by Free Europe station. On this station they even gave us the names of some important AVH people.
- (8b) I do not know.
- (8c) I do not know.
- (8d) One could never know what was the truth.
- (8e) There were no such newspapers or broadcasts. (He thinks about domestic broadcasts.)
- (8f) No I have not.
- (8g) I read Szabad Nép, but only for stories and sport news. I haven't read it for political news.
- (8h) I didn't read Hetféli Hírlap.
- (9) Yes, they did. They read the newspaper and listened to the radio.
- (9a) Mostly everybody.
- (9b) I do not know.
- (10a) I knew that the Americans ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{dropped} the Atomic bomb on Hiroshima. A great number of people died and even now this territory cannot be used.
- (10b) I do not know.
- (10c) I do not know.
- (10d) I heard that the Americans helped the war industry in Germany. They also stationed soldiers there. There is a sort of a foreign legion stationed there. They prepare for the next world war.
- (10e) I saw the "Free Europe" balloons when I was a soldier. We ~~had~~ had to pick

them up and collect them.

(10f) I do not know anything about them.

(10g) I do not know about it.

(10h) I never heard about them.

- (1) If the present system in Hungary were to be removed, I would abolish all the Communist orders and laws.
- (1a) I do not want to answer this question.
- (1b) I do not want to answer.
- (2) No, I am against political parties because ^{there} ~~they~~ are always ^{quarrels and} ~~quarreling~~ debates among them. If Even if parties are organized freely ~~and~~ or chosen freely, they always quarrel.
- (3) In a free country everybody should be given the right to speak freely.
- (3a) There should be no limit.
- (3b) Does not apply.
- (3c) No, they should not be allowed to denounce the government.
- (3d) I do not know.
- (4) Yes, everyone should be allowed to do so.
- (4a) Yes, even if their purpose is to attack the government.
- (4b) An armed uprising is justified against a government only in the case of ^{government's} ~~the~~ oppression of ^{the population and if such an uprising is or-} ~~the~~ ganized by the will of the whole working population of the country. If such an uprising is organized and the working population of the country wants to overthrow the government, then they have the right to do so.
- (5) I do not know.
- (6) I do not know.
- (6a) I didn't think about it, I do not know.
- (6b) No, they should not be restored.
- (6c) It is good.
- (6d) I do not know.

- (6e) No, there should be no state monopolies.
- (6f) I do not want to answer.
- (6g) I cannot answer.
- (7) I cannot answer .
- (7a) I cannot answer.
- (8) I think it is good.
- (8a) The idea is good.
- (8b) No answer.
- (8c) It should go only to include industry.
- (8d) I do not know.
- (9) No answer.
- (10) Yes, he does have certain duties toward the state. He has to comply with laws and orders.
- (10a) Yes, some taxes have to be paid in a very small percentage. The state needs the money. Everyone should pay according to one's property.
- (10b) There should be military service, but not as long as it is now. It shouldn't be longer than half a year maximum a year.
- (10c) No order could have been kept without obeying orders and laws.
- (10d) Yes it is true of all laws and orders.
- (10e) I do not know.
- (11) Yes, it did improve.
definitely
- (11a) Yes, ~~definitely~~ so. Everyone receives free medical care through the trade unions. Only villagers who work for themselves have to pay for medical care. What we had to pay, the ones who had health insurance, was a very ~~high~~ ^{tiny} amount.
definitely
- (11b) Yes, ~~definitely~~ so.

- (11c) Private physicians worked for money and therefore gave better service than state physicians.
- (11d) I do not know.
- (11e) No, I cannot.
- (12) Yes, he has more opportunity because there are more movies ^{it is} and/less expensive to go.
- (12a) Yes, I went much more. Before the war there was no movie house in our village, but ~~then~~ they built one after the war.
- (12b) Yes, whoever liked movies went more often now.
- (12c) Anybody could go to the movies. As to theaters and concerts mostly urban people could go. There were no theaters or concerts in the villages.
- (13) No, he could eat just about the same as before as far as domestic products were concerned, but there are ^{more} ~~no~~ ^{products available} ~~imported products~~ in Hungary?
- (13a) The same ~~as~~ as in 1946
- (13b) The same ~~as~~ as in 1950.
- (13c) I do not know.
- (14) Yes, he does.
- (14a) About the same ^{as} ~~time~~ in 1946.
- (14b) In '50 they ^{were} ~~already~~ ^{clothed} ~~already~~ better.
- (14c) I do not know.
- (15) Yes, it did.
- (15a) ~~The~~ ^{As a} result of planned economy it increased. Also as a result of work offerings.
- (15b) In all the branches it increased.
- (15c) It was definitely advantageous, but Hungary itself did not have much advantages from it. All the products were taken abroad and very little or no payment was given to Hungary in exchange.

- (15d) No answer.
- (16) I do not know. The worker councils in our place interfered with certain things and this was alright.
- (16a) I do not know.
- (16b) I do not know.
- (16c) I do not know.
- (16d) Experts should manage the factories and they should be responsible to the management of the factory and the trade unions.
- (16e) Management should be responsible to the owner.
- (17) I think that the collective farms are no good.
- (17a) In ninety percent they are bad.
- (17b) Those state farms which existed before this regime, too, were usually well managed and worked well. They had plenty of workers and were efficient and did not lose money. Some of the new state farms were not so well managed and they did lose money.
- (17c) People who do not want to remain in the collectives should have the right to leave them. Those collectives should be dissolved where the members do not want to stay and entered the collectives only by compulsion. Since the efficiency of the collectives depends on the willingness of the members to work, it is not good policy to keep such people in collectives who do not want to stay there and do not want to work.
- (17d) The members of the collective should decide which of the collectives should remain and which should be dissolved.
- (17e) Of the dissolved collectives, all of the land should be distributed according to what each individual farmer contributed to the collective when he entered it.
- (17f) Yes, there should be a limit of landholding. Everyone should have as big a land

as he and his family can cultivate.

- (17g) Well managed state farms should not be returned to individuals.
- (17h) Yes, definitely so.
- (17i) Large estates should not be returned. Only as big a land should be returned to each individual as can be cultivated by him and his family.
- (17j) Lifestock and equipment, too, should be distributed and everyone should receive according to his contribution at the time of his joining the collective. I do not know what should be done with the buildings. Maybe they should stay in state ownership.
- (17l) Yes, the state should help agriculture with money help and ^{loans} ~~taxes~~.
- (17m) The machine tractor stations should remain as they are.
- (17n) They should remain in state or government ownership.
- (17o) No, I would not.
- (17p) I would not dissolve them.
- (17q) Yes, I think it is ~~sk~~ desirable to mechanize agriculture.
- (18a) I do not know.
- (18b) No, there should be no difference.
- (18c) Yes, they should receive financial support.
- (18d) Yes, they should take part in public education. Churches should supervise the moral ~~educat~~ education of the pupils and also should arrange religious lessons.
- (18e) Yes, the teaching of religion should be restored in schools.
- (18f) I would send my children to denominational schools.
- (18g) Yes, the church should own some land, but great church estates should not be restored to the church.
- (19) If the Communist regime were overthrown, party members should be investigated.

They should be only punished if they had some sort of crime against the public. Their

~~Their~~ relations with Communism should be questioned. If they were Communists by conviction, they should not be punished. The Communists who were communists because they believed in the Communist ideas and theory were not bad.

- (19b) The leaders should be under supervision so that they should not be able to reorganize the Communist Party. Such organizations should be forbidden.
- (19c) Same should happen with the petty officials.
- (19d) Nothing should happen with the rank and file member since ninety percent of them joined the Communist Party only to be able to keep their jobs. Only the leaders were really communists.
- (19e) The youth league should be dissolved and the members should be investigated. The leaders should be taken responsible.
- (19f) The AVH should be abolished and a new police body should be organized. The leaders should be replaced by others.
- (19g) Nothing should happen to the members of the police.
- (19h) I do not know.
- (20) The most important contribution of Hungary to the world's history and culture was that Hungary stopped the Turks with the help of Rakecsi, that Hungary gave an example to the world with its 1848 revolution and especially with its 1956 revolution.
- (21) I don't think that there is an Hungarian national character. People are the same everywhere only their way of living and their habits are different.
- (21e) I do not know.
- (21f) I do not know.
- (22) All the governments had some advantages or disadvantages. Maybe the best one was

the Austrian-Hungarian Empire after the compromise.

- (22a) As I said, during the monarchy after the Compromise of 1867 Hungary was well off.
- (21b) Workers and other people who had no property had a difficult time making a living.
- (22c) Yes, Hungary had a feudal society until 1848.
- (22d) It was good. There was no unemployment.
- (22e1) I do not know about it.
- (22e2) I do not know.
- (22f) There was much social and economic inequality in Hungary before 1945.
- (22g) In great generalities the whole regime was good.
- (22h) Hungary should have been neutral in the second world war in order not to get into such a position as it did get after the war period.
- (22i) After the war it was hard and very difficult to live in Hungary, from '48 on there was some prosperity and after 1950 there was a relapse.
- (23) In certain points border lines are important, because without border lines there would be smuggling. On the other hand it would be much better if one could travel abroad freely. I think it would be very advantageous if Europe could be unified.
- (23b) Yes, Hungary has a rightful claims for the territory of Transylvania, Bácska-Banás (a territory south from Hungary belonging now to Yugoslavia.) Further on Hungary has rightful claims to the Felvidék (on the north of Hungary belonging now to Czechoslovakia.) These territories have always belonged to Hungary, they were given to other people, unjustly.
- (23c) Yes, the Germans and Austrians threatened Hungary's ^{territory} ~~territory~~. The Austrians want the territory which is ~~now~~ western Hungary and want to have their

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boundary pushed east to the Danube. They also want the
(Kisalföld, a fertile land on the northwest of Hungary, the homeland of
the respondent)A.O.)

- (23d) I do not know.
- (23e) They get along fine. There were no differences between them.
- (23f) They too get along alright lately.
- (23g) They also get along.
- (23h) There were some quarrels before the restoration of ^{good} relations between Tito and the Russian Communists.
- (24) I do not know.
- (24a) This would be impossible under Russian domination.
- (24b) It would be very ~~mutual~~ advantageous to unite different countries, maybe the surrounding countries and Hungary. There should not be one government, each country should have its own government, but there should be some sort of a federation. Traveling should be free, ^{The} ~~if~~ different countries should financially and commercially help each other.
- (24c) Hungary could contribute agricultural products, wheat and other things and also some industrial products.
- (24d) I do not know.
- (24e) I am against that.
- (25) As people they are the same as we are. Only their leaders are different.
- (25a) No, they are just as other people.
- (25b) They are the same as we are. There are good and bad among us too.
- (25c) No, there are not.
- (25d) No, I did not.
- (25e) The Hungarians were afraid of them.

- (25f) No, I have not had any experience with them.
- (25g) They were likeable, they were good and friendly to the Hungarians only their leaders were bad.
- (25h) The same was the feeling in 1953.
- (26) I do not know. I did not read much about it and whatever I did read I didn't like.
- (26a) I do not know enough about it.
- (26b) Does not apply.
- (26c) I do not know.
- (26d) I do not know.
- (26e) I do not know.
- (26f) I do not know.
- (26g) I do not know.
- (26h) I do not know.
- (26i) After the war Hungary was a democracy.
- (26j) I would not know.
- (27) I do not know.
- (27a) Does not apply. He doesn't know what national Communists are.
- (27b) Does not apply.
- (27c) I do not know about Gerulka's policy.
- (27d) I do not know.
- (27e) Communism and Hungarian patriotism are not compatible.
- (28) Imre Nagy would not have reached very great maximum results if he had stayed in power. The reason for this is that he was a Communist, too. ^{Nevertheless,} He would have abolished ^{and} the nationalizations, ^{and invested} people could have worked/privately. He would have given back private property.
- (28a) I do not know.

- (28b) I do not know. A part of the revolutionaries adhered to Imre Nagy, but another part was against him. I wouldn't know what would have been the outcome of free elections.
- (29a) Socialism is good.
- (29b) Colonialism is bad.
- (29c) Class struggle is bad.
- (29d) I do not know whether National Front is good or bad.
- (29e) Imperialism is bad.
- (29f) I do not know whether capitalism is good or bad.
- (29g) Bourgeoisie is good.
- (29h) I do not know about Peter Veres.
- (29i) Kulaks are bad.
- (29j) I do not know about Tretsky.
- (29k) I do not know about Masaryk.
- (29l) I do not know about Chiang-Kai-shek.
- (29m) Anna Kothly is good.
- (29n) Mindszenty is good.
- (30) I do not know, maybe the Smallholders' party.
- (30a) I do not know who would be the most popular leader, but certainly someone who would give the people what they wanted.
- (31a) Workers received less than deserved.
- (31b) Collective farmers received what they deserved.
- (31c) Smallholders received less.
- (31d) Kulaks received less.
- (31e) Government employees received less.
- (31f) Professionals received less than what they deserved.

- (31g) Party members received less.
- (31h) Tradesmen received less.
- (31i) Artisans received less.
- (32) Small artisans, tradesmen, kulaks and ~~px~~ physicians were better off before 1948. Workers and independent farmers were worse off.
- (33a) In general they would coincide.
- (33b) In general they coincide.
- (33c) In general they coincide.
- (33d) I do not know.
- (33e) In general they coincide.
- (33f) They are in conflict.
- (33g) I do not know.
- (33h) They were in conflict.
- (33i) They were in conflict.
- (33j) They were in conflict.
- (34) I did not think that the United States was dangerous.
- (35) Only Communists would fight for the present regime.
- (35a) The whole population would fight against it.
- (36) My opinions have not changed since I left Hungary.

- (1) I have no questions
- (1a) I think it was interesting.
- (1b) I think you will get much interesting material.
- (1c) It is hard to believe the people whom you do not know. Some people will try to give such opinions which they believe would coincide with American opinions.
- (1d) In general you will get honest answers.
- (1e) I think you asked, in general, about everything and you will receive, using this questionnaire with other people, a pretty clear picture.
- (2)a) I should like to go back to Hungary as soon as possible, maybe I will be able to go back in two or three years. about all phases of the Revolution
- (3)a) In Austria you could have collected a great deal of photographs from people who escaped from Hungary.
- (3b) Maybe I will write later about my experiences.
- (3c) I have no suggestions at the present, but if I will know someone, I will write you a card.
- (4) (He was paid for the TUE sessions.)