

- (1) I think you ought to know how the Revolt came about as well as the position of the Hungarian workers. I think it might be of interest to you to know the ^{view} point ~~of~~ ^{of} the Hungarian people.
- (2) I think the Revolt started with Gerö's speech which was a very provocative and militant speech.
- (2a) I don't know of any ~~mixing~~ at any rate I don't think there was an organized incubation period. If there had been an organized preparation for the Revolution I think things would have taken a different course. I believe Gerö's speech prompted the Revolution. The Hungarian people ^{are} ~~is~~ a peaceful nation and ~~it~~ ^{they} would not have raised arms except for very serious reasons.
- (2b) First of all the tremendous pressure exerted by the government on the people and especially on the workers, the material conditions in which they lived, which were extremely poor as ^a result of the low wages and high working norms. Also, people wanted ~~it~~ to do away with the collectives, the Sunday work and with most of the accomplishments of the Communist regime.
- I don't think Stalin's death had anything to do with the Hungarian Revolt, nor do I think that Imre Nagy's premiership had anything to do with it. He did not want a revolution, and in fact, there was no preorganized or prepared revolution. As far as Tito's relationship with

Moscow is concerned I know of the ideological clash between them, but I don't think it had any direct effect on the Hungarian Revolt. The 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party brought strong pressure on the Hungarian Communists. As far as the Poznań events ~~events~~ were concerned, that might have had an indirect effect on the Hungarian Revolt because the Hungarian people could see that the workers were also oppressed in Poland, and, in a fashion, it illustrated that the workers could improve their position by demands. Rákosi's replacement I don't think had anything to do with the Revolt. Rajk's funeral perhaps had a bearing on the Revolt in as much as he was previously called a fascist murderer and then later hailed as a hero, and people started to wonder how can someone be one day a murderer and next day become a hero. It may well be that Tito or the pressure exerted by him on Moscow had something to do with the changing attitude of the Hungarian Communists towards Rajk.

Gomulka's return ^{to power} in Poland ~~and the events~~ brought about greater freedoms, and this, in turn, had had a psychological effect but not in a preorganized fashion.

- (2c) No, I don't think there was any real turning point that one could talk about. Perhaps, Rákosi's replacement started a chain of events. But I don't think we could call this

a turning point.

- (2d) No, I didn't have any such feelings. We all hoped that things would change for the better, but there was no specific feeling in regard to the pending ~~features~~ changes.
- (2e) They were oppressed just as everybody else and they were on the people's side.
- (2f) Not so far as I know. The newspapers carried the same old lies, this, applies particularly to the Szabad Nép. I haven't read the Irodalmi Újság.
- (2g) No, not as far as I know.
- (3) The suppression of the workers and peasants, the low wages and the high delivery quotas.
- (3a) Gerő's speech prompted the Revolution and infuriated the people.
- (3b) When the whole people rise even such an efficient system of controls will break down. They wanted primarily the fulfillment of the 15_x point-demand, namely the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Hungary, the ousting of the Rakosi - Gerő clique, the improvement of the lot of the workers and peasants, the abolition of the collectives, the lowering of the delivery quotas, all this the people wanted to achieve in a peaceful fashion. They didn't want to stage a revolution.
- (3d) On October 23rd, when the crowd was submitting these demands to the ^Pparliament the members of the AVO fired

into the crowd. The crowd received arms from the army and also from some Russian units stationed in Budapest who joined the revolutionaries.

(3e) NO, I don't think so. I think everybody had only one aim namely the fulfillment of the 15 point ~~de~~^mand.

(3f) Only the true Communists opposed the Revolt and the members of the AVO. But even among those quite a few joined the ~~revolutionaries~~ revolutionaries.

(3g) There were some people who were neutral mostly some blackmarketers, who do well under any type of regime.

(3h) Abolition of the AVO, Russians go home. If you are Hungarian you are with us.

(3i) Yes, I definitely think the Revolt was anti-Communist, it was directed against the Communist oppression of the Hungarian people. If there had been no oppression there would have been no Revolution.

(3j) By that I mean ~~any~~^{every}body wanted to do away with the Communist exploitation of the country.

(3k) Only those Communists joined the Revolt who were Communists not by belief^{fs}~~ing~~ or conviction but became such under compulsion.

(3l) No, there were ~~no~~ reactionaries among the rebels, only the Communists said that the Revolution was supported by American capitalists. Quite to the contrary the Hungarian people said that the Communists were the

reactionaries.

- (3m) I think the Revolution would have been successful and Communism as such would have been abolished in Hungary.
- (4) On October 23rd I was in Moson^Mmagyaróvár. I listened to the radio but soon the Budapest radio discontinued its broadcast. I believe it was around October 28th when the people in our city demonstrated before the 1848 Liberty statue and submitted their rightful demands. The AVO, however, fired into the peaceful demonstrators with machine guns and many people were wounded and died. This infuriated the crowd which then also received arms from the regular police and started a siege of the AVO building. The AVO could not hold out and in a couple of days they had to surrender or try to escape.
- (4a) I saw the fight between the AVO and the crowd surrounding the headquarters of the AVO office.
- (4b) Practically the whole Hungarian army joined the Revolution.
- (4c) Yes, I saw some AVO members summarily executed. I had neither sorrow nor joy over the matter.
- (5a) I participated in demonstrations once or twice and I was also looking for some hiding members of the AVO.
- (5b) Yes, I participated in strikes as well. As an agricultural worker I refused to go to work.

- (5c) Yes I helped the fighters to maintain order, ~~keep~~ to prevent looting, and I also worked for the ~~and~~ Red Cross.
- (5d) In a few instances.
- (5e) I didn't participate in distributing leaflets. However, I frequently conveyed messages.
- (5f) NO.
- (6) Does not apply.
- (7) ~~Ma~~leter and Dudas, led the fight in Budapest. I believe they had the greatest authority.
- (7a) No, there was no disagreement, everybody ~~wanted~~ wanted the same thing.
- (7d) They got along very well. Professors, students, writers and workers alike worked hand in hand together.
- (7c) Yes, I participated in maintaining order and we kept contact with the army units and also with the students from the agricultural university as well as workers and the police.
- (7d) Yes, we kept contact with a local revolutionary council and they called upon us if help was needed to maintain order.
- (8a) The Russian troops which were ^{invited} ~~stated~~ in Budapest fired at the AVO and most of them ~~joined~~ joined the rebels.
- (8b) I don't know.
- (8c) I don't know.

- (8d) I don't know.
- (8e) As I already indicated there were many defections among the Russian troops stationed in Budapest. That was the reason they brought ^{with} Mongolians into Hungary. Many of the Russian troops which joined the rebels later escaped to Austria after the Revolution was crushed by the Russian army units.
- (8f) Before October 23rd Soviet influence effected everything in Hungary. After November 4th the pressure and influence became even stronger. The Kadar regime became a real puppet of Moscow. During the short-lived success of the Revolution the Russians exerted no influence.
- (9a) I didn't read any papers but since I was in the national guard maintaining order I kept in touch with the local revolutionary council and that's where I learned about the news.
- (9b) I also learned about a few things there from friends.
- (9c) I listened to the Free Kossuth radio about the success of the Revolution in Budapest and elsewhere.
- (9d) During the Revolution I learned most of the news by word of mouth.
- (10a) All the Communist institutions collapsed.
- (10b) The Party had fallen apart, the local organisations ~~ceased~~ ^{ceased} to function and the personnel disappeared.
- (10c) The blue police joined the Revolution and remained in existence.

- (10d) The AVO was ~~dis~~^{dis}anded, their members were put in prison or executed, or were hiding.
- (10e) So far as I know nothing happened to the courts.
- (10f) The army joined the Revolution.
- (10g) Premier Nagy and his associates took over the government.
- (10h) The old councils ceased to function and no revolutionary councils were set up.
- (10i) The churches felt that the time of persecution was over.
- (10j) Nothing in particular, but of course the army and the blue police joined the Revolution.
- (10k) The revolutionary workers councils.
- (10l) The most reliable, and anti-Communist people were elected in the factories and farms. The people knew who were those in whom they could trust; their task ^{was} to represent the interest of the workers and peasants.
- (10m) Premier Nagy would have continued where he had left it off in 1953. After free elections the people themselves would have determined what kind of government they wanted. Hungary wanted to be independent and neutral and be able to determine its own affairs.
- (11) Yes.
- (11a) I think it was extremely useful, it showed the world what a small nation can do in face ^{of} the mighty Soviet power. The Russians themselves realized this because there were demonstrations ^{of} I heard in Kiev and Stalingrad in support of the Hungarian Revolution. Such was the

impact of the Revolt against Soviet Russia.

- (11b) Yes, I think it could have succeeded if there ~~was~~ had been no Russian arm intervention.
- (11c) Yes, we hope we would get help from the West, especially we hoped that the United Nations would intervene on Hungary's behalf. You have got to take a firm stand against the Russians. That is the only thing they understand.
- (11d) Well, you could not very well have expected this thing to happen in ~~Russia~~ Czechoslovakia for one thing, living conditions were better in Czechoslovakia for another the people there are basically passive. In Albania the Communist army is much too strong and the country is too small. There are too many Russians in Albania and the chances of a successful revolution are very slim. As far as Rumania is concerned the Russians decided to disarm 70% of the Rumanian army after the Hungarian Revolution, because they don't trust them. The Poles made their own revolution. Of course, it developed differently.
- (11e) I don't really know enough about him but if the Revolution had succeeded I believe he would have become the Premier for some time anyway.
- (11f) Maléter, Király and Dudás.
- (11g) ~~Например, студенты, рабочие, писатели.~~ I would rank the youth, the young workers and the writers among the first, then the workers, then the peasant, then the soldiers and finally the intellectuals.

(11h) No, I wouldn't have thought so. After all they were brought up under the Communist educational system.

(12) After the Revolution.

(12a) The Communists started ~~it~~ to pick up people. When I was afraid I would be picked up too.

(12b) Yes, I discussed it with my family.

(12c) NO, but I would go back as soon as possible. That is as soon as the circumstances would permit my return to Hungary.

(13) Added by the interviewer. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about the Revolution?

Well, I might say that the Russians were very much afraid of the Hungarians. ~~However~~ It might be of interest to note that for half a kg of bread they would sell their arms and for 6 kg of bread they would even hand over their tanks.

(14)

(15)

- (1) I consider myself a miner.
- (1a) My primary occupation was mining though in my latest position I worked as an agricultural worker.
- (2) When I was 12 as an orphan I went to work for a peasant. Since I was a state child I was sent to a school of mining.
- (2a) I studied there half mg of the time and worked 3 days a week in a coal mine.
- (2b) I was a miner.
- (2c) I held this position from 1953 to 1955.
- (2d) No.
- (2e) We studied for 3 days during the week and we worked for another 3 days. The school wasn't bad but conditions in the mine weren't very good. Many accidents occurred.
- (2f) There were over 100 students studying in the mining school and were being trained to become miners.
- (2g) It was a combination of studying and work.

Question No. 2a to 2g are repeated now in connection with the 2nd job that the respondent has held.

- (2a) I was an agricultural worker.
- (2b) I didn't have any range^k.
- (2c) From 1955 to 1956.
- (2d) NO.
- (2e) I worked in a grainery. I liked it better because I had to do less physical work than in mining.

- (2f) Only a few of us worked in the grainery. I don't think it was very efficient, in fact ~~that~~ everybody tried ~~it~~ to make some money on the side. We did a little black marketeering.
- (2g) It was a grainery.
- (3) In mining I liked the fact that we worked only 6 days a week including our studies.
- (3a) Living conditions were better in mining.
- (3b) I disliked, however, the fact that we had to do hard physical labour.
- (3c) In agriculture I had to do less physical work and I could also make some money on the side. In agriculture I didn't like that we had to work 7 days a week.
- (3d) In agriculture, working conditions were extremely poor. In mining they were some what better but even then many accidents occurred because of ~~the~~ imperfections. The coal was 2nd or 3rd rate that we mined and it was very wet. While I worked in agriculture we lived in one room in a hotel where 15 people were jammed together. In the school of mining there were 3 students living in one room. It was a more healthy environment.
- (3e) In agriculture I worked 10 hours a day but we also worked on Sundays. In ~~the~~ mining school ^{the} ~~we~~ combined ~~of~~ total of our working and studying hours amounted to ~~22~~ 48 per week.

- (3g) 6 days in M mining, 7 days in agriculture.
- (3h) Not in mining, in agriculture we had to work 7 days a week. There was no overtime paid for this. My monthly ~~salary~~^{SALARY} amounted to 750 forints.
- (3i) & There were some, but I can't remember.
- (3j) In agriculture we received 18 days paid vacation.
- (3k) I think so.
- (3l) Yes, they consider it as sabotage.
- (3m) Well, if there were any changes, they were always for increasing the norm.
- (3n) I don't know too much about it. Except that everything had to be *rushed through*, so that production would be increased.
- (3o) I was in the OTI but I received no free tickets, vacation, or any other benefits. In the school of mining there were mostly students of my age. In agriculture there were younger and older people alike.
- (4a) Most people whom I worked with were dissatisfied with the level salary or wages that they received.
- (4b) We got along pretty well except for the party secretary or the Communist boss whom *none* liked.
- (4c) Yes, sometimes we go together with friends.
- (4d) Sometimes.
- (4e) Party members received better jobs and better pay.
- (4f) They didn't do too much.

- (4g) They didn't play any serious roll.
- (4h) I don't know too ~~use~~ much about it.
- (4i) I don't know.
- (4j) I don't think you could get into a high position.
- (4k) Yes, many.
- (4l) Yes, many instructions were stupid, but ^{we} ~~be~~ couldn't do too much about it because they would have ~~turned~~ termed it sabotage if you opposed their instructions.
- (4m) No, it was the same.
- (4n) Mostly those who had ~~the~~ Communist affiliations and the Stakanovites.
- (4o) If you were ^a good Communist or a Communist sympathizer and you ~~draw~~ ^{we} the workers to work ~~the~~ to *the breaking point and to strain* themselves then you were ^a good kader.
- (4p) Yes they ^{we} were, but it was difficult to find out about them.
- (5) ^P ~~In~~ the place where you worked ~~they~~ consented that ~~it~~ it was not difficult to change a job if you found another place.
- (5a) I would have stayed in mining. However, my work was too hard and I was exhausted most of the time.
- (5) Apart from hard physical labour I would have taken mining. I liked mining. ~~Of~~ ^{course}, as a state child ~~and~~ ^I did not have too much of a choice picking my job.
- (5c) ~~For~~ ^{under} ~~the~~ different conditions I would have had a chance.
- (5d) I think they want to succeed.
- (5e) I would spend it on food, clothing and entertainment.

- (5f) They were the same.
- (5g) No, I probably would have sent them to school.
- (6) Not too well.
- (6a) While in agriculture I was a little better off because I could make some money on the side.
- (6b) In general I could afford to buy food when ^{it} I couldn't very well afford clothing.
- (6c) No, I didn't.
- (6d) Yes I did, by the Communists and by the Soviet leadership.
- (7) a. i and ii don't apply.
- (7a) iii. In agriculture I received a monthly wage of 750 f.rints.
- (7b) There was approximately the same.
- (7c) There was the same.
- (7d) My father worked. He had to make a living.
- (8) Budget ~~is~~ questions ~~are~~ attached.
- (9) *overcrowded.*
- (9a) *Couple of hours, mostly in connection with bread and meat.*
- (9b) In general it was ^{eg.} ~~was~~ _{AA} because of the higher prices, also you couldn't get coffee, orange and many other items.
- (9c) I couldn't tell, but we bought most of our stuff in ~~state~~ stores.
- (9d) No, ^{it} ~~he~~ did not.
- (10a) No, it wasn't.
- (10b) ~~It~~ didn't like ~~the constant type. They had to work upon~~ the fact that there was nothing left to the peasant after the compulsory deliveries.

- (10c) I don't know.
- (10d) I think it was a deterioration because the workers' position worsened.
- (10e) On paper they produced more consumer goods but only on paper.
- (10f) I know ~~better~~ *little* about it. The private sector couldn't very well exist because of the high taxes.
- (10g) They were much worse materially. We had less money and higher prices. We had to pay 30 forints for a kg of meat, and 3 forints for a kg of bread.
- (11a) They were very important.
- (11b) The constant ~~thru~~ drive to work and the fact that you had to shut up.
- (11c) Mostly for the peasants and workers.

- (1a) From 1947 to 1953. I completed 8 grades and from 1953 to 1955 I went to a mining school in Agkascing^{er}.
- (1b) Both were public schools.
- (1c) See question No. 1a. in regard to the time. The first one was a regular grade school ^{not} as the second was a specialized school for mining.
- (1d) Only the mining school.
- (1e) I had no other choice, since I was an orphan and the state took care of me I had to go to this school.
- (2a) I didn't want to study any further.
- (2b) Does not apply.
- (2c) No.
- (2d) Average.
- (2e) As a state child I didn't have a chance to pick any other school, except mining. This was determined by the office of the ^{LA 632 F} reserve working force.
- (3) I believe that history and the study of the Russian language were compulsory in second and third grade.
- (3a) I ~~could~~ like ^d literature and the technical subjects in mining.
- (3b) Yes, I have ^d. I believe in the 3rd grade.
- (3c) There were no such subjects in particular but in history we learned all about capitalist exploitation.
- (3d) In the mining school we had a one hour national defense training each week and one hour in connection with defence against aerial attack.

- (3e) Yes it was. In the physical education courses we were trained in shooting and fighting.
- (4) The political indoctrination of the youth.
- (4a) The Soviet Union was constantly glorified and placed on ~~the~~ pedestal as the defender of peace and justice. In addition the evils of capitalist exploitation were stressed.
- (4d) From what had happened it seems that it wasn't too attractive not even among the younger children.
- (4c) They ~~knew~~ that the talk about the Soviet Union was just baloney.
- (4d) Except for the movies, nothing.
- (4e) The constant lies.
- (4f) No, I don't think there was a significant change.
- (4g) I don't think they are different. Perhaps the study of the Russian language was less stressed in my time. Youngsters of today don't like the constant emphasis of the Russian language.
- (4h) Not very much except for the fact perhaps that there is no praying in schools.
- (4i) The most effective would be in regard to the younger generation whereas the least effective in regard to the older people.
- (5) My father worked in animal husbandry.
- (5a) Up to 1954 he took care of the pigs, later, of the cows.
- (5b) He made about 1000 forints per month which I didn't consider was enough.

- (5c) He completed 6 grades.
- (5d) No.
- (5e) No.
- (5f) We fared about the same way.
- (5g) I had 3 younger sisters and an older sister.
- (5h) 2 of them died. *Otherwise* I don't know what happened to them.
- (5i) I lived separately because I didn't like my step-mother.
- (5j) Ascendants and descendants.
- (5k) Made no difference.
- (6) No.
- (6-10) *es* Don't apply.
- (11) I didn't like my stepmother but my father and my sisters were *O.K.*
- (12) No.
- (12a) Usually we talked about the inadequacy of our wages.
- (12b) No, not too much.
- (13) Does not apply.
- (14a) It was fairly close. I tried to help my father with money.
- (14b) I think it was typical all right except for my step-mother.
- (14c) I went swimming and went to the movies.
- (14d) Nothing in particular.
- (14e) That is *hard* ~~not~~ to say.
- (14f) I would have liked to buy more things for myself.

- (14g) In general yes, except when I worked with the thrashing machine.
- (15) They have loosened.
- (15a) To some extent.
- (15b) Perhaps.
- (15c) Not too much.
- (15d) No, I think^K they grow more^{by} strange^d from their parents in towns.
- (15e) There has been no religious education.
- (15f) No, I don't think so.
- (16) No, I don't think so.
- (16a) People usually marry at 20 or 21. Perhaps it is more difficult to get married because there isn't much money available to provide for the family.
- (16b) No.
- (16c) I don't know.
- (16d) I don't think there has been any change in that respect.
- (16e) Yes, there was but not openly.
- (16f) To some extent they were less strict.
- (16g) I don't know.
- (16h) I don't really know but there were quite a few orphans ^{AT THE} orphanage.
- (16i) In general they have to work more, they have less rest.
- (17) I don't think things^{no} has^{ve} changed.
- (17a) There has been a lot of stealing.

- (17b) Mostly by those who were in need of money.
- (17c) There is a lot for the same reason.
- (17d) I don't know.
- (18) I met him in work.
- (18a) He also worked in the grainery where I worked. The AVO shot him during the Revolution, and he died.
- (18b) Yes, it was the same. We walked, talked and drunk together.
- (18d) Very well.
- (18e) We were always together. Our friendship hasn't changed.
- (18f) Does not apply.
- (18g) We were very much alike and we always wanted the same thing, and that's what I like in a friend.
- (18h) It wasn't too difficult.
- (18i) We were all good friends.
- (18j) It meant^a that you weren't alone.
- (18k) Yes, our friendship would have ended. I didn't like the Communists.
- (18l) Does not apply.
- (19) Roman Catholic.
- (19a) They had the same attitude.
- (19b) I entertain the same views.
- (20) Religious education was forbidden by the Communists.
- (20a) The Catholics were hit more than the others.
- (20b) I think they wanted to stamp out religion. They are ~~materialistic~~ *Darwinistic* and materialistic.

- (20c) Most of them were forced by the Communists to become peace priests. I don't think they are sincere.
- (20d) Catholic priests were suppressed, especially under Rakosi.
- (20e) Nothing in particular but they were all being watched.
- (20f) Yes, you could but you might be watched.
- (20g) Some people were shy and stayed away.
- (20h) When I was younger I attended it quite frequently, later not so frequently.
- (20i) Mostly the older people.
- (20j) i.) The Protestants tried to adjust somewhat, the Jews adjusted well, the Catholics could not adjust.
- (20j) ii.) Fairly well.
- (20k) I think it is less important because religion is not taught in schools.
- (20l) I don't think it played too much of a role except in as much as the church teachers' respect for God whereas the Communists deny existence of God.
- (21) Locksmith.
- (21a) Because they were needed.
- (22a) I would have told him to work.
- (21c) I believe anyone could have become a locksmith.
- (22) I think the best off were the Communist leaders, next the members of the AVO and finally the rank and file party members. The worst off were the workers and peasants.
- (20k) I think

- (22a) I belonged to the group which was worst off, namely the peasant^B and workers.
- (22b) Naturally you would like to stay with a group which is better off.
- (22c) They received state support.
- (22d) They were fairly well off.
- (23) They had only 2 classes. The non-Communist workers, peasants and intellectuals and then the Communists and the members of the AVG.
- (23a) It is all too obvious.
- (23b) Yes, it did due to the Communist role^E.
- (23c) This is bad.
- (23d) Yes it divides the Communists and the others.
- (23e) There is greater equality in regard to the non-Communist group and greater inequality between the Communists and the others.
- (23f) I think it is bad.
- (23g) During the revolution general behavior was very good, prior to that not so good.
- (24) The German speaking nationalities suffered a great deal, and of course the Kulaks.
- (24a) I think the Jews were somewhat better off. There were some Jews in the government and they were favoured.

- (25) See No. 24a.)
- (25a) The y Jews were not persecuted.
- (25b) There were some Jews in the government like Gerö^o, and Hegedus and there were many in the AVO.
- (25c) NO, I did not.
- (25d) I don't know.
- (25e) Communist Jews were disliked but not the others. The Revolution was definitely not anti-Jewish.
- (25f) I don't think the situation ~~has~~^{is} changed too much since 1945.
- (25g) I don't think there was any difference.
- (25h) I don't think there will be too much of a change in their situation.

- (1) To some extent because ~~the~~ politics ~~were~~ determined whether things were going well or badly.
- (1a) ~~We~~ ^{they} were fairly ~~imple~~ ^{ortant.} ~~mented.~~
- (1b) Since 1956 I had taken a little bit more interest in politics, before that I was too young.
- (1c) NO.
- (2a) I was too young.
- (2b) No, he didn't.
- (2c) No.
- (2d) I was too young.
- (2e) I saw what they were doing.
- (2f) I would ~~pick~~ ^{pick} the 2nd one. I was always against the regime.
- (2g) Yes, I think the workers and peasants thought and felt the same way. They also saw the Communist system of lies.
- (2h) They were compelled to obey the authorities.
- (2i) It seemed to work very effectively, usually it was followed up by ~~beat~~ ^{beat}ing and concentration camps.
- (3) ~~Low~~ ^{salaries} ~~factories~~ and high prices.
- (3a) I ~~don't~~ ^{don't} know they were all very important.
- (3b) They were all important.
- (3c) The most important for the intellectuals was the fact that they were underpaid.
- (3d) The compulsory delivery quotas.

- (3e) The norm system.
- (3d) The compulsory delivery quotas.
- (3e) The norm system.
- (3f) I can give you examples but they very much.
- (3g) Naturally friends would talk about it.
- (3h) You had to put up with it.
- (3i) The compulsory delivery quotas irritated very much the peasants, also the fact that you couldn't make enough money for the family.
- (3j) I don't know of any.
- (4) The Communist Party.
- (4a) There was no other political Party.
- (4b) They were members of the party.
- (4c) The Russians with the help of the Communist Party.
- (4d) They drew up and approved the ^{5-Year Plan} ~~five-year~~ vote
- (4e) To see how much ~~xxx~~ they would get and accordingly to see how much pressure was needed against the population.
- (4f) Yes, I think there was, especially ⁱⁿ in the big factories and in the big state farms.
- (4g) Yes, I think there was but I can't give you any examples.
- (4h) I think most of the Communist sympathizers or Communists.
- (4i) Both Communists and non-Communists. The advantages were that they received higher pay.
- (4k) Mostly good and reliable Communists.

- (5) I don't know of any.
- (5a) No, I don't know of any.
- (5b) No, the only purpose of the DISZ was ~~x~~ to get the younger people together, but I don't think it ~~is~~ accomplished too much.
- (5c) You didn't have to join.
- (5d) Yes I did.
- (5e) I joined in 1953.
- (5f) For some time I did some library work.
- (5g) I didn't do too much.
- (5h) I worked 2 or 3 hours a day, ^{twice} 200 weekly.
- (5i-k) ~~Don't~~ ^{Doesn't} apply.
- (6) Party members received higher salaries. ~~They had to be~~
- (6a) May be they became members because of fear or pressure.
- (6b) Mostly Communists and fellow travellers.
- (6c) You ~~got~~ ^{got} higher pay and your duties ^{at work} ~~at work~~ were much lower.
- (6d) I don't know of anyone in particular.
- (6e) I don't know.
- (6f) Because they were disⁱillusioned about the Russian attitude.
- (6g) Not to high a position.
- (6h) No.
- (6i) - (6o) don't apply.

- (6p) Yes, I could have.
- (6q) In as much as I received less pay.
- (6r) The Russians with Rakosi's help.
- (6s) They cheated the workers.
- (6t) I don't think policy has changed, only the pressure applied by the Communists against ^{the} people.
- (7) No.
- (7a-m) Don't ^{est} apply.
- (8) About 1/4 of them.
- (9) They were disillusioned with Communism, and Gerö's speech made them mad.
- (10a) The suppression is always there.
- (10b) The AVO was a political police. The green AVO served on the frontiers of Hungary, as guards whereas the blue AVO conducted the political persecutions.
- (10c) I know that there was an investigating and an operating department. But I don't know too much about their operation.
- (10d) Yes, there were informers practically everywhere.
- (10e) On the basis of their background.
- (10f) There was no general rule, some of them were recruited by force.
- (10g) They got everything they wanted and they could do ~~every~~ ^{ANY-} thing they wanted.
- (10h) Yes, I think so, except those who were recruited by force.

- (10i) Informers were not necessarily regular AVO personnel.
- (10j) I think they were in contact.
- (10k) They served each other. I don't know which ~~and what~~ ^{ad more} authority.
- (10l) I knew of one [REDACTED]. I don't know what happened to him.
- (11) 2 friends of mine tried to escape in the summer of 1956 but they were ~~caught~~ ^{caught} on the border.
- (11a) I don't know what happened to them.
- (11b) I don't know of any .
- (11c) I have heard of people and also saw some of them with their beaten up faces, after they were released.
- (11d) People above 18 would be locked up if they talked against the regime and they would also be beaten, but people under 18 were not imprisoned but were only beaten up.
- (11e) Yes, I have heard of some but I don't know any details.
- (11f) I don't know.
- (11g) At ~~Apkassinger~~ ^{Apkassinger} and Jolánakna there was a forced labour camp for political prisoners.
- (11h) Many people died while they were ~~deported~~ ^{forcibly} deported. Others were beaten up.
- (12a-u) ~~Don't~~ ^{Don't} apply.
- (13) I would tell him not to criticize ^{with} the regime.
- (13a) There are none, but the far-away places seem to be safer.

- (13b) Yes definitely.
- (13c) To some extent.
- (13d) I think its all the same. It is difficult to conceal ~~it~~
your class background.
- (13e) To some extent, but it also has disadvantages. If they ~~could~~
^{could} out that you had money they would question you where you
received the money from.
- (13f) Yes.
- (13g) Mostly the Roman Catholics would be more likely o court
trouble.
- (14) I think in general it increased.
- (14a)-c) I don't know too much about it except for Rakosi's period
which was the worst kind of terror.
- (15) It was very ~~ix~~ important. The Soviet Union held Hungary
through Communism and shipped everything out of the
country.
- (15a) Hungarian decisions were just *a window dressing*
The Russians dictated everything.
- (15b) Everybody knew it.
- (15c) The constantly increasing norms and higher delivery quotas
the ~~invest~~ ^{creasing} shipments ~~and~~ to the Soviet Union, ~~as an~~ ^{are}
evidence/ of Soviet pressures.
- (15d) No, I did not.
- (15e) In industry and in the manufacture of, arms and am^munition.

- (15f) Arms, am^{mun}ition factories, airfields and some other ~~factories~~ agencies.
- (16) Yes, they could but it was dangerous.
- (16a) They concealed them because they were afraid.
- (16b) I can't recall any right now.
- (16c) With friends and with older people.
- (16d) Especially in 1956 you could talk more openly about production or rather you could discuss ~~the matter~~ more openly how you could produce more.
- (16e) Before 1956 there was no change in this ~~re~~^{re} aspect.
- (17) Only for a short while.
- (17a) No.
- (17b) Yes, but he will be imprisoned.
- (17c) No, I don't think so.
- (17d) I don't know but I think its easier to leave the farm.
- (17e) He could do it only by joining the Party.
- (18) The strong points of the r^egime from their point of view were the AVC, the collectives and state farms.
- (18a) The above mentioned were the cohesive forces.
- (18b) Among the disruptive forces must be mentioned the low wages.
- (19) I don't know of any ~~in our position~~^{particular opposition}.
- (19a) I don't know of any organized opposition.
- (19b) The whole population hated the regime, but in particular the kulaks.

- (19c) Perhaps the blackmarketeers because they fare ~~worse~~^{d. well} under any regime, and, of course, the Communists and the members of the AVO.
- (19d) I think it ⁱncreased.
- (19e) I think it ⁱncreased.
- (19f) It was a matter for the whole population but it was unorganized.
- (19g) I heard that there were differences of opinⁱon.
- (19h) The same thin^g would apply in regard to the army.
- (19i) Yes there were differences of opinion, and also opposition to the regime.
- (19j) Yes.
- (19k) Yes, especially among the peasants.
- (19l) I don't know.
- (19m) I don't know.

- (1) From the radio.
- (1a) The radio.
- (1b) Friends.
- (2) Yes I ^{was} were.
- (2a) ~~Some~~ ³ad ⁱffuse^d, Ludas ^aMa^tyi.
- (2b) Yes, I read them regularly.
- (2c) Because I like them.
- (2d) The short stories.
- (2e) No.
- (2f) I don't know.
- (2g) No.
- (2h) No.
- (2i) I don't know.
- (2j) I have seen some leaflets, I believe they came from Germany.
- (3) Once or twice a week.
- (3a) Mostly I liked old movies, because the new movies were mostly propaganda movies in which the Communists never die, only the ~~mixx~~ spies.
- (3b) These were mostly political educational films.
- (3c) I saw foreign movies but only those from East Germany and Russia.
- (3d) These were mostly propaganda movies.
- (3e) No.
- (3f) Does not apply.

- (4 a) I read a couple of books, mostly old Hungarian novels.
- (4 b) I recall Sándor Mátyás, Rejtélyes Sziget, and some other books by Jules Verne.
- (4 c) There were no politics in these and they were interesting.
- (4 d) Most of the books I could only get from friends.
- (4 e) Generally speaking, I like to read novels and poems. I also like travel descriptions. One of my favorites was Jules Verne.
- (4 f) Answered under Question No. 4 e.
- (4 g) I did not go to public libraries, I borrowed the books which I read from friends. So I don't really know whether they were actually available in the public libraries.
- (5) Yes.
- (5 a) Does not apply.
- (5 b) I had an Orion set.
- (5 c) Yes.
- (5 d) I was mostly listening to the news, then Hungarian music. I especially liked some of the Hungarian dance music records.
- (5 e) I listened to the radio daily, approximately three or four hours, and mostly in the evening.
- (5 f) I listened to the radio mostly at home.
- (6) Yes.
- (6 a) I used to listen to the Voice of America or to the Radio Free Europe. I liked their programs and I was interested in their newscasts.
- (6 b) I would listen to the foreign radio stations daily, usually during the evening hours.

- (6 c) I had the impression that the foreign radio broadcasts to which I used to listen were well organized, their programs were interesting and well done.
- (6 d) It seemed to me that they were reliable.
- (6 e) Yes, I have heard of instances where people were punished for listening to foreign radio broadcasts.
- (7) Yes, I frequently received information by word of mouth from friends and also from others, just by talking to people.
- (7 a) The kind of news I had received included news about daily events, internal or domestic as well as international events.
- (7 b) I gathered these news mostly by talking with friends.
- (7 c) It is rather difficult to say, but, by and large, I did not have or hear any news or gossips which were entirely unreliable. There always seemed to be something to the news.
- (7 d) I had not received any ~~SENSITIVE~~ information which turned out to be unreliable later on.
- (7 e) Does not apply.
- (7 f) There were no special gatherings for the purpose of discussing news. However, naturally, people would get together at lunch time and would discuss the daily events.
- (7 g) I don't know of any person in particular who had had more information than other people.
- (7 h) There was no particular rule in this respect. Naturally, people would discuss daily events at home and also colleagues, working together, would be able to discuss matters among themselves, in the

course of the day.

- (7 1) Yes, to some extent that is still in existence. People get together over a cup of coffee in restaurants and coffee shops, especially during the summer, and this gives them an opportunity of discussing their daily problems and chores.
- (8) New items appearing in various newspapers, in general, could not be considered very reliable.
- (8 a) There were very few news items which you could really call reliable. Among the few which were actually reliable I would like to mention sports news, the weather forecast, and similar informations of a very broad nature.
- (8 b) I think it is fair to say that those news were the least reliable which concerned political measures or internal or external politics.
- (8 c) I think the reliability of the press had decreased as the years went by, except perhaps for the last couple of years, when people started to speak up more freely.
- (8 d) One could always compare the news items appearing in the papers to the foreign radio broadcasts and thereby you could determine what to believe or what not to believe.
- (8 e) As I have stated it earlier, I would not consider the Hungarian radio broadcasts and the news items appearing in the Hungarian papers reliable.
- (8 f) No, I have not read the Irodalmi Ujság.
- (8 g) Yes, occasionally I did read the Szabad Nép. Sometimes it seemed to me that it had a broader coverage than the other newspapers.

- (8 h) No, I never read the Hétfői Hírlap.
- (9) Yes, I believe many people went out of their way to receive information and news in whatever way they could. The most frequent example was that of buying radio sets, especially shortwave radios.
- (9 a) I could not refer to a particular class or group of people, however, I know that many people bought radios.
- (9 b) I did not know of anybody who did not own a radio set. I believe that even the Communists listened to foreign radio broadcasts.
- (10 a) I only remember that at the time ^{when} the A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, Hungarian newspapers carried big items that "A-bomb dropped on peaceful city." Of course, I understood that this was just a propaganda version of the dropping of the A-bomb.
- (10 b) I don't know too much about the Korean war.
- (10 c) At the time of the Korean warfare, I was in no position to listen to radio broadcasts of a foreign origin. I only read the Communist newspapers, which said that the American imperialists were embarking on bacteriological warfare.
- (10 d) I read in the Hungarian papers about the rearmament of Germany and I also listened to foreign radio broadcasts. I did not believe that the so-called "Western imperialists" wanted to unleash a new world war by rearming Germany.
- (10 e) I had heard that Free Europe balloons were caught over the territory of Hungary, but I don't know any details about this.
- (10 f) I have not heard of the Berlin uprising ^{of} ~~in~~ 1953.

- (10 g) I knew about the Geneva conference, but I can't recall any details.
- (10 h) When I was at home, I did not know of the activities of Western emigres.

- (1) I believe everything would have to be changed including the governmental organization, the economic system of the country, including the forced industrialization.
- (1a) I don't think I would want to keep any features of the present regime.
- (1b) Off hand I couldn't think of any.
- (2) I don't think there is any need for the window-dressing-type of political parties, but I would approve of the establishment of political parties which will ^{be} present the real interests of the people.
- (2a) Yes, I think so.
- (2b) Yes, I would. I don't think I would allow the re-establishment of the Communist Party which would only undermine the newly gained freedoms.
- (3) I agree in general with your statement but I don't believe the Communists should be allowed to organize freely for the violent overthrow of the regime.
- (3a&b) I couldn't tell you off-hand what the limits should be. I believe this is up to the people to decide.
- (3c) No, I don't think the people should be forbidden to denounce their government especially if that government doesn't stand for the people. I think criticism is necessary.
- (3d) I believe if you have a truly democratic government, you should be able to criticize freely and engage in peaceful activities with the

exception of sedition and treason.

- (4) Yes, I think so.
- (4a) Already explained under question (3d).
- (4b) If, for instance, the ruling clique or government sells the country down the river to another foreign power.
- (5) I believe the private ownership of the means of production should be restored, thus the economic system should be ~~be~~ based on private enterprise.
- (6) This is a difficult question. I would personally favor nationalization only of certain power industries and in certain fields of mining. I am especially thinking of atomic industry and uranium mining.
- (6a) I favor private ownership in general.
- (6b) I would not restore the properties of industrial magnates. I don't think that is right ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ a small country like Hungary.
- (6c) Yes, I approve of profit making in connection with private enterprise.
- (6d) I would be in favor of a state bank.
- (6e) I ~~think~~ believe some state monopolies are alright, but I also believe that some of them should be in private hands.
- (6f) For instance, the trading monopolies.
- (6g) Trading monopolies are alright only if the profits are really shared by the people and by many people and not only a few.
- (7) No, I am not in favor of the nationalization of the light industries.

- (7a) In general, I favor the private enterprise system.
- (8a) The general idea of planning ahead both in the life of the individual and in the life of a country I believe to some extent is necessary and right. However, planning in the sense that the Communists understand this concept is fallacious.
- (8b) The economic planning done by the Communists in Hungary has not worked out quite well. It proved to be of value only to a very limited extent.
- (8c) I believe economic planning should cover certain major phases of the agricultural and industrial production, that is certain branches of the industry.
- (8d) I believe the amount of production and the prices should be determined jointly by the workers and the planning offices.
- (9) I don't think the state should try to ^{too} interfere in the life of the family and religion.
- (10) I believe the citizens have certain ~~stax~~ duties toward the state; among these, I would include the right of the state to collect taxes or the duty of the citizens to pay taxes.
- (10a) I believe, however, ^{that} taxes should not be exorbitant but should be commensurate with the individual's ability to pay. ~~The~~ ^I individuals should be allowed to make enough money to provide for their basic needs and also for some enjoyment.
- (10b) I believe military service, in general, is alright, and I would even go along with compulsory military service inasmuch as the

country is in a real need of that.

- (10c) I think in a democratic state people have^{ye} to follow the directives of the law, otherwise there will be ~~anarchy~~ chaos.
- (10d) I would not include laws and orders issued by a despotic government.
- (10e) I believe it is the state's duty to provide for the happiness and well-being of the people and, therefore, it is ^{the} a state's duty to pay adequate compensation to the workers. In addition, I don't believe the state has a right to impose exorbitant compulsory delivery quotas and to demand constant overfulfillment of the working norms, or to raise those norms.
- (11) Yes, I think medical care has improved in Hungary since the end of the Second World War.
- (11a) I don't really have the answer to that question.
- (11b) I think so.
- (11c) To tell you the truth, I don't know too much about it but I would think that ~~the~~ private physicians are better off than those working for the ^{national} state health service.
- (11d) I believe the OTI system proved to be good.
- (11e) Yes, I had a medical checkup once or twice in the OTI and I was satisfied.
- (12) I don't really know.
- (12a) Perhaps, I went more frequently to movies than I used to, before.
- (12b) Yes, I think people take advantage of it.
- (12c) I don't think that big families can well afford to go to movies or

shows.

- (12d) I don't think that people always have the necessary time to go to the movies. Many workers, mostly youngsters, either don't have the time or can't afford it.
- (12e) Some people can afford it and some people can't.
- (13a&b) I don't know.
- (13c) The great majority of the people can't afford to eat meat because the prices are very high.
- (14a) I don't know.
- (14b) Clothing in 1956, was much more expensive than in 1950, ~~because~~ and since people didn't make more money, therefore, I think they could not afford to spend more more on clothing in 1956, than they did in 1950.
- (14c) Yes, I think ~~there are~~ ^{there are} great differences since many people simply cannot afford to buy the necessary items.
- (15) Yes, I believe it did.
- (15a) This was primarily the result of the tremendous pressure exerted by the Communists on the working people as well as ^{of} the constant slogans, competitions and ^{of} the general drive to increase production.
- (15b) I think especially in mining and ~~the~~ the textile industries.
- (15c) In ^{think} ~~some~~ it was extremely disadvantageous to the Hungarian economy in view of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian production was shipped to Russia.
- (15d) Yes, I think so. For one thing, the fruits of the Hungarian workers'

toil should have not have been shipped to Russia, and, for another, ~~thing~~ they should have concentrated on achieving a higher standard of living for the people.

- (16) I believe in factories and workshops the workers ^s should have an opportunity to discuss peacefully ^{their problems} ~~at least the ones~~ ^{connected with} ~~which~~ the ~~general~~ management ^{at} of their working places.
- (16^a) I think that the trade unions should be only concerned with the welfare of the workers.
- (16b) I don't really know the answer to this question.
- (16c) I don't think the trade union membership should be organized on a compulsory basis.
- (16d) I think the factories ~~x~~ should be run by those who understand the basic needs of the workers.
- (16e) I believe management should be responsible to the workers and perhaps to the trade unions.
- (17a) I think the *Kolkhoz* system as practiced in Hungary by the Communists ~~has~~ ^{was in effect} a ~~very~~ complete exploitation of the peasants and of the village.
- (17b) I don't think the workers were too well paid in the state farms.
- (17c) I would abolish the collective farms.
- (17d) I believe that all collective ~~farms~~ ^{TSZCS} should be abolished.
- (17e) I would abolish the ~~TSZCS~~ ^{TSZCS}, and I would give the land back to the peasants.
- (17f) I think it would be a good idea from the point of view of efficiency,

as well as equality to put some limit on the size of the land-holdings. I would ^{put} the upper limit to about 15 acres. However, this ^{sh}would depend on the size of the family.

- (17g) Yes, I think all land should be returned to private ownership.
- (17h) Yes, I think the land-holdings should be restored to the former owners, but the holdings should not be larger than the maximum allowed by law.
- (17i) The same solution would apply here too, as under the previous question.
- (17j) This would depend on how much was taken away from the peasant at the time when he was forced into the collective.
- (17k) If people wanted it very much, I would probably leave one or two; however, I would insist that the workers ~~would have to~~ be treated well.
- (17l) In general, I favor state help for agriculture to the extent it seems necessary. This could take various forms, it could be financial or other type of help.
- (17m&n) I would keep the tractor stations, However, I would organize them under an entirely different system. They would remain in government ownership and would allow their use by individual farms upon payment of fees.
- (17o) As I said, I would only allow their use by individual farms.
- (17p) Does not apply.
- (17q) Yes, I think it is very desirable to mechanize agriculture.

- (18a) I think the solution to the question of the relations between church and state would depend on an agreement between these two entities. I personally favor the separation of the church from the state. I think there should be as little interference by the state in religious affairs as possible.
- (18b) No, I don't think there should be any differences with regard to this among the different faiths.
- (18c) As far as state support is concerned, I don't think this would be necessary in view of the fact that people would pay ^{their} contributions directly to the church and they would maintain the various religious denominations.
- (18d) I think only in the field of the teaching of religion should the church play its primary role.
- (18e) In view of the fact that everybody wants the compulsory religious instruction, I think it would be necessary to restore it.
- (18f) I would send my children to a denominational school.
- (19) The answer to this question would depend on the type of crimes that the members of the Party committed.
- (19a) Yes, I am in favor of equal treatment.
- (19b) The same treatment should apply to the leaders as well.
- (19c) Same treatment would apply also to the minor functionaries. In other words, it would depend on how they behaved and what crimes they committed.
- (19d,e,f) The very same treatment would also apply to these categories. In

addition, I would abolish the ~~the~~ DISZ and the AVH.

- (19g) Those members of the police who committed crimes against the people should answer for their crimes.
- (19h) The time was really too short to devise a comprehensive treatment *for* ~~of~~ the members of the above mentioned categories. Many of these people escaped, many of them were hiding, some of them fell *in the course of* the fighting, and some were executed.
- (20) Throughout its history, Hungary always stood with the West. Hungary's history ~~was~~ was but a continuous struggle against the onslaughts of barbarians from the East. This way Hungary protected the peaceful development of the culture of the West. History but repeated itself in the course of the Second World War when Hungary tried to prevent Communist penetration from the East into Central Europe.
- (21) Yes, I think there is a Hungarian national character.
- (21a) Frankly, I don't understand the distinctions too well but I believe that the Hungarians are a peaceful and hospitable nation and the Hungarians don't have the high^e race conception of the Germans.
- (21b) I think the Hungarians differ mostly in regard to their customs and background_x from the Russians.
- (21c) Hungarians also differ from Americans in many ways but its hard for me to pinpoint those differences.
- (21^d) No, I don't think there has been any ^usubstantial change in the Hungarian national character.
- (21e) Yes, I believe the workers differ from the peasants. In general,

^{say}
you may/that the peasantry is more stupid than the industrial workers.

- (21f) I don't know.
- (22) I don't really know, since I lived most of my life under the Communist regime, but I think under the Horthy regime the situation wasn't as bad as the Communists try to depict it.
- (22b) The essential reason for emigration at that time was that the people hoped to acquire a higher standard of living in the United States and, of course, those who had family connections knew that a higher standard of living existed in the United States and Canada and therefore, they decided to emigrate.
- (22c) I don't know.
- (22d) I don't know too much about it, but I don't think that the feudal system was right.
- (22f) I don't know too much about.
- (22g) I believe it was alright by and large. And I think, it was much better than the Communist regime.
- (22h) I believe Hungary should have stayed neutral in the Second World War.
- (22i) I was too small at that time, and, therefore, I cannot very well remember.
- (23) Yes, I believe that border lines are important.
- (23a) Hungary had lost most of its territory during the ~~1st~~ First World War, and the new frontiers made Hungary extremely vulnerable from all sides to a new attack.

- (23b) Yes, I do. I believe Hungary is entitled to Transylvania, - a territory which she had lost in the ~~ft~~ First World War to Rumania. Historically, and culturally, it belonged to Hungary^a and ~~the~~ large Hungarian minority lives there.
- (23c) Yes, I think Russia poses a constant threat to Hungary - especially at the present time.
- (23d) No, I don't think that there is any natural conflict between Hungarians and other nations.
- (23e) The people ~~m~~ in the two countries get along well. **Only the governments are bickering at times.**
- (23f) There is no real conflict between the Hungarians and Rumanians.
- (23g) Hungarians and Austrians get along very well.
- (23h) I don't know.
- (24) I don't know too much about it.
- (24a) I believe that such^h a federation especially in regard to trade, would undoubtedly bolster the economies of the respective countries. But in all truthfulness, I don't know too much about it.
- (24b) I think this would essentially depend on the wishes of the peoples involved.
- (24c&d) I don't know too much about~~x~~ it.
- (24e) I am not in favor of population exchanges or population transfers.
- (25) I have met some Ukrainians and I think they are okay.
- (25a) Yes, I would make some distinctions. For instance, I don't like the Mongolians.

- (25b) Yes, I believe so.
- (25c) No, I don't think so. I think many of them are forced to join the Communist Party.
- (25d) Occasionally, I had a chance to talk to some of them.
- (25e) The Hungarians did not know what was coming. They did not realize how brutal and bestial the Russian army would be.
- (25f) As far as the ^{post-war} occupation forces were concerned - that is those Russian troops which were stationed in Hungary - they were alright.
- (25g) They had not been seen too much.
- (25h) With the exception of the Mongolians, the occupation forces after 1953, seemed okay.
- (26a&b) I don't know too much about it.
- (26c) I believe ~~it~~ he was a good Marxist.
- (26d) Stalin was a strong man.
- (26e) If he doesn't talk, he certainly is.
- (26f) That depends.
- (26g) No, I don't think so.
- (26h) That depends on what you call a democrat.
- (26i) I ^{don't} think we had a true Western democracy in Hungary except for the brief period, perhaps, ^{between} ~~in~~ 1945, and 1947.
- (26j) Just off-hand, it is hard to define.
- (27) I think National Communism doesn't follow the Marxist line as interpreted by Moscow.
- (27a) I don't know.

- (27b) Does not apply.
- (27c) I think ^{he} is okay, inasmuch as he represents the Polish view to some extent against Moscow. But I don't believe that his regime is entirely satisfactory.
- (27d) I don't know.
- (27e) I don't think you can find any good Hungarian patriots among the real Communists.
- (28) If Imre Nagy had stayed in power after the Revolution, I think conditions would have changed very much.
- (28a) I think he wanted to establish a system based upon the true collaboration among the workers and peasants.
- (28b) Yes, I think Imre Nagy would have stayed at the helm of the government and I also think that after free elections, he would have been re-elected.
- (29a) ~~That~~ That depends on whether it is a Communist type of socialism or whether it is a Western type of socialism. I am ^{not} opposed to a Western type of socialism.
- (29b) I don't think that ~~socialism~~ ^{colonialism} is any good.
- (29c) I don't believe in class struggle.
- (29d) If a national or popular front is organized by the Communists, then I don't believe in it.
- (29e) I don't believe in imperialism.
- (29f) Capitalism, if appropriate, is okay.
- (29g) The middle class is alright.
- (29h) I think he was okay.

- (29i) I only oppose the kulaks if they have big estates.
- (29j) I do not know.
- (29k) I knew very little about Chiang-Kai-shek.
- (29m) I think she is okay.
- (29n) ~~Imre Nagy~~ Mindszenty is okay. I think he is one of the finest Hungarians.
- ³
(20) I believe Imre Nagy's Party would have won the free elections or if ~~he had run,~~ ^{did not run,} a reorganized Smallholders' Party or perhaps a reorganized Socialist Party would have won the elections.
- (20a) I think Imre Nagy would have been a popular leader.
- (31a) I think the workers have received less.
- (31b) Collective farmers received less.
- (31c) Smallholders received less.
- (31d) Kulaks received less.
- (31e) Government employees unless Communists received less.
- (31f) Professionals received less.
- (31g) Party members received more.
- (31h) Some tradesmen received more; some received less.
- (31i) ~~Artisans~~ Artisans received less.
- (32) The peasants, merchants, artisans, workers and professionals in general were much better off before 1948. On the other hand, Party members were better off after 1948.
- (32a) I don't think that I can approve of these changes. A great majority of the people earned less money and I don't think that was right.

- (33a) They coincide.
- (33b) They coincide.
- (33c) As far as the toilers and lesser government employees are concerned, I think they coincide.
- (33d) They conflict.
- (33e) They coincide.
- (33f) They coincide.
- (33g)(h,i,j) I don't know.
- (34) The allegation that the United States was dangerous was only a Communist ~~application~~ ^{fabrication} and no one believed in it. I didn't have the slightest fear in connection with the United States before I left Hungary.
- (35) Only very few people - mostly the members of the AVO.
- (35a) Everybody else.
- (36a) I don't think that any of my views have changed ~~to~~ on any of these subject matters.

- (1) No, I don't have any questions concerning your project.
- (1 a) I think that the ~~some~~ questions and our discussion seemed to be interesting. I think they were O.K.
- (1 b) I believe you will be able to collect interesting and valuable materials through such discussions, especially concerning the workers' ~~the~~ attitude during/Communist rule in Hungary.
- (1 c) Yes, I ~~sh~~^{sh}ould like to warn you to beware of Communist spies and not to be befogged by the zigzag^{ging} strategy and tactics of Communist politics. I believe the most important thing for you would be to keep clear of their lies and mixups. I definitely think that the truth must be told and that one has to stand up for one's convictions. Otherwise, the daily lies and fallacious propaganda of the Communists will more and more befog the minds of people everywhere.
- (1 d) I would think that the answers and replies that you will get to this questionnaire would be, by and large, sincere and truthful.
- (1 e) I don't know of any other question that you could have asked.
- (2 a) Yes, I would like to return to Hungary as soon as possible, that is after the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Hungary.
- (3 a) No.
- (3 b) No.
- (3 c) Names and suggestions have been passed on to the scheduling office.
- (4 a) Yes, I received my compensation.
- (4 b,c) Have been taken care of.

Ratings

Respondent seemed to be an honest and cooperative person with a fair intelligence beyond and above his schooling. He had no particular plans for the future, but he seemed to hope that this was just a transition period, after which he would be able to return home at a not too distant future, assuming, of course, the withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary and the subsequent expected political changes. ~~THE~~