

- (1) The world should know the Hungarian people aside from the puszta and the gulyas, but they don't know their history and their traditions. If in addition to these they knew the events of the last 10 years, they would understand the Revolution. The world is completely ignorant of the thousand years of Hungarian history and the fact that during half of this period Hungary always either supported another nation or paid tribute to it. The Russians, however, in contrast to the Hapsburgs, pretended to be equal friends, but instead they subjected us to tremendous economic and mental oppression. This mental oppression was unbearable, when every paragraph started "According to the example of the great Soviet Union..."
- Unfortunately they also found enough traitors to serve them. This is surprising to me. Hungarians are often envious and often very materialistic and opportunistic. This may explain some, but besides these bad habits otherwise they are true patriots. One can generalize on this. A lot of Communists are now great patriots. Of course, Hungarian as a race is more fiction than reality for it is much diluted with German and Serb blood.

- (2) The earliest tremors appeared in Irodalmi Ujsag, the literary magazine, since the beginning of 1956. A friend of mine subscribed to it and we talked it over once or twice a week in our small literary circle. People in the universities did not like their being treated together with workers and peasant youth, for they considered that they have separate interests. To some extent, I think, this was one of the reasons for the student movement in Szeged. One heard rumors about it in the spring of '56, but this was not limited to students; actually, the Communist bosses tried to flatter the workers and the UB president went around asking about the workers' wishes, things they haven't fulfilled in years. Actually, until Gerö's speech there was no movement, but as an electrician I saw all parts of the plant and everyone talked politics for the first time. Gerö's boot-licking maddened the crowd. On the 23rd the radio announced that "counter-revolutionary armed groups attacked our buildings". Then they played music and then they would repeat the same, short statement followed by music.

- (2b) The people waited when Stalin died.
- (2bii) All were glad for a man with heart and common sense and most preferred him to an idiot from another party.
- (2biii) In a period of quiet these things brought a light ray of hope.

- (2biv) Being an optimist, and easily fooled, I believed that much greater changes were in the offing than the ones which occurred.
- (2bv) We felt if they did it, our time may yet come.
- (2bvi) This was a great event. I heard a sarcastic radio program of a visit to his home, of thousands of books, not one of them Hungarian, but all Russian, and not one of them cut open; of large Stalin pictures that opened as doors.
- (2bvii) All gave credit to Tito for this and Mrs. Rajk behaved well at the funeral and she refused any compensation. There were some very revealing photographs of her at the grave.
- (2bviii) I only heard of Gomulka after the Hungarian Revolution broke out, but one should note that throughout these events the people were being intimidated with new arrests all the time. The general attitude was perhaps well expressed with the revival and reception of Imre Madach' "Tragedy of Man". This revival in '53 was sold out for months and counts as the greatest cultural event of the decade. The director of the play, Tamas Major, was very curious why this should be so. An elderly friend of mine who is a great interpreter of the dramatist, simply remarked to him that he has most to say these days.
- (2c) On a long range view one can say the death of Stalin and Nagy's first ministry.
- (2e) They dared to open their mouths.

- (2g) A couple of months before the Revolt, I read a poem. I think it was entitled "Poor Europe" in the literary journal. It mentioned us Hungarians as the orphans of Europe, together with the big dogs of the Party. We were amazed and surprised that this was printed, for we didn't dare to talk in this way. So it's true, the writers gave us courage.
- (3) The writers' activities started much, but Garó's speech actually fused the Revolt.
- (3a) The situation had to be ripe. This happened on Oct 23rd.
- (3b) The controls had no real foundation.
- (3f) Can't think of any.
- (3g) Good technological experts who were perhaps religious and thus assailable, did not belong to the Party and were intelligent people. These people were afraid of the future responsibility, which participation in the Revolt would entail on them. These people kept quiet and warned others. The Communists disappeared.
- (3h) Independence and neutrality for Hungary, Socialism without the Russians; the main demands, a Hungarian army without Soviet control in Hungarian uniforms; three separate youth organizations for students, peasants, and workers; release Mindszenty; permission of many political parties. At the same time, however, people started organizing everywhere and all were madly going about splintering into factions. I felt that the Mindszenty speech should have been delayed.

- (3i) I think it was primarily anti-Soviet and here I would like to distinguish between anti-Russian and anti-Soviet, for there is still some respect in Hungary for Russian culture, literature, and so on.
- (3k) Some of these were opportunists, that's why they were Communists to begin with. In our plant we had a Party secretary who was kicked out a year ago, who during the Revolt managed to become head of the city Revolutionary Council. He simply happened to be the first handy person who spoke up at the Council's first meeting and was elected, though no one trusted him as a person.
- (3l) Used broadly, everyone was a reactionary. Of course the ex-officers, ex-landowners, and so on were much too afraid to do anything in the Revolt, although they hoped for a change.
- (3m) It would have meant a full victory of the Revolution and its ideals. Its success would have depended on a new gov't. We could have used a Hungarian Adenauer.
- (4) I was on duty in the plant when I heard the Kossuth radio to which the plant's radio was automatically tuned. We were all excited, but nothing happened until the 26th. After that day I worked in the plant during the day and at night in the hospital. On the 26th, at 10 a.m., there was a demonstration of the students from the academy and they also called out the people from the plants.

I had to stay, for we kept the power going for the city and the plant. The group then marched to the AVO barracks and demanded that they take the Red Star down. The AVO officer present refused this and gave a signal. Fire was opened from every direction and 40 of the unarmed people died immediately. About 150 were wounded and many of these died later. Unfortunately I could not leave my post till 5 p.m., when my relief came. Then I ran into the hospital. By that time the crowd went back and the AVO disappeared. Three of them were caught. These surrendered quietly. One man, beaten to a pulp, was finally brought to the hospital. No one would touch him, so I bandaged him. Of the 2-300 AVOs only these three were caught, but they were beaten up and strung up and killed. Now, I understand, these three men got a great funeral for their heroism. Besides my duties, I also acted as an interpreter daily for foreigners who came through Magyarovar. I also interpreted for the American consulate people who tried to get out and were returned. Austrian journalists I met, urged me to leave the country then. But I refused for I felt I was needed to build a new Hungary. Once the Russians invaded us again, I knew I had no choice and I left. A friend of mine and I left on our bicycles. On the way, purely accidentally, I met my father who was fleeing with his second family, for he was divorced and remarried.

How does she view this?

We fled then together. Near the border we met a Russian tank. The Russians looked very vicious, but actually they were hungry. We fed them and they let us go on. Throughout the Revolt the factory did not work, but the electric teams supervised the transformers and the power supply to prevent any major damage.

- (5) I always had one goal in life, to become a doctor. So I was always in and out of the hospital in Magyarovar. During the Revolt I spent every minute away from the plant in the hospital, treating the wounded and helping when I could. This is how I patched up the AVO man who was brought in half dead, with concussion and ^afractured skull. He kept moaning about Jesus, Jesus. It was incongruous. The most cruel thing, however, was that when I finished bandaging him and quieted him down, the chief-surgeon gave in to the pressure of the outside mob and insisted to hand him over to be lynched. I fought as hard as I could to save a wounded man's life, but I lost. They dragged him out and hung him.

(:) Unfortunately, politicking started almost immediately.

(!) They sat up a tank in front of each factory entrance, but people had no contact with the Russians and they had no contact with anyone, for there wasn't even an AVO to contact.

- (9) Mainly the radio, but also cars which continually came and went from and to Budapest.
- (9a) There were no papers.
- (9b) Budapest news from travellers.
- (9c) We listened to Radio Free Kossuth for the few days it operated and also to secret stations.
- (9d) The Revolutionary Council issued handbills with the demands of the Revolution, but these covered no news.
- (10) The old city gov't was excluded from power.
- (10a) A new national committee was formed.
- (10b) Nothing happened to them, no damage was done, all went home.
- (10c) They were intact and remained passive.
- (10d) They disappeared except for the three hung and trampled to death.
- (10e) No idea.
- (10f) They too were intact and remained passive.
- (10h) These were replaced by the national committee.
- (10i) They had no role.
- (10j) They had no organizations, nor had they fighters.
- (10k) The national committee, the Revolutionary Councils in every plant. These were made up of half reliable and half unreliable elements.
- (10l) The ex-Party secretary who was kicked out and now became city revolutionary secretary, called the council together. He talked to the workers and he got the votes.

People said, "After all, who knows things about administration and who organizes? Let's get Bela Nagy." We elected our own representatives to the youth councils and we also elected representatives for workers' councils. All the young members of the plant voted for one representative to stand by the director representing the interests of youth. The older workers voted for the director. The young and the old also voted separately for workers' council representatives, and these in turn picked the representatives to the city council. But often they picked an ex-DISZ secretary or some soccer-player or an aspirant for Party membership. It seems to me that the reason for the differences in picking separate representatives for old and young was partly based on lacking confidence in each other and partly continued the separation between DISZ and the CP.

*conflict of
old & young.*

(10m)

This is a matter for guess work. At first we would have had a pink gov't. Later a less-Communistically tinted one.

(11)

No great opus was left behind, at most a bitter after-taste. I was more unhappy about the disgustingly low standards of the Russians. I didn't think they would want to come back once they understood how much they were despised and hated. Originally I thought that the Hungarian Communists were the real culprits, but now I know that the Russians are just as much at fault.

- (11a) We wrote our name once more into history, but I can't think of any other results. Of course, it did prove the bankruptcy of Communism before the world. Previously I was convinced that about 3% of the population were real Communists, but not in favor of the present system, aside from the sadists and criminals. I thought about 30 - 40% were opportunists, and 10% the sadists.
- (11b) Without Russian intervention, of course completely.
- (11c) Some blind people did, I did not. Some, not thinking, expected armed help. Some expected economic or other pressure on the Russians. I was too aware of Western selfishness and I only hoped that the Russians, seeing their unpopularity, will withdraw voluntarily. They would have gained the friendship of our country. The UN meetings were a joke.
- (11d) Hungary is closer to the West in distance and in its thinking. It also has the most traditions of liberty and the willingness to fight for it. As I said, it got more of western impact and Western information.
- (11e) He is a decent, human Communist.
- (11f) Gerö's and Mindszenty's speech.
- (11g) First - youth; second - the older workers; third - the intelligentsia. The peasants and the soldiers were passive. The sadism was done by the irresponsible mob. ✓
- (11h) I expected a great role of the workers in the Revolt, at least in the fighting, for they had it worst under the regime.

But I expected the mental leadership to come from the ✓
students.

(12) On November 4th.

(12b) No, this was a final, personal decision.

(12c) To study medicine.

- (1) I am a technician, repairing precision instruments, primarily measuring devices and meters other than electric meters.
- (2) I started as a helper in the store-room of the TIMFÖLD (Bauxite) Refining plant and in the evenings I attended a six-month course as a technician. After I finished the course I was transferred to the maintenance department where I worked for 2 years as a technician with a much better salary. In that capacity I went around the entire plant, repairing and installing measuring devices and control equipment. I have been there two years when one of the people from the high-voltage transmission department urged me to take a qualifying exam and apply for a job in that department. I had a week's time to study the material that six people just had an 18-month course on. We went in to the exam together and although I had no practical experience, I passed the exam which was entirely theoretical, while 4 of the people flunked it. They of course, were very competent electricians, but they were not tested in practical competence, only in theoretical knowledge. There was no opening just then at the transmission station, but about two weeks later a girl on the maintenance staff was killed when she touched a 36,000 volt wire. I was then offered the job as her replacement. I worked there for a year, until the Revolution.

This was a very lazy job for after setting switches we could just sit and relax in our control tower. Our job involved checking the various switches and connections at regular intervals. We had long shifts, since we maintained 24-hour control.

- (2e) I liked the plant, for a pleasant atmosphere prevailed among the workers. I liked the chemical process and I liked electricity. Both, electricity and chemistry, were very interesting to me, in fact, they took in second place after my primary interest in medicine. After working for four years in the plant, two of it in maintenance, I knew everyone there. I had a good time and if I would be back in Hungary, I would do the same.
- (2f) Yes, it was a successful operation. It made a white powder out of the bauxite that we received, which we then shipped to the aluminum plants.
- (3b) The night-shift from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m.
- (3c) It was much easier work and it paid better as we also had a "dangerous work" premium.
- (3d) The health conditions were miserable. There was no ventilation. There was no control of the bauxite dust at all and in the red plant, where the preliminary cleaning of bauxite took place, everyone got red within 10 minutes. In the white plant, where the final cleaning process was carried out, one got white in the same period of time.

The plant itself was 20 years old, which was modernized and greatly enlarged after 1945, but no health measures whatever were built in. The production equipment, however, was entirely modern. They also constructed a very beautiful and very excellent model plant restaurant.

- (3e) I took the bike every morning for a 5-minute ride.
- (3f) We were on 12-hour shifts, either day or night. We had about half an hour lunch-time in between, but often we were called out from the lunch-room in the middle of a meal.
- (3g) We worked 48 hours a week. To be more accurate, 208 hours a month. After three 12-hour shifts we got 2 days off.
- (3h) No.
- (3i) The usual ones: 7 November, 20 December, 4 April, 1 May.
- (3j) Twelve days a year, plus one day per year worked.
- (3k) Yes.
- (3l) Yes, if one was late. When I was a mechanic, I was always late. If one was three times late, his name appeared on the wall newspaper, but later, when I worked at the transformer station, we all went early to relieve the previous shift out of humaneness. If one was absent for a day, the pay was deducted and one also lost the premium as well as the vacation pay.
- (3m) There was no norm system in our plant.
- (3n) We were continually being pushed to work faster.

In the repair department one was steadily asked "when are you ready?" Instead of individual norms, the production figure of the plant was continually raised to higher and higher levels. Once we had not filled our quota for three months in a row. It finally turned out that a newly invented machine to clean the ovens, did not work properly and half the bauxite remained in them.

- (3o) I went only once to Zebegeny, where our plant had a resort, because I could not sit tight at a resort. I usually went on tours. I couldn't just sit down and relax some place. Concerning health insurance, we had it of course for free, and since I knew all the doctors I received excellent care whenever I needed it, and it was not a problem. Another benefit through the plant was that one could buy very nice editions ^{of} /books and the price was deducted for it in instalments. I had quite a good, little library this way, of classics. They also made very good gifts.

- (4) We had some of every type. At the transformer station, all the plant supervisors were electrician masters. One of them was an ex-teacher who could not teach any longer, he was a physicist. Actually all were nice at the plant and one could easily avoid unpleasant contacts.

- (4b) It was good. They did not treat people from high above.

- (4c) Only with those who participated in our tourist and sport circles. The tourist-club was a thing that I organized and we had very good company with engineers, locksmiths and Party secretaries participating. Every group was represented.
- (4d) Never.
- (4e) Of course. The former were in leading positions.
- (4f) They tried to protect the workers, but they were not very successful. They were responsible to distribute protective equipment and to foster accident prevention.
- (4h) They were not very effective and they were short-lived.
- (4i) what is that?
- (4j) Yes, the chief engineer and head of one of the neighboring plants, who was also the head of our tourist group, was entirely a-political. He went to church on Sundays and he was a very interesting person and had a very interesting family.
- (4k) The head of the electric section was a loud-mouth and an incompetent person who was there only for political reasons.
- (4l) In other departments they did, but they were afraid to come to the transformer department, because of the danger involved.
- (4n) Reliable Party men.
- (4p) I don't know, although we always saw suspicious looking people in the plant.

- (5) This was very difficult, especially if one left one's job without approval, one lost on vacation compensation and in many other ways.
- (5b) I wanted to be a medical doctor since my childhood. There was no doubt in my mind about this.
- (5c) Never, not in this field.
- (5d) Yes, for higher pay and better jobs.
- (5e) Now I have to study medicine. If I had all the money I wanted, I would start a radio-isotopic medical research institute. In summers I would travel to art collections.
- (5g) Yes, medicine.
- (6) Downright horrible.
- (6a) They were miserable.
- (6b) Clothing was always difficult, well high impossible. I graduated from gymnasium in my only sailor suit. One couldn't buy salami or sardines, although my mother killed a pig every year. I had a bike because my father was permitted to buy one for his job as an agronomist and I got his old one. Travelling was cheap because we made use of trips taken by the factory car going up to Budapest. Not long ago I saved for three months to buy a coat. The same was true for a good ^{pair of} shoes. Even so I sent clothes to my parents who had much less than I did, although we got many packages from the West from relatives. My last purchase was a 400 ft. pair of shoes.

- (6c) My family did not, I myself, I did.
- (7a) In 1953 I started with 600 ft. A year later, when I advanced from helper to technician, I advanced from 900 to 1,200 ft. In the end, when I worked in the transformer section, I made 1,300 ft., plus premium, which amounted to 150 - 200 ft. if the plant met its monthly quota.
- (7b) The chief engineer in our plant made 2,300 ft. The section chief of the electrical section made 1,800 ft. and a chemical, skilled worker made 1,300 ft., with say, about 10 years of experience. The average office worker made 1,000 ft.
- (7c) Made about the same.
- (8) Made about 1,300 ft., plus 200 in premiums, say 1,500 ft. Deducted from this were 7 ft. for Union dues, 150 ft. for peace loan, 20 ft. for sports dues, old age deduction, etc., so I received about 1,300 ft. cash.
- (8a) I had none.
- (9) I spent 150 ft. rent for one room. I also had the use of the bath, and we had very nice co-terants in the apartment.
- (9b) They were quite good there.
- (9c) 300 - 400 ft. per month, and in the plant kitchen half of the meal was paid for by the plant.

There were no shortages, but at times it was hard to get lard, and pork was rare to be had.

(9d) Just on sports equipment and a little bit of clothes.

(9e) I had a saw-dust stove, this is a new invention, which my father came to fix. When he filled it up, it burned for six hours and saw-dust was very cheap. The whole fuel wasn't more than 100 ft. for the winter.

(9f) Perhaps 100 ft. per month, but I did not smoke.

(9g) Nothing.

(9h) I spent perhaps 100 ft. for stamps, else this amount went for fencing, expenses, or books, or else tours.

(9i) I used the laundry at the plant, which was 40 ft. per month. We took the soap home from the plant and we took showers in the plant.

(9j) I subscribed to Elet es Tudomany, a general science weekly.

(9k) Nothing.

(9l) Not very much, although if I went home, it 200 ft.

(9n) I sent home 200 - 300 ft. and two months a year I kept my young sister for a sort of a vacation, who stayed with me. I also furnished my room with china and a rug and some pictures.

(10) I think they exploited the people. Twice a year they had price reductions, which however, were phony. The supply of merchandise was uneven. The main reason, perhaps, was that they tried to make an industrial land out of an agricultural country and they did not spend the necessary

time and effort on agriculture, although no one with his right mind in Hungary wanted such forced industrialization.

(10c) I don't know. I think it was much better, for people had everything.

After 1945 I was told in school of the hard times of before, but the peasants say that they prefer the old "exploitation" to the current Socialism. I know that the Pengő was a much better currency than the Forint is. Also, before, we had imports, but now we only have exports and furthermore, one could travel in the past, but not now.

(10e) No, I did not.

(10f) I know that many small peasants left the collectives and many seamstresses and hairdressers preferred to work independently. They were better off that way, although they could not hire help nor were they permitted to accept work from State enterprises.

(10g) About the same.

(11) Some of the workers couldn't afford to buy the subsidized lunch even. They had to eat bread and lard, for with a large family their wages were much too little.

(11b) In official capacity, for instance, the doctors were very bad. It wasn't their fault, for they only had three minutes per patient. Many were afraid of such treatment and visited the doctor during his private practice.

Actually, I myself went during the official time and since they knew me, they gave me very good service.

(11c)

For the helpers and the workers, for these had no savings and nothing to rely on.

Copy 7

- (1) I got my matura in 1953.
- (1a) I attended school from 1940 to 1953.
- (1b) I was in a State elementary school, spent three years of secondary school with nuns and five years of secondary school in a State gymnasium.
- (1d) Yes, the technical training I received - six month course in 1954.
- (1e) I wanted to go to medical school and for that I had to attend gymnasium, but I was not accepted even in secondary school, only after a lot of struggle.
- (2) Not at all.
- (2a) Medical school.
- (2b) To be a doctor.
- (2c) Yes.
- (2d) I was excellent. In the end in the gymnasium I was good.
- (2e) No, worse.
- (3) Yes, we had constitutional science, civil air defense course, and Russian; all of these were silly.
- (4) That the new generation should support them. They wanted to give us a pro-materialistic and anti-religious education. The Communists, however, made no effort at all to build character or honesty and actually honesty as a concept was not desirable.

They frankly preferred opportunists to honest disagreement, and they kept spies in every class. We had an ex-priest who was our teacher and class supervisor, who usually went through our briefcases to find love letters. He got one girl kicked out of school after having her diary read aloud. The poor girl actually had many affairs, but at the same time they arranged for un-supervised dancing parties in dark or semi-dark places.

- (4b) The Revolt gives the best answer.
- (4c) They were passive earlier, but became more spontaneous later. Some maintained an intelligent passivity without committing themselves.
- (4d) They liked the freedoms the regime gave. This meant sexual freedom primarily and the pupils enjoyed usually their freedoms to sit in at teachers' conferences. We also enjoyed the young pioneer while it concerned itself mainly with sports, tourism, and at that time I myself was a pioneer squad leader. Later it became much more political and also boring.
- (4e) Nothing else.
- (4f) This full freedom was going on till 1950, after that they tightened the reins.
- (4g) They are not different today.
- (4h) Yes, it did. They are fresh with teachers, often arrogant and self-assured. The way they treat girls is often outrageous and they know no politeness unless one teaches them a lesson.

- (4i) Most successful it was with illegitimate children or ones who grew up in Party homes. These had no parents except Communism.
- (4j) Few were sympathetic with Communism, one was our assistant director. He was a small man, a pessimist, an ex-officer from the old Army and he was stupid. He was a history teacher. However, he was ambitious and he wanted to become director of the school. For this he followed the Party line completely. He was a frustrated little man with ulcers, who tried to compensate himself and married the most beautiful girl in the village, the chimney-sweep's daughter.
- (4k) Cliques formed between the middle-class children and the worker children and the two never met or had nothing to do with each other.
- (4l) My parents never bothered to check or control the influence of the school, for my mother knew exactly how I felt and thought.
- (5) Before 1945 he was a land owner. After that, until 1952, he worked as an assistant in a flour mill in the village. In '52 he moved to Magyarovar and worked there till 1954 as a machinist. After '54 he worked as an agronomist.
- (5b) His last job was very difficult because he could only give advice, but not instructions, to the collectives, but still he was made responsible for any failure.
- (5c) He was an agronomist by profession.

- (5d) Yes, seven - a cook, two chamber maids, a chauffeur, and a nurse maid. a gardener, a butler, and a kitchen maid. There were also a lot of people on the six farms that we owned, but these, of course, were not personal servants. My opinion on this is, if you have a lot of money it is perfectly alright to assure your comfort and to hire the people who are needed for this.
- (5e) Yes, unfortunately.
- (5f) Better.
- (5g) Four of us.
- (5h) My parents were divorced in '52.
- (5i) I lived alone.
- (5j) My sister was married, I lived in a different town, and my mother lived in a different place. My father had a new family.
- (5k) It was a serious disadvantage, I was not admitted to medical school and almost not admitted to gymnasium. My sister wasn't even admitted to Gymnasium.
- (6) I am single.
- (11) Very close with our mother.
- (12) Lately I talked to my father, but he always complained, he always cursed the situation and the regime and it was very frustrating.
- (13a) No.

- (13b) Yes, at home I befriended a very nice girl who lived in our village, who, however, had a loose reputation. My father objected to this. I also liked a boy with whom I had many arguments. He was the son of the richest Kulak in the village and my mother often participated in our conversations and we had a very good time. My father worried about this boy's intentions. On the other hand, my mother worried about a priest who taught me religion and with whom I also had big arguments about religion. He was a very bright man.
- (13c) Yes, my father is very right-wing, and we argued about that.
- (13d) My father is irreligious, my mother isn't, and I was never forced to go to church.
- (13e) As noted above.
- (14) I saw my family rarely, especially after my father separated and started a new family.
- (14a) It was very close with my mother and my sister.
- (14b) Not at all typical.
- (14c) With literary arguments, I read, went on tours, I fenced, I attended many concerts, I carved wooden Walt Disney figures which I then painted, I was also very much concerned with medical things and I worked in the hospital as a volunteer whenever I could.
- (14d) I talked and read a lot with my mother.
- (14e) Very little.

- (14f) with more medical things, and to travel more.
- (14g) I worked, I had a tight schedule, but I had no other limitations on my time.
- (15) They weakened.
- (15a) This depends, some families had political differences.
- (15c) This weakened too. Many children didn't care to follow their parents and respect has generally declined.
- (15d) It is much worse in the town, in the country parental authority survived.
- (15e) No, they are a little freer perhaps.
- (15f) There are more divorces now.
- (16) Yes, it is less polite now and it is less respectful.
- (16a) There are many younger marriages.
- (16b) Men are worried of marriage and they court more cautiously now.
- (16c) One should not flirt - it's a waste of time.
- (16d) Yes.
- (16e) Probably, though it's prohibited.
- (16f) They are phony on this. As they say in Hungarian "They preached water, but they drank wine."
- (16g) It was punished very hard before, and permitted after '54.
- (16h) Prudery and prejudice are not absent, but the State does everything for the illegitimate child now.
- (16i) Their role has been equalized. Actually it is bad because the work is the same that the man does, but in addition

the woman has the home-work, and if her husband helps her she keeps it a secret - she would not want to embarrass him.

- (17) The standards sunk. There are fewer moral restrictions and there is not much fuss about an illegitimate child, for instance.
- (17b) Everyone, including us, stole from the State plant. Especially we took natrium, which is used for making soap.
- (17c) They had a lot of juvenile delinquency, but they kept it secret.
- (18) I met her in the hospital in 1953. She's a 38-year old Lutheran ~~and~~ Diaconissa ~~and~~ sister-nurse. We did a lot of fighting with each other, but she is a second mother to me. She is an eccentric and very strange woman, with a brilliant mind. She's also prudish.
- (18c) we argued about everything.
- (18d) Yes.
- (18e) No.
- (18g) Honesty and faithfulness, also he or she should like me and not my circumstances.
- (18i) It was a very interesting and very different group of people - here I'm thinking of the tourists. Besides them, I knew some older couples who were awfully nice and several of the doctors in the hospital. I also knew many musicians and writers.

With these we went to argue regularly.

- (18k) No, it would not have affected our friendship.
- (19) This was no problem, my mother is religious, my father isn't.
- (19b) I went irregularly, whenever I needed it.
- (20) Yes.
- (20a) No, I don't think there was as much pressure on the others.
- (20b) To exterminate the church.
- (20c) I had a personal acquaintance who was made a peace priest. He was a brilliant man and I personally find more sense in working with the regime as well as possible, than opposing it in endless battle. Actually, I think all the passive priests were made peace priests, and only in Budapest were the real peace priests who fought for the Communists. The one I knew was a sensible man and a good speaker and had a liberal mind.
- (20f) Those who were really religious - yes, they went all the time, even if it meant going at night. Those who were afraid were not really religious. Some went to spite the Communists.
- (20g) If there were some they could have been harmed only in combination with some other reason.
- (20i) Equally distributed. Many more felt the need and the churches were filled on Sundays.

- (20j) They annoyed them in different ways.
- (20k) It means less, and in as much education succeeded. The student youth, I think, goes as much as it went before, but the worker youth goes less.
- (20l) Nothing.
- (20m) This was made very difficult and both parents had to sign their intention to send the child to religious lessons. This was actually simply prohibited for Party members.
- (21) A medical doctor, of course, if he is interested.
- (21a) Because this is my choice and it is a most interesting and useful profession.
- (21b) To use his talents in order to balance the lack of political opportunism in his make-up.
- (21c) The good Kaders.
- (22) Best off were the Party and the gov't leaders; second, lower Party executives; the managerial class; artists and professionally active people; doctors, engineers, and in this group also belong the Stakhanovites. In a third group come the skilled workers, technicians, some small holders, and lower officials; also some fortunate MASZEKS; the fourth group is that of the unskilled workers, most of the kolkhoz peasants, the low white-collar workers and the declassé elements.
- (22a) In the third group.
- (22b) In the second group, because that is where doctors were.

- (22c) They were very well off and they were lazy.
- (22d) This depends on how much they compromised themselves with the regime. If they did, they lived very well.
- (23) Just the three basic of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia.
- (23a) Sooner or later everyone found his group.
- (23b) Society was turned upside down since the war, although many social circles remained, but also many former prejudices were revised.
- (23c) It had both good and bad sides. The worker could now marry the teacher without any difficulty, but he had no respect for the declassé.
- (23d) Actually it did not.
- (23e) There is greater uniformity today.
- (23f) This is good, excepting the bad aspects noted above.
- (23g) Very definitely changes took place. Man - woman relationships were now uninhibited and no politeness was left in social intercourse.
- (24) Those who had enemies suffered more.
- (24a) Those who had good connections were much better off.
- (25) Jews who had something before, now lost their positions. On the other hand they always had secret resources available and most of them got financial and economic help from abroad. I should say that they lived better, generally speaking. Many of them helped others.

The ones I knew lived better than the rest of us, but they did not do so ostentatiously.

- (25a) As a rule of thumb, half of the Jews served the regime well, the rest was passive.
- (25b) They played a substantial role. It was noted frequently that Imre Nagy and Kadar were only not-Jews by accident.
- (25c) Yes, these were passive towards the regime. They were very good and human people whom I valued highly.
- (25d) I do not know.
- (25e) During Hitler's rule, many were pitied, but during the last decade many had compromised themselves and they were fully disliked.
- (25g) Before, people pitied them, but now they created hatred against themselves.
- (25h) This depends on how they behave in the future. Those who stay in power will be persecuted in a new Revolution.

- (1) No, it does not - it never did.
- (1a) None.
- (1b) Never, although during the revolt it did and since then it does too.
- (1c) "ever.
- (2) There are always idiots at the head of the gov't and there is no change in this. Whenever a halfway sensible man came to power, he was kicked out soon.
- (2a) I sympathize with none.
- (2b) He was not.
- (2c) They did not.
- (2d) At home I was told all that's Communistic was bad.
- (2e) The family.
- (2f) The fourth alternative.
- (2g) Many, except those who liked everything, these were the blind Communists, and those who disliked everything, and these too were fanatical in one direction.
- (2h) The terror was ever-present - try not to obey!
- (2i) All were afraid of what's on the kader sheet and I thought this a good way to scare and control people, but I never cared what's on mine.
- (3) I could not study. One could not speak one's mind openly, except very carefully.

- (3a) x, xiii, and vi.
- (3b) 1, iii, and viii.
- (3c) x, xiii, and xv.
- (3d) vi, xiv, and xiii.
- (3e) xv, xii, and iii.
- (3g) More so in '56.
- (3h) No, one could not.
- (3i) One saw the assumed self-importance of the Party secretary day after day, stupid posters and slogans also.
- (3k) All found their solace in their own way.
- (4) In the hands of the Party and the AVO.
- (4f) It was greater than before 1944.
- (4g) Of course.
- (4h) I don't know.
- (4i) These were volunteers and many of them were lazy kids.
- (4j) Either pre-1948 Party members, or in the bigger plants graduates of the Communist academy.
- (5) No, no advantages.
- (5a) No.
- (5b) At one time, when I was in school, it was.
- (5c) There was no way for that then, especially since all of us were happy to be accepted in the school.
- (5d) Yes.
- (5e) In '49 I was forced to enter while in gymnasium.
- (5f) I was ^{the} first class-DISZ secretary, which I became because I was before the class secretary.

So when DISZ was introduced, I was automatically made DISZ secretary. However, since I never turned anyone in, I was removed in the second year. I remember, when DISZ was set up, we were made to line up in the windows when the priest was permitted for the last time to come to school to give religion classes there. We were told to shout "No religion for us, we follow Rakosi!" At this point I started to cry and had anyone seen me, I would have been dismissed, especially as DISZ secretary, but our Russian teacher, who was a decent soul although Communist oriented, came to my rescue and suggested that I got something in my eye. Later on, we had choir practice in that priest's church on Sunday evenings. When this became known in school, we were reprimanded, but we covered up for one of the teachers who went with us.

- (6) It meant "The broken record" type repetition of the Party line and the Party rules, it meant the attendance of seminars, meetings, social work.
- (6a) Higher officials had to join.
- (6b) What I called the "Red Underwear Chasers".
- (6d) Yes, this depends on when and where. I know of a whole factory and also an entire hospital which were forced into Party membership in 1948.
- (6e) I didn't notice this.
- (6f) Because they were idealists.
- (6g) Fair to good.

- (6h) No, I was not.
- (6r) Whoever happened to be on top.
- (7) No.
- (8) Perhaps 20%, they were too stupid.
- (9) Because youth was the least disguised.
- (10b) To keep control of the country, which I think is the aim of all terror.
- (10d) They bought people.
- (10e) They encouraged friendly Communists, people who would be "true to country and to people".
- (10f) There were no serious people among them, but primarily juvenile delinquents.
- (10h) No, but more so than a simple Party member.
- (10j) They were close.
- (10k) They had even closer relations on an equal basis, although the Party directed the AVG activities.
- (10l) Yes, I do, but I don't know what happened to him.
- (11) No.
- (11d) Perhaps those mainly who had compromised themselves with the old regime. Other than that, everyone else was liable.
- (11e) Only in Budapest.
- (11f) One couldn't.

- (11g) I don't know.
- (11h) They worked them in the kolkhozes in some places, and although we too were deported from the city of Baja, we just went to live to a village and no one bothered us.
- (13) Be kind to everyone, have no fights with anybody, give no opinions of your own, give no one an argument, and do your job adequately.
- (13a) Doctors, perhaps?
- (13b) No, it does not.
- (13c) Yes, very much so.
- (13d) Yes, in connection with the gov't.
- (13e) I recall the Groschner law-suit. His was a well known case of fraud, but he managed to buy his way out of any trouble.
- (13f) Yes, this helps, unless the regime wanted to blame him for something.
- (14) It was strongest in '48/'49, I think it eased off afterward.
- (15) It directed all Hungarian development.
- (15a) I would not know.
- (15c) Every change in Hungary reflected Soviet changes preceding it.
- (15d) I met once one, he was a very nice man, the director of a Danube valley construction company.

- (15e) In the economic life they took all and brought nothing back. Their influence was strongest. In the cultural life we were restricted to a Soviet literary diet. Their influence was weakest in the family life.
- (15f) The companies where Russia had a share interest.
- (16) They were jailed if they expressed their opinions, there was no chance for that.
- (16c) One could be honest with those one knew well.
- (16d) One could criticise the cultural life quite freely, but not at all political activities.
- (17) This depends what the situation is.
- (17a - e) On paper they are all impossible, but with proper connections everything is possible.
- (18) The terror kept up the system which would have toppled in view of the general dislike and enmity.
- (19) There were some counter-revolutionary efforts by a group of students in Baja. Presumably the fencing master there was their leader and they say they have found hidden arms on the roof of the gymnasium in 1954. As a result there were 10 executions, three people I knew quite well. The rest got jail terms ranging from 10 - 12 years. At the time I no longer lived in that town.
- (19b) Perhaps the declass e.

- (19c) The class now ruling.
- (19f) I think there were both, group and individual resistance centers.
- (191) The students saw clearly and they could no longer be fooled.

- (1) The radio.
- (1b) There was none other.
- (2) I read the magazine *Elet es Tudomány*, which gives a general introduction to the various fields of science for the laymen. At times I read the *Magyar Nök Lapja*.
- (2e) There was a good tourist wall paper, giving the touring news.
- (2g) I saw "L'Humanité" and the Communist illustrated.
- (3) About twice a month, if the film was recommended by my friends. The films were a mixed lot and we had some excellent nature films.
- (3c) I saw French, Italian, Argentine, Austrian and German films.
- (3e) When I went to Budapest, yes. But I seldom saw a good play, I preferred a concert.
- (4) I liked Arany, Vörösmarty, and I liked Toth Arpad. I loved the "Song of the wheatfields" and the "Golden Sarcophagus". I also loved Madach, and I loved Sandor Rozsa by Zsigmond Moricz. Of foreign writers I read some of Lin You Tang.
- (4i) There was no use to go to the library for such books, and one could get them only from friends with difficulty.

- (5) Yes, I listened to the radio. I made one myself and I also built in short wave/ reception. I listened to Vienna and I never listened to RFE, though my father always did.
- (5d) Musical programs and a cultural lecture. I liked the radio university which has very interesting lectures.
- (5f) Usually at home.
- (6) Just Vienna, nothing else.
- (6b) Usually after I got home.
- (6d) Although I listened to Vienna, I did not fully trust it either. I still discount about 20% of all news.
- (6e) I know of people who were actually punished for listening to RFE.
- (7a) Predominantly false rumors.
- (7g) People who came from Budapest or who had good connections with the capital, or else had friends coming or going.
- (7h) Anywhere, at home, on the job, on our tours.
- (8) They were all lies.
- (8d) One had to feel it.
- (8e) No, they were all alike.
- (8f) Yes, a friend of mine got it and we afterwards discussed the articles.
- (8g) I read the sports sections perhaps, I read a tourist paper.

- (9) Some yes, but some were phlegmatic and cynical.
- (10a) I read a book about it and I thought it was a big and dirty job, but I also thought that it perhaps had to be tried out.
- (10b) I believe that the Russians challenged the West.
- (10c) I didn't believe it at all.
- (10d) I thought they were much further ahead in re-armament than they were.
- (10e) I knew of the hand bills, but not of any damage done.
- (10f) I spent no time on this.
- (10g) I didn't waste time on that either.
- (10h) I thought that the emigrants were living their old lives, not realizing the changes in Hungary.

- (1) The Communist rule would have to be abolished and political parties permitted. The latter I think because many people want to keep political parties.
- (1a) Large plants should be kept in State hands, the land should be distributed to the peasants, about 20 acres to each.
- (1b) These should be kept, inasmuch as they were carried out.
- (2) The people love them, so let them have them. Serious people work, but the others need to get ahead through politics.
- (2a) Yes.
- (3) There should be no limits of free speech.
- (3c) No.
- (3d) No.
- (4) By all means, let them meet all they want!
- (4a) Yes, even then.
- (4b) If a gov't is not accepted by the people, but it is imposed by an outside power, be it the Hapsburgs or Kadar.
- (5) Not to exploit the country for Russia, and also to permit imports into the country to raise the standard of living.

- (6) Yes, I approve.
- (6b) Generally not.
- (6c) Yes, of course I do.
- (6d) All banks should be State banks.
- (6e) If all produce as much as they can, it will not be necessary to make money on products and goods needed for everyday life.
- (6g) This should be private.
- (7) All states should have standard goods which they can mass produce cheaply, but besides these there should be small industries, say up to 20 workers, in private hands, to produce quality goods.
- (8) This is an idiccy and nothing good came of it. It is the wrong way to increase production or improve quality. The State should influence, however, through intelligent bonus and price policy, production which is beneficial. Thus the peasants should be induced to produce for the export fruits and vegetables. The industrialisation as we knew it was mad. Instead, we should build a society on the basis of mutual persuasion, and the peasants should raise the crops needed for state exports on a voluntary basis, so that our imports can be paid for.
- (8d) The State.

- (9) The family life, for instance, is none of the State's business.
- (10) Of course, there are mutual obligations both ways.
- (11) No, it is worse. The OTI is horrible and it should be abolished.
- (11b) The poor could not and the plant manager got preferred treatment even in the OTI.
- (11c) OTI treatment is bureaucratic and the patient gets a much more thorough examination and care if he pays for it.
- (11e) I went to the OTI doctor whom I knew and was treated very well.
- (12) Yes, broader masses have this opportunity. Also, before, people had to wear evening clothes, now they could go in shirt sleeves or a blouse.
- (12a) Yes, I went more often as a child.
- (12b) All who wanted this.
- (13) No, they do not.
- (13a) They eat better now.
- (13b) They eat better now.
- (13c) No differences.
- (14) It was better then.
- (14a) It is better now.

- (14b) It is better now.
- (15) I do not know.
- (16) Only sensible and qualified men should direct the operation of plants. This goes for the whole plant and also for the individual sections.
- (16a) They should see to it that the workers are adequately protected and their welfare is assured.
- (16b) They should be subject to State control.
- (16c) This should not be compulsory.
- (16d) Competent persons.
- (16e) To the ministries.
- (17) They are crazy.
- (17c) The peasant has to have his own land, he will never work for commonly held land. They should be all disbanded.
- (17e) It is up to the State to distribute all lands.
- (17f) Land should be distributed depending on the size of the family. I would think, 20 acres for a couple, and 5 acres for each child.
- (17h) No, see above.
- (17i) Not at all, this is nonsense.
- (17l) Of course, farmers must have this in order to get started.
- (17m) They should have enough to fill their local needs.
- (17n) Yes, I would keep them in State hands.

- (18) There should be no church interference into State affairs.
- (18b) There should be no religious difference.
- (18c) They should be paid like officials. The State should maintain the church and they should not get paid for their services from the church members.
- (18d) They should not have this right.
- (18e) Yes, they should.
- (18f) This depends on the quality of teachers in a given school, but I would never give my children to nuns. On the whole, I would prefer a good State school.
- (18g) Nothing should be returned.
- (19) Those who are fanatical will remain Communists, the others will leave the Party anyway.
- (19a) Let them be happy.
- (19b) They should do whatever they want, for normal people are not Party members anyway.
- (19c) Leave them alone.
- (19d) The same.
- (19f) The AVH should be dissolved.
- (19g) They should kick out the illiterates. On the whole, all those who were guilty of crimes should be punished by the courts. The others should be left alone. All should have the opportunity to work and to live. Personally I would prefer not to punish any, but others would want to punish them. Actually, you never get on if you keep revenging yourself.

- (20) No valuable cultural contributions came out of Hungary during the last eight years. We Hungarians lost most when we lost King Mathias Corvinus, the Renaissance patron of culture. During his days Hungary contributed greatly to the west, ^{as} also under Bela III.
- (21) I think the Hungarians have a desire to produce the good and the beautiful, but they cannot do it, because they are always suppressed. Yet, culturally, their needs are perhaps greater in spite of their stormy past. We always wanted to be a major European force, but our hands were tied.
- (21a) Yes, we differ from the Germans. We lack the animal diligence that the Germans have, and we cannot work for work's sake. Our work must have an aim.
- (21b) We are not as limited as the Russians in our thinking.
- (21c) We are not as naive as the Americans.
- (21d) No, nothing changed.
- (21e) There is no middle class now, only the three classes of workers, intellectuals, and peasants. In these classes lives a desire for culture and for science. In addition, in the peasant lives the desire to produce something out of his land. In the worker and the intellectual there is the desire to produce, and certainly not for the premium he was promised, though he may have believed this.
- (21f) There were other classes, the changes are real. Before 1945 we had a useless aristocracy and the worker had

no interest in his work. The capitalist was concerned with earning more and not with producing more, and the peasant was concerned with getting more land for himself. He was land-hungry.

- (22) Unfortunately I only know history as taught by the Communists. I do not know real history, and I do not believe the Communist version.
- (22a) Then we supported Austria with¹the Hungarian economy.
- (22c) Till 1944, yes.
- (22d) This was bad.
- (22e1) I don't know enough about it.
- (22e2) People didn't learn from it, it seems.
- (22f) Yes, there were substantial differences.
- (22g) All of it was bad. There was too much of the middle class gentry thinking and morality.
- (22h) We did not follow a good policy.
- (22i) It was a wild period, and chaotic.
- (23) There is no need for these, they seem silly now.
- (23b) Yes, for the old Hungary, the Carpathian basin.
- (23c) No, I don't think so.
- (23d) The old Austro-Hungarian opposition, which was permanent due to the Hapsburg suppression of Hungary, is much reduced now. Now, the Russians are hated, obviously.
- (24) Yes, the solution is to return to our thousand-year old frontiers. This always was Hungary and it always will be.

- (24a) I prefer such a solution, but I would not fight for it. This is very difficult and no one would agree with the other.
- (24b) It is not a bad idea, but it is unlikely.
- (24c) All should have roles of equality.
- (24d) Only if entire Europe is united, else Russia would control an Eastern-European federation.
- (25a) Yes, the emigrés are very different from the Soviet Russians.
- (25b) I cannot appreciate the Russians for putting up with this demagoguery for so long. I'm afraid, the relationship of the smart ones to the idiots is very unequal.
- (26) I don't know enough about it, but I reject the absolutism of materialism, though I accept the social reform ideas.
- (26c) Yes, Lenin was a good Marxist.
- (26d) Stalin was not one.
- (26e) Tito is a clever fox. He's a politician and he is no Marxist. He does not have a moral stand.
- (26f) Perhaps 2/3 know what it is about, the rest have no idea of it.
- (26g) I don't know enough about Social Democrats.
- (26h) One cannot be both.
- (26i) To keep on a normal middle way, atleast this is what it meant in Hungary.
- (26j) Never.

- (27) Local Communist rule.
- (27a) Of course there were.
- (27b) The National Communists.
- (27c) It is a very good policy, it is much better and much more purposeful than a Revolution.
- (27d) Half and half.
- (27e) Generally perhaps yes, but maybe not at the present in Hungary.
- (28) I have no idea, but he would have been kicked out soon. We would have had, perhaps, a Social Democratic leadership with an Austrian type neutralization policy. Atleast this is what was desired.
- (28b) No, I don't think Nagy would have survived.
- (29a) Good.
- (29b) Bad.
- (29c) Bad.
- (29d) Bad.
- (29e) Bad.
- (29g) Bad.
- (29h) Some good, some bad.
- (29i) I don't know much about him.
- (29j) I was told he was bad.
- (29k) I don't know.
- (29l) Chiang Kai-shek is bad.
- (29m) I do not think much of her.
- (29n) It is hard to say.

- (30) The Social Democrats.
- (30a) Imre Nagy.
- (31a,b,c,e,f) Under their due.
- (31d,h,i) On the bottom.
- (31g) Got more than their share.
- (32) The peasants had it better, the workers had it worse before 1948.
- (33a,b,c) Are in harmony.
- (33d,e,f) In opposition.
- (33g) In harmony.
- (33h) In opposition.
- (33i) In harmony.
- (33j) In opposition.
- (34) I have no fears, ^{except} perhaps, that the United States is not civilized enough.
- (35) The few beneficiaries of the regime would perhaps defend the regime, or not even they would.
- (36) I have changed my views ¹ about the United States. I am more favorably impressed now.

INTERVIEWER'S ESTIMATE OF RESPONDENT

Respondent is a brilliant person and the interview speaks for itself. She reacts very strongly to people, events, and ideas, and certain occasional exaggeration in her judgment seems to be due to an education which only insufficiently made use of her mental equipment. She gave the impression of being aware of being educated below her mental capacities. Her humane thinking and the soundness of her opinion on the whole, are most surprising from a person who has never had an opportunity for higher education or intellectual company, outside from the small-town doldrums, in which she lived.