

- (1) Our recent past was matchless in Hungarian history. There were many wars and much exploitation of the country, but never before was the country so tied down to another power or plundered like this before.
- (2) About two months before the revolt the relaxation became noticeable and it became clear, that the regime was losing its grip over the people, this became obvious through the newspapers.
- (2b) The years were getting worse year after year since 1948, the Hungarian people were more and more muzzled daily. This liberalization only started in August-September and there was no change before that time.
- (2b1) The new management brought perceptible relaxation.
- (2b2) There were some improvements on the economic political life, some price reductions took place and so on. Had he been left in power it may have meant an improvement, actually it is unclear how he would have acted.
- (2b4) The people did not believe in anything after ten years of phony propaganda, they didn't think that Stalin's enemies would become their allies.
- (2b7) We know of this, but this was but a single instance of hundreds of similar cases.
- (2c) Only the last two months.
- (2f) They perceived the changes first and they implied the dislike of the Soviet control and Soviet power in Hungary.

- (2e) Yes, their role was important.
- (2g) The Hetfői Hírlap was most open, attacking the regime.
- (3) The workers were generally dissatisfied with living in the prison, which Hungary was. One couldn't move about freely, one even needed a permit to go to a border town, not to speak of Austria. Only old women could go abroad since last year, but they were considered a burden on the state anyway.
- (3a) The government made promises and then the Gerő speech roused the people. The revolt was not possible before, for the people were controlled so tightly.
- (3b) The Soviet government was concentrating on Poland at the time, and they forgot about Hungary for one or two months. They relaxed their controls and worried of a repetition of the Polish developments.
- (3c) The demands of the university students were already known on the 21st and they could not be stopped anymore from being used.
- (3f) Only party secretaries and the AVO. 99% of the party members themselves hated Communism, and joined only to protect their jobs and families and not to starve.
- (3g) Some were afraid and they saw the Revolt as a dream, which did not concern them, and the older people worried of the consequences.
- (3h) I don't remember these.
- (3i) Yes.

- (3k) It gave an opportunity for those, who were members, to get out of membership and disclaim any sympathies with the party.
- (4) The people spoke quite freely. I worked as an auto mechanic in Sopron, we worked very hard to keep food, medicines, so on moving to Budapest from Austria. On November 4th we were called in to the plant to be given arms, and then we prepared buses to take people to Austria, we left on the 5th as a unit.
- (7a) All wanted the same things, <sup>there</sup> ~~they~~ were no groups at all.
- (8) I didn't see any.
- (8e) I don't know of any.
- (9) It was hard to get news, our drivers brought the best news from their trips, we got little news on the domestic radio and had to depend mainly on foreign stations.
- (9a) The university printed hand bills, that's about all.
- (9b) See above.
- (9c) See above.

- (10) The old city administration was locked up.
- (10a) I don't quite know.
- (10b) We locked up the offices, disarmed the people, and locked up, functionaries.
- (10c) They came over to the Revolt completely, in fact they directed the destruction of the monuments. The city's DISZ secretary who was generally hated, demanded police protection and then called the army to help him. Finally two policemen showed up and urged the mass that not too many should beat him up lest they killed him. In fact he was beaten up but not killed.
- (10g) I wouldn't know.
- (10h) I don't know.
- (10h) The military and the police.
- (10k) I don't know of any.
- (10l) In the Culture Center at the mass-meeting students and workers were elected for the councils.
- (10m) Independent government free from all foreign interference, like Austria.
- (11) Of course my parents and brothers stayed home.
- (11a) We only hurt ourselves, almost all the young people who stayed home were taken away, we don't know where to or for what, but the mother of a friend of mine was told by the AVO when her son was taken away, "our mothers cried also 6 months ago".
- (11b) Yes, and we blamed Britain and France for the Suez War.

The Russians would have been ashamed in front of world opinion, but after the Suez attack they had an excuse. We couldn't have won a war, but the Russians couldn't have attacked Hungary without the Suez excuse on November 4th.

(11c) Yes, although Austria couldn't have helped us with real aid and more western aid would have perhaps meant World War III. We didn't expect the West to betray us in Suez.

(11e) We didn't know in the beginning where he stood, whether his stop-the-Revolt orders were voluntary or enforced, no one blamed him at first, he was well liked ever since '53.

(11f) Maleter played the greatest role.

(11g) The students and the universities led in the beginning, and they didn't even want to have the workers involved at first. They assumed all controls and directions and they asked for help only in the strike. Many workers asked to be permitted to help and offered to go to Budapest to fight, but this was refused. Had there been stronger worker influence the country would have sent more help and men to Budapest. The second place in the Revolt belongs to the workers, pretty much on the same level as the students, but they did not receive responsible positions in the Revolt. Third were the soldiers, fourth were the peasants and while they weren't given a role in the Revolt they were very sympathetic and helpful, they asked for arms and cheered the students and the workers. Five, the intelligentsia was afraid for their jobs, they retired from activities, since they were easiest replaced.

- (12) I didn't decide, I was on the border, awaiting developments, armed. On the fifth we went over to Austria to get breakfast, but they never let us back, and disarmed us. On the fourth the soldiers and students meant to oppose the coming Russians, but the army officers sabotaged the guns and incapacitated them, then people got scared and withdrew to more protected areas. Many were disgusted with our own traitors, but even then had the Russians fired into the group, the Hungarians would have resisted, but no one fired, and the Russians took over without a shot.



- (1) Automobile mechanic.
- (2) After finishing school in '51, I went to work in a textile mill as a weaver, worked there till September '54, from October '54 till the Revolt I worked and trained as a car mechanic.
- (2e&f) In the textile mill called Csotex, three shifts worked producing only military uniform materials, probably for Russia. This went on without interruption for the last two or two and half years. The norms were set at the breaking point, and one couldn't step out to the toilet without loss in norm requirements.
- (3) I liked it because I wanted to learn a trade. Skilled workers lived better than unskilled workers, also I liked the job much better.
- (3a) I always liked to be a car mechanic.
- (3b) We repaired government vehicles, buses, trucks, cabs, but there was never any material for repair, we used second hand parts for repair, and always patched up the old equipment. We called it the abuse of technology; often we were out of screws, and we were told "the problem can and must be solved!"
- (3d) All of the equipment was out dated and old, it was taken away from former MASZEK garages and repair shops, we had no new equipment at all. I didn't see a shop like that around here in Germany. The shop was completely neglected,

and if one complained, one was either told there was no allocation for this or that improvement, or that this is budgeted and planned for 1958.

- (3f) Eight hours a day.
- (3g) Six days, we also worked eight hours on Saturdays. All workers did that except office workers.
- (3h) No overtime at all. The mechanics threw their tools down on the dot, in the middle of any operation.
- (3j) The mechanics got 12 days, under 18 one got 18 days, and apprentices got 24 days. And the young people were given free vacations, to gain them over, and boys over 14 were taught to shoot, for this is the group the regime was hoping to rest its power on.
- (3l) This depended on what the job and what the place was. In the bigger plants yes, in the textile mill, one lost pay or vacation time, but in the repair shop no one bothered.
- (3m) The norms were continually raised to the possible highest level. The lead workers and stchanovites jacked up the norms, and then the pay was reduced for everyone. These people were hated most, by everyone in the plants. They were too stupid to see their own role in this game, and they took their norms as standards for all. Work contests were the routine. These went on from one official holiday to the next, and the victor got two, three hundred Forints, and a big certificate, suitable for framing. Fortunately we didn't have this in the repair shop. All this went on however in the textile mill, where in a section of a



hundred workers we had three stachanovites and six or seven CP members. When these people exceeded the norms they made good money for a couple of weeks, but then when the norms were raised, they were back in the same boat, with everyone else, only worse.

- (3o) Free tickets were distributed to worthless Soviet propaganda performances. The better stachanovites and CP members however, had to go, they had to show themselves, but no one else did.
- (4) There were about fifty of us in the repair shop, we had one supervisor, who was also party secretary, it was a pleasant atmosphere. One mechanic would tell him "you and the bald-headed up there, meaning Rakosi] should be hung up together", but the general replay would be "shut up! and do your work". All knew each other in this repair shop, and all were young people, about 28-30 and a few apprentices.
- (4b) Supervisors pretended to be the same as everyone else, but at social affairs, they were always left alone, no one mingled with them.
- (4o) All of us were sport-conscious and all went to the MHK meets, all liked it. The Communists saw political gains in these, but for us it was good healthy sport. Of course, if one was uncooperative with them, they would try to harm him wherever they could.
- (4d) Quite freely, but we left the party members out. Those were quiet, though they heard everything, but they did

not participate in the conversations. We even had a stachanovite since every plant had to have at least one, but he was just like everyone else, a very decent guy, and he didn't work any harder, but somebody had to get the certificates.

(4e) There was not.

(4f) It served the CP. No one trusted it.

(4h) I don't know a thing about them, they were considered a  
&i joke, and their meetings were considered clownings.

(4l) No one interfered in the machine shop, but if someone higher up came by, people grabbed a tool and looked busy.

(4n) I don't know.

(4p) Yes, in the textile mill, among the workers, and they collected fees from the AVO. When I went to work there I was warned about them. Generally these people kept quiet, because they did not have much security either.

(5) It was possible only if they permitted a change. I was let go from the textile mill because the law gave me the right to go to study. The director in the mill insisted there was no such rule, but I got a letter from the director of the apprentice school, saying that he would have to let me go. He still insisted that he was not impressed with letters, and seals, but finally he let me go, since he had to. Otherwise it is very hard to change jobs, and the law permitting one to accept a promotion elsewhere was never kept. Thus even their own phony laws

were disregarded by the Communists.

- (5b) Car mechanic.
- (5e) Depends how much one can afford, one has different needs in Germany, and different ones in the United States. I like sports and swimming.
- (5j) I would have had to go to the army, so I expected to leave Hungary. The thought of building a family in Hungary, was sheer madness. Of course no one wanted to leave the country, while the Revolt was successful.
- (6) We had just enough to eat. I had one suit of clothes for seven years, and I couldn't have bought another one, no matter what, a pair of shoes meant a catastrophe lasting for three months, till one caught up with oneself.
- (7) In the textile plant I made 900 fts. but I had to work hard for it. In the shop I got 240 fts. apprentice money, plus dinner.
- (7d) My father and I. My father was sick, and he only made 850 fts. as keeper of the store, in the textile mill. I also had two little sisters, and my mother had bad legs. My older sister was soon married, she had a chance.
- (8) 240 fts. and I never joined the union or DISZ, but they deducted for old age insurance, and health insurance, but not very much.

- (9) We paid 50 fts. rent for five of us, in a two room and kitchen apartment.
- (9c) Almost all of our money.
- (9d) We couldn't even buy a pair of socks. One either ate, or one clothed, and I couldn't work on the side.
- (9e) We spent about 30 fts. on electricity, and 8 fts. on water. We ordered fuel in the plant in August, to get delivery in December. We got about 15 ctwts of coal, and one and half ctwt of wood, we paid about 36 fts. per ctwt.
- (9f) I didn't smoke and never drank, we couldn't afford a glass of wine or beer after dinner, this was impossible.
- (9g) Nothing.
- (9h) 30 fts.
- (9i) 3 fts. for a haircut.
- (9k) All were forced to buy the paper. Even I had to subscribe, although my father already had the paper, but I finagled out of this. I never looked at it except for the sports news.
- (9l) Nothing.
- (9m) Nothing.
- (10) Hungary is a rich country, were it not plundered by the Russians. Even the other satellites had more Hungarian goods than the Hungarians.
- (10c) As I remember it was much better, than after the war. It wasn't bad.
- (10d) After the war, we did not know tropical or citrus fruits at all.

- (10f) This was started by Imre Nagy, but it was taxed so heavily that people soon returned their permits.
- (10g) Worse than the previous year. Actually it got worse every year, ever since '48, except for the short relaxation under Imre Nagy.
- (11) The economic problems had equal importance with the political matters.

- (1) Eight years elementary school, from 1942 to 1950. I started in a Lutheran school, where I was till '48, that was nationalized, and then I went to the state school.
- (1d) First year two days, the second year one day a week to trade school.
- (1e) I wanted to be a car mechanic.
- (2) Perhaps I would have continued, had my father not taken ill with TB. Then I had to start to work, like it or not.
- (2e) I had this disadvantage of pressing financial need, though I was urged to continue, by teachers and others.
- (3) Military science, but nothing otherwise. In trade school we also had history and mathematics and Hungarian in the first year. From '48 to '50 we had compulsory Russian.
- (4) To win youth and to educate it on a Communist pattern, and to isolate it fully from the West, from western culture, western life, and western amusements.
- (4b) It made no headway at all. I saw ~~xxx~~<sup>films</sup> back in 46-47, and I knew the truth, and the younger ones saw the truth too. Children followed the parents' pattern, be it in Communist or in anti Communist families, though it did happen in some cases, that Communist families had anti-Communist children. There were very few Communists among our teachers. On my final history exam. in 1950 I was almost flunked. Somehow I was asked, who defeated Japan in World War II, and I was



almost kicked out of school, when I said that the American atomic bomb knocked out the Japanese. They questioned me lengthily, where I got my information from.

- (5) My father worked as a bus driver in Sopron, but in '47 he was taken ill with TB, he spent two or three years in the hospital, and he works now as a storekeeper in a plant.
- (5f) I think we had it harder.
- (5g) We were five.
- (5h) One girl was married, the rest staid together.
- (5i) All but my older siater.
- (5k) Neither advantage, nor a disadvantage.
- (11) Very good.
- (12) Not very much.
- (13) We had no differences at all, neither about my friends nor in politics.
- (14) We had the closest possible relationship, each depended on the other, and each helped the other.
- (14b) Many families were not as close, as ours. This is different in every family.
- (14c) Sports and entertainment, but very rarely did the family do something jointly.
- (14g) I disregarded meetings, etc. and I was not limited.

- (15) I don't know, I have no ways to compare, with the prewar situation.
- (15a) Yes, generally they could.
- (15b) Yes, it had increased.
- (15e) Not many changes.
- (16) I don't know.
- (16a) They are now quite early. Age 20 to 22, is the usual. Frequently because a child is on the way.
- (16b) Relations grew simpler, there is no longer a dowry, no financial requirements, both work anyway.
- (16d) They are certainly looser.
- (16e) One heard of it frequently.
- (16f) They were not at all strict. They had many posters on the wall saying: "It is a woman's duty to give birth, for a girl it is glory".
- (16h) The man had to pay alimony.
- (16i) There was much equalization. By this the Communists hoped to get women do the same jobs as men did.
- (17) Morals have sunk.
- (17b) Due to the low standard of living, many were forced to steal to keep alive. People said they were stealing their goods back from state.
- (18) I met him in '45 or '46, they were our neighbors, he is now a plumber.

- (18c) We plaid soccer together mainly, but also went to swim, to the movies, and to dances together.
- (18g) To be like a real brother, and not to back bite each, and to share each others possessions.
- (18i) I don't know.
- (19) My father was Lutheran, and the women in our family, including my mother Catholic.
- (19b) I went to church with the family, every Sunday.
- (20) They persecuted ~~the~~ religion very much, in the beginning, and those afraid for their jobs, in the beginning did not go. Informers did not wear crosses for certain, but strangely enough many Communists wore little Communist stars.
- (20b) They persecuted the churches.
- (20c) I didn't know of any.
- (20f) Yes, of course. In the end they didn't even try to stop it.
- (20i) The older people more frequently.
- (20k) It means less to youth today, and this is one of the successes of the Communist Party.
- (20l) They plaid a very <sup>slight</sup> ~~slight~~ role.
- (21) This depends on his mental and ~~phissal~~ physical aptitudes. If he is capable, send him to the academy or university, to study to become a machine or pertroleum engineer.
- (21a) These are the jobs of the future.

(21b) To study diligently.

(22) The AVO was in the best position, then there was a big gap followed by the party secretaries, and other administration people, then thirdly workers, menial and mental. Last were the declassé and declassé youth. These were in the worst position.

(22a) In three.

(22b) In three.

(23) I can't speak of such groups, I don't know.

(23d) No, I don't think so.

(23e) There is greater uniformity today.

(23f) This is fine.

(23g) The standards of behavior are worse, than they were, specially with the Communist youth.

(24) All were equally hurt.

(24a) The AVO and their relatives, and the party secretaries.

(25) Well, in all types of leadership positions, there were Jews. In the Ministries there was not one gentile aside from Imre Nagy. In the larger plants the directors, party secretaries, were frequently Jews.

(25c) Not one.

(25d) They withdrew, they became invisible.

(25g) I don't know.

(25h) Many will last only until the Red Regime will last, for the offices are filled with Communist Jewish officials. All the blood sucking regulations to exploit the workers, came from them, or through them, but no one was hurt in the revolution, only the Communist Jews, these were hated.

- (1) Yes it interests me, but it has always been among the last of my interests.
- (2) Conditions were steadily deteriorating, and the situation was growing worse.
- (2a) I didn't know any.
- (2b) He was a Social Democrat.
- (2d) I didn't think them bad, as they were then described.
- (2f) Alternative three, fits me.
- (2g) Very many, except the Communists who were biased, and some were biased the other way.
- (2h) There was a permeating fear, of each other.
- (3) Their politics did not follow their theories, and the reality was entirely different from their books.
- (3a) 6, 9, 12.
- (3b) 1, 3, 15.
- (3c) 2.
- (3d) I don't know.
- (3e) 5, 8, 11.
- (3j) I have no idea, there was not much fun at all.
- (4) The Communist party.
- (4f) I think it was bigger than previous to the war.
- (4h) They kept those, who were not political before 1944, and they accepted people on the universities, who came from peasant or worker stock.



- (5) Yes, for acceptance at the university, this was an absolute must. One was actually forced into it, and membership was needed in every better job.
- (5d) One year I was forced in, but I didn't pay dues, and lost the book. They wouldn't have hired me in the plant, without it.
- (6) Membership was an advantage, one always got a better job, although one could get a responsible job without membership, but membership was generally no disadvantage in the Communist system.
- (6e) I don't think it was obvious.
- (6f) Those real Communists, who believed in the earlier promises, saw now the reality. The others who joined, wanted to keep their jobs, and they stayed, for there was no change in their views.
- (6h) I was not.
- (6r) The ruling government, probably on Moscow directives.
- (7) I had to join to trade union, in the textile mill, but I never paid the dues, nor did I pay the dues in the Freedom Fighters, which I had to join to get a chance at trade school. All these were considered as Communist organizations, working with the threat, that one can get thrown out of a job, unless one cooperated.
- (7od  
e&g) I never went to any meetings, I just joined proforma.

- (8) About 20% was convinced Communists.
- (9) Youth had different aims from Soviet policy, they were just forced in.
- (10) The political police is there to catch people with black spots on their political record, and to intimidate them and lock them up. It also attempts to control the opponets of the system, and protect the Communist regime.
- (10e) It was primary those who were earlier on the bottom of the pile, lazy, had no character, and not serious people.
- (10j) The police was different, it did not handle political matters.
- (10k) The AVO had more power than the party.
- (11) No.
- (11d) The old aristocracy, the old officers, large capitalists, and kulaks.
- (11g) No, I don't know anything.
- (13) Be quiet, don't blame the system, and don't do anti-regime things.
- (13e) Of course they do.
- (13d) Yes, and it is difficult to conceal a bad one.
- (13e) It depends on what one did, it is possible to bribe them.
- (13f) If they have facts on one, silence doesn't help, but if they have nothing on one, silence keeps one out of trouble.

- (14) There were some perceptible changes, with the changing governments.
- (15) She considered Hungary a colony to plunder.
- (15d) None.
- (15e) They were almost every where strong, and there were not many weak points.
- (16) Not very well.
- (16c) With friends and at home, but never with strangers.
- (16d) You watch yourself about politics, but talk freely on sports.
- (17) This is difficult.
- (17a) Not if they insisted on a line.
- (18) They were strongly organized every where, and had strong agencies every where.
- (19) My own opposition; I didn't believe in, or support, or attend any organizations, meetings or circulars.
- (19b) Youth.
- (19c) Communist officials, and AVO people.
- (19e) There was political weakening and relaxation in '56; they expected a different results from Mefesz and the Petöfi circle, but they could not stop the trend.

- (1) Western radio broadcasts.
- (1a) RFE.
- (1b) London.
- (2) Yes, I did. Szabad Nép, Szabad Ifjúság, Béke és Szabadság, Képes Sport. These came regularly to our home, but I didn't read the political ones.
- (2g) I saw the Humanité, not much else, also saw the French weekly sports paper Miroir.
- (3) Twice a week.
- (3a) Preferred French and Italian movies.
- (3b) There were trashy propaganda films from the East. There was a French or Italian movie <sup>other</sup> every/month, and there were about 10 Russians for each one Hungarian film. The Hungarians were the best among the Eastern films, followed by the Czechs and the Russians were the worst.
- (3e) I attended orchestra performances, whenever they came, and for the propaganda shows we got free tickets, but for good Hungarian operetta performances, the theaters were filled.
- (4) I only read the ones issued before 1944, the one Pengö and the half Pengö books. I had no liking for Stalin and Gorki, etc.
- (4e) Petöfi.
- (5) Daily. We bought one in '47, with shortwave reception.

For sports and music, we turned in the domestic stations, but not for the news, the news on the radio were the same, as the newspapers, we got the foreign radio news nightly.

(6) Yes.

(6d) They gave more honest picture of world news, we thought London most reliable, and then RFE. At home it was always said, the least distorted were the British.

(7) Of course, through friends, and if we got news we spread them.

(8) Not at all reliable, we couldn't believe in it, nor in the system, it was full with empty promises.

(8d) They were empty, and not interesting at all. Most news printed were most uninteresting, and very few people ever read the kolkhoze etc. news, which made up the bulk of the paper.

(8e) Hétfői Hirlap.

(8f) No, I haven't.

(9) Of course.

(9a) Those who still were hoping and trusting in Western liberation, they took the trouble to find out.

(9b) Some lost hope and gave up, they had their fill of empty talk.

- (10a) It ended the Japanese war. I believed it did.
- (10b) I don't know. According to the West the Soviets, as per the East the West. It is better not to think of this, and it is also possible that it was started accidentally.
- (10c) The Soviet spread this news, but not many believed it, we knew of similar stories from earlier. I had no ideas on it, I didn't think of it but I did not believe it either.
- (10d) For 10 years we were told, that the old German army is armed to its teeth, we believed this, and were very disappointed at the lack of arms during the Revolt. And it is true that the USSR is much more afraid of Germany than of the U.S. Now they went so far that they try to be friends with them.
- (10e) I did see them, and I saw the hand bills, but I did not believe them doing any damage.
- (10f) I heard about it in the radio, and just as in Hungary, there were no Western agents in Berlin.
- (10g) We expected a great deal from it.
- (10h) We knew of immigrant organizations, and some believed these were armed.



- (1) The entire politics of the regime should be changed.
- (1a) Everything should be reformed.
- (2) Yes, there should be several of them.
- (3) There should be freedom of speech.
- (3a) They should not be prohibited.
- (3d) It depends how harmful they are, but not with terror.
- (4) Yes, they should be.
- (4a) Yes, even then.
- (4b) If the government forces such terror on the people, and threatens its freedoms, and gives no chance for the popular will to be enforced, like against a Soviet type rule, then a revolt is just.
- (5) The economy must be fully revised, and all kolkhozes disbanded. I am not sure about the fate of the state farms.
- (6) I approve to some extent.
- (6b) The smaller plants should either be returned, else the former owners compensated. They should either receive a monthly sum, or up to a hundred workers I would return the plants.
- (6c) The kind not based on the exploitation of the workers, is good, that is if the livelihood of a worker is the same in the private plant, as that in a similar state owned plant.

- (6e) Yes, specially in the transportation industries, also some others.
- (7) No, I prefer private hands, but the private owner should not have excess profits at the expense of his workers. He should have a committee to decide and supervise.
- (8) I approve generally, but not the Communist version.
- (8c) They should plan major construction of roads, etc. they should spread out construction and investment over the years, benefiting different parts of the country.
- (8d) The government, a free independent government, not under anyone's influence.
- (9) Yes, it should not interfere with the family, and also whatever is not the state's concern.
- (10) Yes, he does have duties.
- (10e) Yes, it does.
- (11) It has worsened.
- (11a) The AVO and the party, and so on.
- (11c) The state ~~is~~ <sup>treatment</sup> is cheaper, which is to the benefit of the worker. The private doctors are for the higher-ups.
- (12) He has more opportunities.
- (12a) Yes.

- (12b) Yes, they do, if the show is interesting. There is more reluctance to see Soviet propaganda. I saw almost all shows to spend time, it is much cheaper in Hungary than out here.
- (13) Not at all.
- (13a) He is likely to do better now.
- (13b) I think it is somewhat harder now, but there is not much difference.
- (14) No, he does not.
- (14a) It is better now.
- (14b) It is about the same.
- (15) In as much, as this was due to Communist efforts, like Stalin Town, it was unwise.
- (16) We need a union which does represent the workers' interests.
- (16d) A mature and talented expert person seeing both the management's and the workers' interests.
- (17) This is a fully Soviet Communist organization, and I fully disapprove of it. Land is much better taken care of, when in private hands, but I am thinking of 20 to 30 acres, not 120 or 200.
- (17c) This should be distributed to the old owners, and the new government should decide how. The returned lands should

be equalized out, but generally people should get back as much as they brought in to the Kolkhoze.

(17h) Yes, it should.

(17i) The land should be distributed. The former owners should get up to 40 acres, if they are willing to till the land.

(17j) Yes, it should give loans.

(17m) It is a Communist development, thus they should be disbanded, and the equipment should be sold cheaply to the peasants with advantageous loans.

(18) They should understand each other, not go entirely separate ways, and they should not work at conflicting goals.

(18c) Yes, to some extent.

(18d) They should not have a full voice, but partial voice on religious education.

(18e) Yes, say up to the age of 14.

(18f) To state school.

(18g) The land should be distributed to private people, and buildings if needed for the use of the church, should be returned, but the school should remain in state hands.

(19) Those who did not harm the workers, should not be punished, but those who can be proved guilty, should be punished by the courts.

(19e) Nothing should happen to them.

(19f) All should be judged and punished strictly <sup>by</sup> ~~the~~ the courts.

(19g) These were not Communists, they should not be punished

for political pasts.

- (19h) These were not Communists voluntarily, they should not be punished.
- (20) I think of the 1848 Revolt, and the Turkish war. Our revolution reminds me of those.
- (21) Yes, not very different from the German, Czech, or Austrian character, for the Hungarian is also a central European, but he is very different from the Russian, and the American.
- (21e) Not very much difference.
- (21f) I don't know.
- (22) All governments had their faults, and a new type government is needed.
- (22f) I don't know.
- (22h) Hungary was forced into the Nazi line, this was wrong.
- (22i) That period was better than the preceding or succeeding periods.
- (23) They are important, for the Soviet is afraid of Western culture seeping into the USSR.
- (23d) No, there isn't.
- (24) It must have full independence, and I prefer a European union, without one state influencing the other. I wouldn't dislike the European federation.

- (25) Compared with other Europeans, they are culturally backward and uneducated.
- (26) As idea it is fine, but under it the Soviet policy was carried out, which ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> bad. I don't quite know to what extent Marxism was twisted.
- (26h) No, this is impossible, they are both based on different principles.
- (26j) The use of free ideas, not abused by the state.
- (26i) Perhaps from '45 to '48.
- (26e) He is the cleverest of them all. I have no idea what kind of a Marxist he is.
- (27) When Communism is independent of votes and voters, and brings its own laws.
- (27e) They are in opposition, to each other.
- (28) The workers' ideas would have been enforced through free elections.
- (28b) I don't think so, perhaps he would have stayed in power till the elections, after all he was a Communist.
- (29a) Basically good.
- (29b) Bad.
- (29c) Bad.
- (29d) Bad.
- (29e) Bad.



- (29f) Bad.
- (29g) Good.
- (29h) Bad.
- (29i) He is a Communist who came over in the Revolt. I don't know.
- (29j) I don't know.
- (29k) I don't know.
- (29l) I don't know.
- (29m) I don't know.
- (29n) He is good, he did not hurt anyone.
- (30) The workers party.
- (30a) This is hard to say.
- (31a) Below their desert.
- (31b) Below.
- (31c) Below.
- (31d) Below.
- (31e) Below.
- (31f) Below.
- (31g) Got more than their share.
- (31h) Below.
- (31i) Below their desert.
- (32) The merchants, and generally all had it better before '48.
- (33a) In harmony.

- (33b) In harmony.
  - (33e) In harmony.
  - (33f) Also in harmony.
  - (33g) In harmony.
  - (33h) In opposition.
  - (33i) In opposition.
  - (33j) In opposition.
- (34) None really, though it might make war to make money.
- (35) 1% for the regime.
- (35a) 99% against it.
- (36) No, I didn't change.

Evaluation of respondent: He represents a sensible type of a person, with good common sense, and sober opinions. All one knows he may represent a substantial section of the new Hungarian society.