

- (1) Whoever had been a Communist in Hungary, recently turned completely away from the Party. The regime had compromised itself economically and politically to such an extent that it had no credit any more. 85 percent of the population is anti-Communist; the rest, 15 percent, is pro-Communist exclusively for financial advantages.
- (2) The Revolution exploded ~~spontaneously~~ spontaneously.
- (2a) The incubation period lasted for a very short time - the ~~initial~~ claims, started by the writers and students, matured very soon into strong demands.
- (2b) She would rather talk about the general atmosphere than concrete facts. Irrespective of facts, the financial, moral and political bankruptcy was the main factor - that's why the Revolution was so unanimous, regardless of differences in age, sex, or social classes. The cause of the explosion was the general despair. I, II, etc. - undermined the government's ~~initial~~ credit.
- (2c) Imre Nagy's government brought a completely different policy - people were full of hope.
- (2e&f) She wasn't in Hungary any more, heard about it from husband.
- (3) See question (1).
- (3a) The cup was full.
The Stalinist clique had been forced back, this resulted in a thaw - thus the Revolution broke out at the first possible occasion.
- (3b) The whole population was fed up with the Communists - the economic and political bankruptcies were the reasons.

- (3c) They organized a peaceful demonstration in order to obtain the fulfillment of their just claims.
- (3d) The AVH fired on the defenseless people.
- (3f) The Revolution was entirely unanimous - never before did anything similar occur in Hungary.
- (3g) She didn't meet anyone who was.
- (3h) Russians go home. Free elections. Freedom of the press.
- (3i) By all means.
- (3j) We all know what it means.
- (3k) Even the Communists were fed up - they learned to hate the controversies within the Party and the blind execution of orders where there was no place given for thinking or criticizing.
- (3l) The entire population could be labelled "reactionary" in the sense that each individual was anti-Communist.
- (3m) Free elections would have solved all the problems.

As respondent left Hungary in February of 1956, questions 4-10 are not applicable.

- (11) The Revolution and its outcome is constantly ^{on} ~~in~~ her mind.
- (11a) Useful, without any doubt. It informed the whole world that Hungary wants a different way of life to the extent that its entire population is ready to die for the accomplishment of this goal.

Its meaning for the country itself: it gave a warning to the Communists.

- (11b) Only with external help. Regardless of the fact that it was

during a couple of days, a permanent victory could have only been won with foreign help/
diplomacy.

- (11c) In the form of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The Russians should have been forced to leave Hungary by diplomatic means.
- (11e) She cannot form a concrete opinion about him because he had no opportunity to display all his capacities. Already at the time of his first presidency, his hands were tied.
- (11f&g) Not applicable.
- (12) In 1952. She was in a resort place named Velem, three kilometers from the border, near Kőszeg. Her husband was supposed to visit her and there they had prepared their escape with the help of maps. But at the station of Kőszeg from where he wanted to travel by horse carriage to Velem, he was ~~not~~ stopped and taken to the police station. The police gave him permission to call her up and tell her that if she wanted to see him, she should meet him in Kőszeg. They both were questioned for hours and even ~~the~~ the Ministry of ^[Junior official] Agriculture, a "referee" of which he was, had been notified. Then they were released ^{on} with the condition that he is not allowed to leave the territory of Kőszeg; there they were both under surveillance, so ~~that~~ they finally decided to go back to Budapest.

^u
February 1956. She was given permission by the Hungarian government to accept an invitation from Radio Vienna, as she had been already "sold" for a one-year opera engagement, in Dresden and Berlin. The Hungarian officials "sold" her with four other opera singers (Maria Kiraly, György Lorént and his wife, a soprano

and a basso). The manager of the opera of Dresden "bought her" from the Institute of Cultural Relations without her ever being asked whether she wanted to go or not, for how much time, what salary, she wasn't even told when she was supposed to leave - she had been sold, just like a horse.

When she finally found out that her departure to East Germany was imminent, she contacted Radio Vienna as she wanted to find out what the possibilities in Austria were. The radio answered by inviting her for Bartók and Kodály recordings.

The recordings took a couple of weeks. She was sick in bed when she received a phone call from the Institute of Cultural Relations in Budapest. She was told to leave immediately for home and in two days she will have to go to East Germany. (Before she left Budapest, she had been told that if her departure to Dresden did come up while the recordings were going on, she could get her visa in Vienna, without returning to Hungary. This was an evident lie, that East Germany had no representative in Vienna.) She told the officials over the phone that she was ill but if they wanted her to go, they should send her German visa and, in that case, she would join the party in Germany. She called the consulate - she knew she would not go back home but she wanted to give the Hungarian authorities a chance to cancel her East German trip. They accepted her passport, sent it to Budapest, from where she received it in fourteen days, without the German visa. She was urged to go home. Day by day ~~they~~

they called and visited her. Finally she changed her quarters, reported to the Austrian police which took her Hungarian passport and, after one month, gave her an Austrian refugee passport.

One day the Cultural attaché visited her and asked her when she intended to go back home. He assured her that the legation would take care of her trip from house to house, pay all her bills and travel expenses and she would be met by the officials of the Ministry. All this they had told her mother and husband as well, who had to write her and persuade her to come back assuring her about a formal reception with photographers at the station! The attaché insisted that she go to the legation with him where a concert manager was supposed to meet her - she refused.

After this incident she gave strict orders to the maid not to let anybody in - officials from the legation did not stop their "personal appearances" nor their telephone calls. As they found out she was on friendly terms with Eszter Réthy, they once asked her to the phone in Eszter Réthy's name. When she answered, the receiver was put down and in ten minutes the car of the legation was in front of her house.

After these harrassing experiences, she officially told the consul that she decided not to return and that the decision was final.

In connection with the above, she wants to say that she was sent to Austria with 200 shillings; when she became ill and

needed money urgently, she cabled the Ministry to give permission to her family to send her some. Permission was denied. The Hungarian officials only became magnanimous when it dawned on them that she wanted to escape.

(212a) Political terror, hopelessness. How could anyone feel secure under this regime?! The methods ~~which~~ ^{with} which they treated people were simply revolting.

For instance, her husband was simply ordered to go to Moscow as a post-graduate student. He was supposed to do research work for three years at a Soviet university. He had been in the Soviet Union for twelve months already when she applied for a passport. She was refused. She knew though that Party members would not have gotten a better treatment either, because families of the employees of the Hungarian embassy in Moscow couldn't visit ^{them} either.

Her husband (an excellent animal breeder - he had occasions to experiment with ten thousand sheep in the ^lCaucasus) while in the Soviet Union, got into many troubles with his colleagues, due to his outspokenness. (As time went on, he became more and more diplomatic - today he is an excellent "diplomat".) Continuously, reports were sent to the Academy of Sciences which had sent him to the Soviet Union about his unreliability, about his ^lrightest tendencies.

Before his departure to the Soviet Union, he was often asked to join the Party which he always refused. So, in a way, he was glad to leave for three years because he knew that for that period

of time he wouldn't be bothered politically and he was sure to get dividends from his work. But during his study, they saw each other twice for two months! Her phone was constantly tapped - but if she had been a Communist it would have been also checked that's why they finally decided to leave.

From now on, they will be satisfied with a mediocre, calm existence. However, they'll never again have the luxury they had in their Budapest home. When the Jews left for Palestine, they sold their precious belongings to the government which, in ~~the~~ turn, sold them in commission stores for low prices. So, they managed to buy some beautiful antique furniture. Never again is she going to have such an artistically furnished apartment, the familiar coziness of which she will miss. But she'll be free.

(12b) They have been discussing ^{was} this for years with her mother and husband. The plan ~~was~~ to secure a passport for her mother to visit her in East Germany and her husband would join them as soon as possible.

For a justice loving person, the situation in Hungary was absolutely unbearable. People ~~didn't~~ ^{not} dared to talk. One couldn't enter a church without, afterwards, having listened to the speech delivered by the Party secretary.

(1a) Opera singer.

(2) Solo singer at the Budapest State Opera from 1948-1952.

Solo singer at the Philharmonia Society (not identical with the Philharmonic Orchestra), at the state institution which organized all the concerts all over the country.

Solo singer at the Szeged Opera from 1952-1956.

(2a) Eight concerts quarter yearly - thirty-two in one year. On the programs - whether in Budapest ^{or} of provincial towns - figured mostly classical composers (arias and songs).

Concerts were mostly given by a single artist; sometimes voice and instrumental music were combined and sometimes six soloists and one conférencier, ^[master of ceremonies] organized an opera program of high standards. Lately a new type of program sprang into existence: the so-called mixed program called estrada; it consisted of two parts - one offering classic and the second popular ^{music} one. The managers of the concerts wanted to satisfy everybody by offering operatic arias, jazz, acrobatics, cabaret, short scenes in one program.

Sometimes performances would be held at factories, cultural homes and often in open-air theaters.

The organizations of the Philharmonia Society, ^{were not} ~~did not meet~~ ^{always above reproach} ~~everywhere with success~~ - sometimes, after the company had arrived, it turned out that there was no piano, so the performance could not be held; in another locality, there was no electric light, and in another one, there was electricity but the lights were constantly going out. That particular performance ended with the roaring laughter of the audience - the

failing electricity was definitely due to the irresponsibility of the workers, and ^{to} of that of the manager who couldn't care less and the above described incidents did not ^affect his salary.

There were different types of concerts. Sometimes only Russian composers figured on the program (Boris Godunov, Hovanshchina^a by Moussorgsky; Pique Dame, Onyegin by Tchaikovsky; Sadko by Rimsky-Korsakov; Prince Igor by Borodin); sometimes the program was mixed; Schuman, Schubert, Bach, Bartok, Kodaly, etc.

In all fairness one must admit that the Budapest opera house is much better than the Western ones (Vienna, Berlin, Amsterdam, ^uFrankfurt, etc.) - its repertory is richer, its orchestra and chorus are on a higher artistic level and the staging is much more impressive.

Besides the numerous Russian works, almost all the Wagner operas were performed (with the exception of Tristan and Isolde and Parsifal, in addition to all the Mozart, Puccini and Verdi operas; Bizet and Goldmark also figured ⁱⁿ ~~on~~ the repertory, but Richard Strauss and Halévy were ~~absent~~ absent. Between 1951-1955, all Bartok music was taken off the program; since, it ~~has~~ ^{has} been played constantly.

The first performance of the Zrinyi Cantata by Kodaly caused a great demonstration because of its ~~obvious~~ obvious allusion to the oppression ^{by} ~~of~~ the Communist regime. This happened in 1955; then, for a long time, it could not be performed. Later, Kodaly was ~~offered~~ offered a ~~second~~ second Kossuth prize.

In Respondent's opinion, the greatest musical composition of the last decade is Rezső Sugár's Hösi Ének (Heldengesang - it does have a German translation). The author of this excellent oratorio was far from having been a Communist, but he cooperated with Romhányi (the textwriter) who was a smart opportunist. The theme is also Zrinyi's ^B ~~mattles~~ With the Turks.

The opera house's company also played daily in the ~~X~~ Városi Színház. This theater had been rebuilt in 1955, acoustic improvements had been made and the walls covered with tapestry. Those houses were always sold out, partly because the tickets had been sold at the beginning of the season, and partly, because the public had a great demand for operatic art, as these performances were free ^{from} ~~of~~ politics. The plays performed at drama theaters were, at the same time, political seminars.

Since 1946, the director of the opera was Aladár Tóth, but since 1950, his position had been strengthened so much that he held in his hands the whole musical life of Hungary. Only those whom he liked could live and work - the others were simply liquidated artistically.

Actually, the Ministry of Peoples' Culture should have been the directing organ of the opera house, but it was a known fact that the Ministry only carried out Tóth's orders. Big mouthed Party secretaries descended upon the opera house and, after a few months they didn't dare open their "traps" - Tóth was a very smart turn-coat. His wife, the pianist, Annie Fischer was an artist of world fame. After 1948, no other artist but Annie Fischer was permitted

~~concertise~~ ^{to give concerts} abroad. It was the generally accepted opinion that she was a spy. She used to talk in a low voice, had an insignificant appearance but a tremendous culture and cunning. According to the opinion of one of her schoolmates, she had a tremendous memory - after one reading she could remember each word of a given text. She was born to be a spy. Respondent is aware of the Ministry of Peoples' Culture having spent enormous sums of money to make Paris the headquarters of Annie Fischer - that's where they organized one concert after another ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ colossal for her at ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~/expenses. All this explains Toth's position at home.

There were two cliques at the opera: first group composed of talented non-Communists and, alas, homosexuals (Gustáv Oláh, ^c chief-director, & Kálmán Nádasdy, Tivadar Márk, costume designer, Ferencsik, musical director); the second group was composed of Communists: Vilmos Komor, Koródy, Tamás Blum - conductors, and chief conductor Forrai, also a professor at the Academy of Music and conductor of the Budapest chorus and ~~x~~ also ^c chief conductor of the AVH's artistic division - he held a major's rank.

Respondent's roles: Magdalena (Rigoletto)
 Erda (Rheingold)
 Schwertleite (Walkure)
 Azucena (Travatore)
 Polovecz-girl (Prince Igor)
 Paulina (Pique Dame)
 Olga (Onegin)
 Czifra (Zigeunerbaron)
 Third Lady (Zeuberflöte)

Trips to Moscow with the purpose of study or performing:

1) Communist actors: Mária Gyurkovics, Mária Mátyás, József

Joviczky, tenor, György Mellis, baritone - the latter achieved the highest career which could be reached under the Communist regime - Judith Sándor, soprano, Mária Berei, mezzosoprano).
 2) Those artists whose name was well known/^{also}in the West: Mihály Székely and Sándor Svéd. 3) Those who were members of an ensemble: the AVH's company (chorus, soloist, dancers) was several times in Moscow; the Állami Népi Együttes, and once the whole company of the Operette Theater with the performance of the Csárdás-Queen.

The nationwide rationalization affected also the artists. There were two periods: in '54 or '55 and in in '56. Employees in whose family there was another breadwinner could be dismissed immediately, with a two weeks' salary. First came ~~by~~ those who were considered politically unreliable. There was a high unemployment rate among the artists, and they couldn't find any work elsewhere. The Philharmonia Society profited ^{by} ~~from~~ these circumstances. ^{It} ~~She~~, together with the Trade Union, established wages of the artists. The categories were: 1) 150-300 per performance; ²⁾ 300-500 per performance; 3) 700-900 per performance; 4) 1,200-1,400 per performance and 5) In this group were those artists who were considered above categories.

In spite of the miserable wages, the Philharmonia Society functioned with a tremendous deficit. Its ^{management} ~~leadership~~ was completely unexperienced - for years its manager was a carpenter's apprentice (szagány) later an insurance agent. It is very characteristic that for years they couldn't find out what the

reasons of the deficit were. Classical music and light music departments blamed each other, then they merged, finally parted again.

The lot of the acrobats was the worst. Private circuses had been abolished and the state was unable to employ all their ex-personnel. And they were not given permission to go abroad. Later, ^{an order} ~~a regulation~~ was issued according to which before all movie programs a ten minute acrobatic program had to be inserted. And the public had to pay an additional 50 fillérs - this was the way they tried to help the acrobats.

Besides Budapest, the cities of Szeged, Debrecen, Miskolc, Győr, Pécs had also opera houses.

There were many open-air theaters in Budapest where operatic and concert performances were held. On the Margit Island magnificent opera performances were given - Aida with elephants Il Trovatore with gypsy tents and horses, etc. The second great open air stage was in the Zoo; besides the above, there were about ^{open-air} fifteen/stages at least. The cities of Szeged and Debrecen also had great open-air theaters.

Artists were poorly paid, especially beginners. In 1948, at the opera house the newly engaged young singers had \$ 400 forints as a beginning salary - it was called scholarship. This during the years has been raised to 750 forints. On the other extreme, there were the wages of the stars: 12,000-15,000 (Gyurkovics, Székely, Svéd, Mátyás).

In the provinces, actors were relatively better paid: 1,000-1,200 forints was the salary of a beginner.

The winners of the Kossuth-prize received from the Ministry of the Peoples' Culture a monthly extra salary, ~~xxx~~ apart from the Kossuth prize itself which amounted from 15,000 forints to 50,000 forints. In addition to this they earned another 20,000 forints monthly.

At the radio about 5-10 singers were constantly employed (Gyurkovics, ~~xx~~ Mellis, Judith Sándor, Mária Berei, ~~Rozsa~~).

- (3a) She liked it because of its relative freedom - she had good excuses for avoiding political seminars: "I travel all the time."
- (3b) The whole atmosphere. They give work to those persons who were pointed out by the political leadership - the cult of stars was enhanced.
- (3d) During the concert tours in the provinces there were always shortcomings in management, housing, etc. Those who participated in the planning of the program had no musical culture whatsoever, they collaborated with some artists who offered them 25 percent of their wages, if given more opportunity to work. Mrs. Mikló's Havas was accused - and justly so - for having been bribed several times.
- (3 e) As an artist who had a program, she had the right to 14 days of vacation - had to pay eight forints daily and the rest of the expenses was covered by the Trade Union. She went on the Lake Balaton and in the Mátra.

Creators' Home (Alkotók Háza) had the purpose of offering

the artists opportunity to work undisturbed for several months on ~~assigned~~ assignments ~~by~~ given by the government. There were such homes in Visegrád and in the vár (castle) of ~~Sárospatak~~ Sárospatak. There, in lovely homes furnished with precious antiques, Communists were installed.

- (4d) Political subjects were hopeless. They usually said: "One has to leave this country, there is no other way out."
- (4e) A very sharp distinction.
- (4f) Membership was obligatory. Taxes paid to the trade union were progressive, 8% of the salary. The union did not represent the employees' interests. As it had no prestige whatsoever, it didn't even try to protect the subordinates. All it did was to collect the contributions and organize vacations. But ~~although~~ ^{also} in the latter field there was a complete chaos. Absolute incompetence reigned and everything was arranged by favoritism.
- (4h) Every firm had one, it usually consisted of a director, the Party secretary and some reliable persons appointed by the Party. (This, of course, was wrong - they should have been freely elected). "The Party suggests these persons. Do you accept them?" - Who dared oppose the Party suggestions?!
- It was supposed to decide ^{impartially} in controversial matters ~~the~~ ~~uni-~~ ~~on-~~ between the employee and the firm. But in all instances, it protected the firm.
- She herself had to do with this committee, at the time of rationalizations. Then she applied to the county committee ~~which~~ ^{delayed} ~~made~~ the decision on the case for several months. Finally

she received an answer - the letter contained three lines, one enormous greasy spot, and ~~few~~^{many} spelling mistakes. It said: "As we are not concerned with this case, we are forwarding it..." She took the letter and went to the theater division of the Ministry of the Peoples' Culture. "If you don't attend to my case immediately, I'm going to take this letter to the Ludes Matyi which I'm sure will be very happy to publish it." Steps were immediately taken and she received financial compensation.

4j
(5g)

Scarcely, sometimes some of them. Mostly those who already were well known and could not be ignored.

4
(5n)

Those who were ready to execute functions and commissions. But the Revolution proved that even they were not good kaders. They only could keep silent and therefore nobody could prove that they were anti-Communists.

4
(5p)

Yes. Artists. She wouldn't dare mention names, but it was a fact that everyone ~~everyone~~ ^{everyone} everything about ~~everyone~~ was immediately always known.

(5)

None.

To give notice was possible only in case of illness, but even then it happened that the firm wouldn't let the employee leave. According to the working laws, those who left, by their own decision, could get no other employment for two years. It happened several times that the Budapest Opera wanted to engage someone employed by a provincial theater and the latter did not let the artist go.

- (5c) Yes.
- (5d) The real professionals did not. Conscientious people were afraid of high positions.
- (5e) Travel.
- (5f) She had none.
- (5g) Under those uncertain political ^d conditions, she never even considered having children.
- (6) She and her husband had a salary way above the average. But in her childhood, she did live much better because living standards were much higher at the time.
- (6b) Everything was available - at very high prices. Especially clothing and food was extremely expensive. She could afford all kinds of luxuries: coffee, cocoa, snakeskin bag - she had 3,000 forints per month, her husband 5,000 - they made 8,000 forints! But if on Sundays they went on an excursion they could not afford to go to a restaurant more than twice a month. A good dinner, consisting of double rum, cognac, wine, bouillon, fish, coffee cost about 90 forints in a restuarant~~x~~ which suited their social level. (The same dinner in a smaller ~~x~~ boulevard restaurant was much ~~xxx~~ cheaper.)

In Hungary there used to be till 1949, an extremely ^{active} busy social life. There~~x~~after it quieted down considerably because of economic reasons^s. It was impossible to give a party - food was so prohibitive. ~~xx~~ In an ^uartist's life, ~~ent~~ertainment is not a luxury but an essential part of life. This is true also for an intellectual in a high position. ~~xxxx~~ But entertainment was

absolutely impossible at home because it would have ^{completely upset} ~~turned~~ the budget of the family, ~~upside-down~~.

- (7) I. In 1948 - 400 forints. II. 1952 - 1,500 forints. III 1955 - 3,000 forints.
- (7b) Above the average, but ~~she~~ . . . she resented the misery of others.
- (7c) She was not paid according to her capacities.
- (7d) She and her husband and they lived with her mother.
- (10) They worked with a complete deficit in every branch - they were exploited by the Russians.
- (10c) Living standards were higher, including that of the workers.
- (10d) No doubt a deterioration period.
- (10e) The government was the one which determined how much had to be produced in each field.
- (10f) The private sector had to fight against the shortage of raw materials and suffered under the incredibly high taxes.
- (10g) There was no significant change.
- (11) Fifty percent.

- 1
(1a) Four elementary, four secondary schools, four ~~xxx~~ ^{years} teachers' school, four years at the Academy of Music.
- (1b) Mixed.
- (1c) While at ~~at~~ home she was dissatisfied with the Academy of Music. But after having gotten acquainted with the similar institutions of Vienna and München, she feels that every Hungarian could be justly proud of the Academy of Music of Budapest.
- (1d) Yes, she learned typing and shorthand in 1943.
- (1e) Practical reasons made her attend the teachers' school and her vocation impelled her to study at the Academy of Music.
- (2) Yes.
- (2^d) Above average. She had a good memory but was not very diligent.
- (2e) Yes.
- (3) There were none at the time.
- (3a) She hated arithmetic, liked practical subjects.
- (3b) No. See question (3)
- (4) They tried to give a general education in Communism. Already in the kindergarten children were taught political slogans.
- (4b) The Revolution proved how effective this education had been. There is no doubt about the fact, though, that they made a great deal of destruction in the field of religion.
- (4g) Today's youth had so much political knowledge jammed into its head that it acquired the capability of discerning among the many ideas those which were pure - the whole world's progress is directed toward a socialistic way of life - the Hungarian youth was looking for purity in the field of ideas.

- (4i) Even the most effective Communist education becomes fruitless if the student learns from his own experience that his way of life is too tight, too suffocating, consequently: unbearable.
- (5) Her father died/^{when she} was five years old, her grandparents raised her.
- (5e) None.
- (5f) Medium, petty bourgeois life.
- (5g) Grandparents, Mother, Mother's brother and herself.
- (5h) Her grandparents are dead, her mother is alive and her mother's brother with his wife and two children ~~is~~ is in Australia - they escaped during the Revolution.
- (5i) Husband, mother.
- (5k) She said that her father was a locksmith, nobody ever checked it. Actually, he was an actor.
- (6) Yes.
- (6a) Research worker, head of the Institute of stock breeding.
- (6b) Since '49.
- (6c) None.
- (8) Yes. A strict family circle was the one where one dared discuss politics.
- (8a) Domestic and foreign current events.
- (8b) No.
- (9&10) Not applicable.
- (11) There was a perfect harmony.
- (12) See question (3a)
- (13) No, on the contrary, she owes her mother a great debt of gratitude.
- (14a) Couldn't have been closer.
- (14b) Although it is rather difficult to get a glimpse into family life,

she feels that the main conflicts were due to ^{political} ~~political~~ disagreement. In cases where the husband was a Party secretary or a seminar leader, he had absolutely no time to devote to his family. But there were also cases when the wife held a high position and neglected her own children. Generally, lack of money, financial problems disintegrated families.

- (14c) Excursions in the mountains, reading, swimming, rowing, skating.
- (14d) Excursions, card playing (bridge, rummy), sports.
- (14f) Learning of languages. For years ~~no~~ textbooks, ~~no~~ dictionaries for Western languages were available and there were no language schools. One could of course take private lessons, but as there was no prospect of ever using the respective Western language, most people stopped learning after a while.
- (15a) Yes.
- (15b) Not in her family.
- (15e) Yes. Due to financial difficulties, one breadwinner was not ~~enough~~ sufficient in one family, so the mother had to send her children to the kindergartens in order to have free time to earn some extra money. At five-six a.m. one could see mothers with little babies in their arms in the crowded street cars. When in the evening she rode home, she didn't know what to do first: shop - which took a lot of time - cook, clean, or do the laundry. There was no time left for the children, their education slipped from their control. (The kindergartens and the nursery homes were so crowded that it was extremely difficult to have one's child accepted.)

- (15f) Divorce was difficult to obtain and extremely expensive - 3,000 forints.
- (16) The relationship became more informal. In the DISZ, boys and girls were always together.
- (16b) The old-fashioned dowery system was abolished - young couples had to start from scratch.
- (16e) ^{There} It was none, it was entirely liquidated.
- (16f) More ^figorous.
- (16g) ^{Birth} ~~Marriage~~ control, medical intervention, and the use of contraceptives was forbidden by law. For six years, the purchase of contraceptives was impossible and doctors who did surgical intervention were severely ~~punished~~ ^{punished}. The age and health condition of the mother were no reasons for having the pregnancy interrupted. The ~~the~~ only exceptions were mental illness, epilepsy, and hemorrhage. Thus, women provoked miscarriages.
- This situation was changed due to the economic situation - after five years, ^{the} authorities realized that women ^{cost} took too much money ~~was~~ with their child birth leaves.
- (16h) The woman ^a ~~was~~ not asked whether her child was born ^{out} ~~as a result~~ of a marriage - she was only asked what name she wanted him to have. Even if married, she could give the child her own ~~maiden~~ maiden name.
- (16i) She agreed with the principle of equal rights for women. After the declaration of this principle, women occupied the positions that they were interested in but, due to economic difficulties, they could not afford to hire servants, thus in addition to

their career, they had to take care of their households and children, which proved to be too much for the majority. Women in Hungary are run-down, they are nervous wrecks.

- (17) There was no considerable change.
- (17b) Yes, ~~feeling~~^{stealing} was very frequent, as the ~~least~~^{smallest} item represented a value.
- (18) Yes, in Budapest, in 1947.
- (18a) Singer, she worked in the Operetta-field.
- (18b) Yes.
- (18c) Excursions, sports.
- (18d) Yes, it was ~~throughout~~^{safe} with her.
- (18e) No.
- (18f) Yes, she is still in Budapest.
- (18g) Sincerity, selflessness, helpfulness.
- (18h) No - everybody was reserved.
- (18i) There were mostly artists. They were discontented with the general economic and professional conditions.
- (18k) As she said, none of her friends would have ever entered the Party.
- (19a) Mother - Lutheran. Father - Roman Catholic.
- (19b) She is Lutheran.
- (20a) Yes. They ~~suppressed~~^{suppressed} the expression of religious belief. And banned religious teachings from schools. The usage of expression like: "God Bless You." - "Praise be to God." - "God be with you." contributed to one's bad record.
- (20b) They wanted to undermine the ~~prestige~~^{prestige} of the priesthood because

^echurch's
the ~~mass~~ teachings hindered the acceptance of their own doctrines.

(20^c)

She only knows that they were generally hated.

(20^d)

They dissolved the religious orders and their schools and they tried to break the relationship between priesthood and the people, using for this purpose every means: the press, movies, etc. The Swedish film She Danced only One Summer was only shown because ^{there was} in it ^{an} ~~was~~ anti-Catholic priest.

(20f)

Nobody killed those who attended religious services but they exposed themselves to sarcastic comments coming from the Party secretary.

(20g)

Yes, many people broke their connections with the church, but this fact did not change their religious convictions.

(20h)

She and her family went to a church far ^{away} ~~away~~ from their neighborhood and mostly not to attend mass ~~but~~ where they might have met a lot of people, but only entered the church for a brief prayer.

(20j)

Unfortunately also in the ^{ecclesiastic} ~~ecclesiastic~~ field there ^{were} some who sold themselves, but she doesn't know too much about it because she herself broke her connections with the church.

(20k)

Less.

(20l)

No role at all. It was paralyzed.

(21a)

It was the state which determined how many people should be allowed to enter a given profession. Every year there were many graduates to whom they could not offer jobs. ~~Many~~ Small

craftsmen had no future. She would not suggest to him to be a physician, as physicians were very busy and poorly paid - whether they worked in a hospital or in a social insurance center. (For years there was no private practice whatsoever.) She could list all the professions and explain why they should not be embarked upon. If he decided to choose physical labor, then she would suggest to him to be a miner. (They were the ones who got top salaries and many extras.)

(21b) Stay away from politics (which was hardly possible) and to become highly skilled in his profession.

(21c) In the field of agriculture and stock-breeding - anybody who was admitted to the university. Anybody could become a miner.

(22) Highest:
~~High~~ Party members, AVH, stars, professional authorities, athletes.

Lowest: Former army officers, kulaks, factory owners and directors, craftsmen.

(22a) She did not belong to any of these groups.

(22b) To the professional authorities.

(22c) They were in an exceptional position financially.

(22d) Those who had jobs were not hungry, but neither contented.

Those who were unemployed, lived in an intellectual, financial, professional misery. The stars belonged to a separate category.

(23) A sharp line was drawn between intellectuals and workers.

(23b) It was the Party's intention to make a sharp distinction between intellectuals and workers and peasants.

(23d) In spite of the intentions of the Party, no.

- (23f) Definitely good. She ~~xx~~ agrees with the theory but not with the execution of it.
- (23g) Although the rules of conduct did not change, respondent~~x~~ finds peoples' behaviour objectionable - especially in stores, streets, streetcars, etc. People were exhausted, the streetcars and buses were crowded, this is what made the passengers^e lose their tempers, that's why they became so rude.
- (24) She does not know the answer.
- (25) Doubtless, Jews were very happy about the coming of the Russians, for them it meant liberation. Many of them joined the Party - that's understandable. But with the passing of time, they also were severely affected by the economic bankruptcy^t and suffered great financial losses.
- (25c) Half of her circle of acquaintances ~~friends~~ was composed of Jews. They were very reserved, about fifty per cent of them were Party members but they were not convinced Communists.
- (25d) She doesn't know, she wasn't there.
- (25g) There was no anti-Semitism. For long years the leading members of the government, beginning with Rákosi and Gerö, were Jews and they were the ones who were individually hated. This hatred directed against individuals cannot be labelled as anti-Semitism.
- (25h) Only individuals will be judged and not the race.

- (1) Not particularly - actually, she is only interested in the question of war and peace, as war immensely lowers living ~~standards~~ standards.
- (1a) Twenty-five per cent.
- (1c) No.
- (2) After the war, she suffered a nervous breakdown, she felt that there was no reason anymore for going on with life. The main reasons for her depression were the destruction of Budapest and her hatred of the Russians. While the capital^a was being rebuilt, her love for life returned, but her hatred for the Russians remained. She kept a diary about the horrors of their misdeeds. After 1948, it became clear to everybody that the Russians were leading the country toward bankruptcy^t and the despair of the nation was growing_i. Hope returned with the Imre Nagy government, but it soon vanished.
- (2a) No.
- (2e) Personal experience.
- (2f) II - she was disgusted from the very beginning. (At this point Respondent added that if a Russian came into the room where the interview was taking place, she would jump out of the window.)
- (2h) By dictatorship.
- (2i) Nobody ever saw them, but everybody was afraid of them.
- (3) They tried to force everybody to enter the Party. The loss of personal liberty; impossibility to travel which she, as an artist, resented more than any^{thing} else; the ~~payment~~ of compulsory ~~base~~ subscription to [peace, etc.] loans.

- (3a) Intellectuals were affected by: VII, X, XIII, IV. Plus: individual suffering.
- (3b) She was less affected by: III, VIII, ~~XX~~ XIV.
- (3c) Almost all. It varies according to the individual tragedies of different families. IV, VII, X, XIII.
- (3d) II was felt mostly by the peasants.
- (3e) The greatest problem of workers was: XV, but they had to suffer from the rest as well.
- (3i) Everybody had to use the style of the Party. People talked as if they were reading from their seminar notes.
- (3j) Professional or family affairs.
- (4) Party, AVH.
- (4f) Yes, very great. (Before '44 she was a child.) One got lost in red tape like in a maze.
- (4h) Fifty per cent Party members. The composition of the government employees was most varied, though, according to mental capacity and professional skill of the individuals. ~~XXXXXX~~
- (4i) They were recruited from the lower classes: workers or peasants. The attraction was: easy life, high salary. At the end of '55, ~~r~~ationalization also occurred ~~in~~ in the army which did not do any good to the Party. Because the discharged officers resented it so much as to become enemies of the regime. Having come from the lower classes, they immensely enjoyed the life they were leading and after being dismissed they did not want to return to the social and economic conditions they had been too familiar with before.

- (4j) Mostly workers, but they very often lacked professional skill.
- (5) No.
- (5a) Yes. The attendance to the meetings was obligatory.
- (5b&c) No. But avoiding it was even more difficult than entering the ~~DISZ~~ Party. The better part of the youth was talked into joining in order to set an example to the others. They^{re} were some typical answers to be given in order to avoid joining the Party: "I am politically unprepared, I don't feel worthy." These did not work, as far as the DISZ was concerned because the latter did not require any political maturity, its code being to educate the youth in becoming the avant-garde of the Party. The only accepted excuse was age. (Thirty or over thirty.)
- (5d) Yes.
- (5e) She joined "voluntarily" as almost everybody else did.
- (5f) None. The prominent dancers Nora Kovács and István Rabovsky sat in the first rows of each meeting.
- (5gh) Silent participation in the obligatory meetings.
- Members were expected to educate themselves politically which was ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ridiculous because 90-95 percent of them were immune to any political indoctrination.
- After '52, when she left the Opera House of Budapest, she had no more connection with the DISZ.
- They wanted to send a couple of young^g members to the world youth conference in East Berlin, but the Party declared them personae non gratae. The main point was not the professional qualities of the Hungarian group but the political reliability of its members.

- (5k) The Party.
- (6) With the exception of the careerists who used their Party membership to further their own interest, generally petty Party members ~~xx~~ did not ^{enjoy} any advantages at all.
- (6b) Generally people who, due to their background, had reasons to be afraid of the Communist regime and who thus felt more secure inside the Party.
- (6f) Due to the difference between the Communist theory and its being put into practice. Mainly due to its methods.
- (6h) No, thank God, she managed to avoid it.
- (6g^P) Of course - only during the last two years did they become "cho^osy". They were ~~particular~~ particularly anxious to have ~~artists -~~ ^{artists -} ~~artists~~ [show-window?] window shop people - among their ranks.
- (6q) It affected her professional advancement. In the case of her husband, the situation was different - he was absolutely irreplaceable. Nevertheless, to her they made it clear that they resented it that neither she nor he were Party members.
- (6r) The Party Central Committee where no mortal could enter.
- (6t) It's changed. The leadership was not homogeneous. Currents came from right and left but no one ever knew where they had originated.
- (7) Trade union.
- (8) Eighty-five per cent were not Communists.
- (9) The alert Hungarian youth recognized the situation and was able to discern the faults of the regime.
- (10) For her the most painful was the ^{loss} ~~lack~~ of individual liberty,

^{of}
and the right of expressing one's opinions freely.

- (10b) The methods of the AVH: a person would go into an expresseo and not return for five years. The family was informed that the "lost person" probably escaped to the West.
- The AVH cars mostly came in the early morning hours and did not park in front of the house in which they had "business". The house search followed, during the course of which invariably foreign currency (usually dollars) was "discovered". The "hidden" dollars, hidden by the AVH itself, eluding the attention of the still sleepy and frightened family, furnished the reason for the start of a "legal" procedure.
- (10d&e) Didn't know.
- (10g) ^u Luxerious homes, high salaries, travels at no cost.
- (10j) They were close.
- (10k) AVH and the Party was one in unity.
- (11) Yes.
- (11a) How could she mention x one case out of a million?
- (11g) ^d Former army officers, persons who might have been suspected to have non-Communist views, due to their financial or intellectual background.
- (11e) ^{In cases} ~~On the basis~~ of denunciations.
- (11f) Know how.
- (11g) Knows no details. She had seen several labor camps in ~~Transdanubia~~ ^{Transdanubia,} ~~Transdanubia~~ They were all surrounded by barbed wire fences and under ^{very} severe guard.

(11h)

When the big deportation wave came, the victims received a twenty-four hour notice in which period they were supposed to prepare to leave their homes forever. They were informed about the weight of the luggage they were permitted to carry along, but were not told the place of their destination. They also were told that their apartments would be at the disposal of the state. In many cases the state even confiscated the furniture.

People were taken to the most deserted, hidden parts of the country and nobody cared whether they would find there an opportunity for work and thus be able to make a living.

In her circle of friends there was one family which had been deported. The head of it was a captain under the Horthy regime and the family had been deported immediately after his return from Russia where he had been a prisoner of war. It didn't help the family that meanwhile the wife out of her fear of the regime had joined the Party.

Respondent's husband saw on the Hortobagy deportees who were hungry, penniless, and exhausted from the hard physical labor they had to do.

The owner of the apartment house in which they lived had also been deported and his own apartment with museum piece furniture ^{and} ~~fishings~~ confiscated. ^A 65 year ^{old} ~~old~~ man, who was unable to do any type of ~~any~~ physical labor, died in a remote place of the country, a couple of ^{months} ~~years~~ after his deportation took place. He had written to one of his friends asking for a wooden toilet

without which he didn't feel human.

One of Respondent's acquaintances, an actress, had also been deported for two years. Her husband became very ill and was unable to work so the wife earned some money by mending stockings. But in two years she ruined her eyes and probably will not be able to ever work on the stage again. Since ^{then} her husband had been rehabilitated, but her eyes, nevertheless, were ruined for good.

(13) If there was something wrong with one's background, no advice could have been of any help. Otherwise, the only wise thing to do was to restrain oneself from ~~the~~ ^{the} expression ~~of~~ ^{of} one's opinion.

(13a) No.

(13c) As far as she was concerned, connections with the Ministry of the Peoples' Culture would have been extremely helpful.

(13d) Yes definitely.

The ~~progeny~~ ^{progeny} of workers or peasants were generally considered less ~~unreliable~~ politically than the children of the intelligentsia.

(13e) It did help as one was not obliged to sell oneself to the Party - a professional authority, able to ~~provide~~ ^{provide} amply for himself, ^{wealth} was not at the mercy of the Party. But ~~wealth~~ in the old meaning of the word, didn't help, on the contrary. Actually this kind of wealth did not even exist any more.

(13f) It was extremely useful ~~and~~ ^{but} required enormous self-control.

On the other hand, one was never safe against denunciations or slander.

- (14) Definitely. She does not recall the exact dates, but the fact is that Imre Nagy's regime brought a thaw.
- (15) Absolute leadership.
- (15a) Major decisions in cultural, political, and economic fields were
(c&e) taken in Moscow.
- (15f) The top industrial centers (power stations, naval factories, iron works, mines). *Within the*
- (16) Openly, it was absolutely impossible. *A family, in the closest sense of the word, yes.*
- (16^d) Professional and personal matters - never political.
- (16e) In 1956, after the failure of the Stalinist policy, there was a thaw.
- (17)a) *Once the case* Very little. *First, in front* of the decision of the "mediation committee" and only due to the fact that she was in possession of a compromising letter concerning the committee.
- (18) Its dictatorship.
- (18a) AVH police.
- (18b) The hatred accumulated in human hearts.
- (19) She couldn't talk about actual resistance, only about feelings of opposition which could not be expressed.
- (19b) There was no open resistance but, with slight exceptions, the system was hated by everybody.
- (19c) Party officials, AVH, police, army.
- (19l) Stalinism lost its prestige and the possibility for freedom of speech increased.
- (18m) They started a gigantic struggle in order to obtain personal freedom

and the freedom of speech and of the press. This was a fight and not a resistance - resistance means refusal of executing an order or the upsetting of a certain plan - producing a hold-back. Fight has an aim and ⁱⁿ this particular case the goal of the fight was to obtain personal freedom. Originally there was no question about the Russians having to leave the country - the goals were not revolutionary but they became such.

- (1) Radio.
- (1a) Voice of America, BBC, Radio Free Europe. Her husband would sometimes listen to ^{Radio} Paris.
- (2) They did not subscribe to the Party paper. This needed some "maneuvering" but they managed - her husband said at the office that he had subscribed to it at home and at home he told the janitor that he had subscribed to it at the office.
- (2a) (1) Magyar Nemzet,
 (2) Színház és Muzsika
 (3) Radio Újság
 (1) was ^{un}interesting, almost empty, filled with Party news.
 (2&3) They merely reported about artistic events without criticism - this lack of artistic criticism was missed by the artists. The advertising of marriages, apartments, private lessons was forbidden.
- (2e) Yes, at the Opera of Szeged and at the center of the Philharmonic Concert Society.
- (2g) Yes, mostly Pravda and other Russian papers but in 1956, at some stores downtown, foreign (French and English and German) papers were available. Foreign fashion magazines were very much in demand and frightfully expensive. (Vogue or a Harper's magazine would cost about 80-100 forints.)

The women of Budapest did not wear ready-made clothes. Even if they ordered no more than one ^{or} ~~of~~ two custom made dresses a year, these were of first quality. Cotton, piqué, flannel, silk, linen were available but wool was a problem, pure wool fabrics were very expensive but available if one was willing to pay the price. (Export

fabrics were about 300-400 forints per meter.)

- (2j) No.
- (3) Very often, it was a hobby.
- (3a) She had no favorites, she didn't care about the subject only about the artistic quality.
- (3b) Mixed.
- (3c) Of course, French, Austrian, East German, Spanish, Italian, Swedish, Russian. The overwhelming majority of foreign films was made in the Soviet Union.
- (3d) Fanfan, la Tulipe was the greatest success in Budapest during the last years. Der Untertan was forbidden in West Germany. It is an East German satirical picture about German military corruption. She Danced Only one Summer - Swedish love story, Roma, Ore 11 and Ladro di biciclette. Italian movies about the misery of workers and the failures of the capitalist regime.

They purchased the most ~~various~~^{radical} foreign films which supported their own policy.

Soviet movies glutted the film market, 75 percent, their subjects were expressly educational, seminar-like, and they were on a low artistic level.

The historical Soviet movies, however, formed a category apart. They were mostly colored ^{and} which satisfied the highest cultural requirements in contrast with the rest of the films. Some of them were unforgettable, for instance the Georgian Freedom Fight, Dzhinghis Khan.

There were three movie theaters in Budapest which showed exclusively Russian movies - but due to the scarce audience, two of them had to close. The one left was the Gorkij Theater in Akacfa Street. The unintelligible Russian movies became even worse with the Hungarian synchronizing.

(3e) I'll say!

(3f) About twice a week, without counting the Opera and concerts. ^T
The Tragedy of Man was on the blacklist for ^y years (because of the Phalanstere scene), then it had been performed at the beginning of '55 with an immense success, but after the third performance the Phalanstere scene and several others were omitted.

(4) Many.

(4a) At the same time many.

(4e) Jókai, Mikszáth and foreign classics.

(4g) Yes, mostly, but usually they were not on the shelf - they were in continuous circulation. The book market was dominated by Soviet books which the librarians had to recommend officially.

(5) Of course!

(5b) Yes. Orion 4 plus 2.

(5d) Music, and dramas.

(5e) At least three hours.

(5f) At home.

(6) Yes.

(6a) Voice of America, BBC, Radio Free Europe. News, music, operatic performances, concerts - she especially liked American ~~spirit~~ spirituals

- (6d) She found them absolutely reliable but she disagreed with the style of Radio Free Europe.
- (6e) She doesn't know any concrete cases. But if a person's "crime" were listed, listening to foreign radios was usually on top of the list.
- (7) Not very often.
- (8) She did not think them to be reliable. Of course concrete facts were not falsified but the interpretations certainly were.
- (8d) By comparing them with the foreign news.
- (8e) BBC, Voice of America.
- (8f) She did have a good opinion about it generally. It was the only Hungarian paper which attained a certain cultural level and tried, right from the beginning, to discuss artistic problems in using criticism and suggesting certain improvements. But it would be erroneous to ^{say} that it was a "fighting" organ.
- (8h) Doesn't know about it.
- (9) They weren't able to. The only means was the radio.
- (10a) Its psychological ^{effect} ~~fact~~ was even greater than the "practical".
- (10b) In the Korean War, Soviet interest was involved.
- (10c) Never believed it.
- (10d) At home she thought and hoped that Germany was militarily prepared for an eventual war. Now she sees that Germany is not prepared and actually is weak militarily. Nevertheless, this is a vital problem from the viewpoint of European security. From personal conversations she is aware of the fact that Germans, ^y and generally the German youth, is politically indifferent. The causes? The

loss of World War II, and mainly the fact that public opinion has been shaped in this way and thus youth educated in this spirit. (For instance military service is not obligatory if it does not conform to one's psychological make-up: this is a decree in Germany; furthermore, posters and the press openly object to Adenauer's re-armament policy.)

- (10e) She had never seen them and never believed in their existence.
- (10f) It was a planned action and alas we know its outcome.
- (10g) Much hope was attached to it and much sorrow to its lack of result.
- (10h) While at home she had figured that the emigré activities abroad were very strong. Her disappointment is without limits and today she has a very bad opinion about it. The leading emigrés are usually former aristocrats or generally extremely narrow-minded people who have no moral qualities only polished manners. In founding the Hungarian emigré organization, their main goal was their own financial welfare - the creation of jobs. Their connections with the new emigré groups ~~is~~ ^{are} painful. They discriminate among people, thus most of the recent refugees turned away from them. The usual criticism about the counts and barons concerns their intellectual level and their behavior. They expect to be addressed as Mr. Count or Mr. Baron which meets with the indignation of the recent refugees.

- (1) Free elections should be held which would result in a multi-party system.
- (1a) She would have a hard time to figure out the answer to this question. But maybe the public health organizations should be kept.
- (2) Yes.
- (3)cd) There is no need for restrictions.
- (4) Naturally.
- (4b) Everything is justified against dictatorship.
- (5) A better planned economy, the exploitation of the uranium mines and their economic utilization. Private enterprise, small craftsmen and industrialists should be allowed to exist.
- (6) Hungary's economic conditions require that heavy industry be run by the state.
- (6b) Nationalization is disadvantageous from the standpoint of individual property but from a national standpoint it is required.
- (6c) Naturally, it increases prosperity.
- (6e) Nationalization is no doubt essential from ^a economic standpoint but a danger lies in it: it might ^a effect the quality of the products.
- (6g) It does not serve its purpose. The distribution of goods is bad, and from the customers' viewpoint it ^{is} equally bad because it concentrates the purchasing public and results in a continuous crowd-
^{ing} ~~ness~~ of the stores. Excluding competition, it lowers the quality of the merchandise.
- (7) No.
- (8) The principle is correct. Its putting in practice did not work out --

there were always budgetary problems.

(9) Private life and private property.

(10) Yes of course.

(10b) Military service is necessary but a term of two years should suffice.

(10e) When she answered question (10), she also answered question (e).

(11) Yes, inasmuch as every working person was entitled to medical care and to drugs.

~~The~~ Disadvantage: lack of thoroughness.

(12) Yes, there are more movie theaters and the demand of the public has increased to such a degree that the existing theaters cannot satisfy it.

There were more opportunities to attend concerts, theaters, and opera performances because everybody could purchase tickets at their working places and pay in installments.

The opera house was very much favored because its performances were free of politics.

(12d) It wasn't so much a question of time as it was of money.

(13) The situation was better before the war. People could get a higher daily intake of calories - later meat prices became too high.

(13a) Better in '46 - prices were lower.

(13b) '56 was better.

(13c) Certainly, families with children could not afford meat, sugar, cocoa, chocolate - they ate potatoes and pastry.

(14) The situation was better before the war. Everybody could afford to buy textiles.

(14a) Better in '56.

Better

- (14b) ~~xxxx~~ in '56 - this goes for the quality of the materials.
- (15) Yes.
- (15a) They had to meet the requirements of the whole country - almost nothing was imported.
- (16) All she can say is that the managing of a factory requires ~~xxxx~~ adequate professional knowledge.
- (17) If the farming cooperatives could ~~x~~ be ideally organized and ~~xxxx~~ equipped with adequate machines and if they had a reasonable financial basis, this type of farming would be more effective than any other.
- (17c) Everybody should have the right to decide freely whether he wants to work in a collective farm or privately.
- (17f) ~~xxxx~~; ~~xxxx-xxxx~~ Fifty to hundred acres.
- (17h) Yes.
- (17i) Under 100 acres, yes.
- (17l) Yes. Allocation of seeds at a reduced price, free use of agricultural machines, parasite control.
- (17m) Didn't know the answer but she thinks it fair that they should be at the disposal of every farmer.
- (18a) She is not well informed on this score, but she thinks that churches should be independent.
- (18e) Yes.
- (18f) She herself went to both kinds of schools. The atmosphere in parashool school was better. The relationship between teacher and pupil closer. But the educational standards were higher in state schools. The problem should be decided on the basis of the

future profession of the pupil.

- (18g) Land should remain in the property of the state but the latter should support the church.
- (19) Their individual behavior should be thoroughly examined.
- (19d,e,f,g) The same.
- (19h) Should we put ~~q~~ a crown on their heads or give them a medal? Most likely they are again in the Communist Party. Again individual judgment should be passed.
- (20) These are historical facts. It might sound ridiculous if she expressed an opinion.
- (21) Naturally, way of life and customs are decisive factors.
- (21e) The differences became obliterated. But some, especially between peasants and workers, still ~~exist~~ persist.
- (21f) Yes, changes occurred in the financial situation. Workers seemed to be better off today.
- (22) Who could answer this question?!
- (22b) The low standard of living was responsible.
- (22f) Was very significant, unfortunately.
- (22g) In general, it was ^{not} too bad, especially when compared to the Communist era.
- (22i) After a lost war obviously living conditions and standards cannot be ideal, but reconstruction started on an unusually big scale. The decline started after '48.
- (23) Under present European conditions, political and territorial ^{t r} ~~political~~ ^{questions} ~~questions~~ are of great importance. She personally would welcome a ~~discussion~~

European union.

- (23b) In her opinion Hungary's claims for Transylvania and a part of the [Upper, Northern Hungary] Felvidek, are absolutely justified. The Transylvanian-Hungarians happen to be the purest Hungarians.

(23d, e, f, g, h)

Conflicts had been provoked. She is for peaceful co-existence. Feels that it could be achieved.

- (24) Agriculture and industry and domestic and foreign trade should be developed.

- (25) She has an instinctive aversion and fear. These feelings exclude the possibility of a closer relationship.

Nevertheless, on the basis of her personal experiences, she must admit: the Russians as individuals and as a nation are valuable. They have great ^{working} ~~working~~ capacity, are unpretentious, hospitable, selfless, cheerful, they love family life, adore children, a joy to entertain and be entertained and are extremely fond of music and arts, generally. She has met the ballet master, Vaynounnen and stage manager ~~2~~ Dombrovsky. Those were exceptional artists and had a magnetic personality.

- (25c) Certainly not. Nevertheless, it is true that a Communist education does mark a person.

- (25e) Hatred and fear. With the exception of the ~~3~~ ^{to} ~~4~~ Jews/whom their coming meant indeed a liberation - but even they were afraid.

- (26) Although she had been compelled to attend a seminar and to take an exam in it, she always felt antipathy toward Marxism and could not develop an interest in it. She knows nothing about it,

and does not want to know anything about it in the future either.

(26i) Never.

(27) He manages to be a Communist without being simultaneously a friend of the Russians.

(27a) Yes, but the number was very slight.

(27b) Intellectuals as well as workers.

(27c,d)

His rather moderate methods distinguish him from the rest of the Communist leaders.

(27e) This is a hard question. Can a religious man be a good Hungarian? Communism could be interpreted as an attitude which, in the same way as religion, does not interfere with patriotic feelings, it only determines one's way of life. Another aspect of the question which should be investigated though is whether we are entitled to say that people with Communist convictions are no patriots due to the pro-Russian policy of the government.

(28) She is no prophet. It would have been very difficult to discern definite directions.

(28b) If the Russians had left the country, most probably the Imre Nagy government would not have lived long.

(29a) Good.

(29b) Is not ideal but she doesn't see any other solution.

(29c)d) Bad.

(29ef) In imperialistic countries people live much better than elsewhere. If the Communists want to win, they will have to create the same economic welfare.

(29g) Is absolutely necessary.

- (29ⁱ~~k~~) There is an absolute need for small landowners.
- (29^h~~g~~) Doesn't know much about him, feels that he is just another puppet.
- (29j) It meant a direction in Communist Russian. How can you tell whether this unfortunate man was good or bad?!
- (29k^l) Doesn't know anything about ~~him~~ ^{them}.
- (29m) Is a good social democrat, but Respondent feels that one should be cautious with them because social democracies ~~is~~ ^{ts are} only one step removed from Communism.
- (29n) Represents the policy of the Holy See. His speeches during the Revolution show him to be a man completely broken mentally and spiritually.
- ³
(~~29~~) One could only talk about possibilities. Smallholders.
- (30a) Anyone who would be suited on the basis of either his mental or political capacities - there certainly are persons of the above type but they necessarily are silent now, so, how can they become popular?!
- (31) With the exception of f and g, they were all underpaid.
- (32) c, d, ^h~~v~~, i were better off before '48.
- (33) Generally the differences are not great except for h and j.
- (34) None.
- (35) If Russian tanks were standing in the background, everybody, including women, would have to fight ~~on~~ ^{on} the side of the regime. Without the Russian influence, the Communist regime cannot count upon a reliable ^{military}/force.
- (36a) No, but she is very dissatisfied with the re-armament of Europe.

(1) .
(a,b,c,d) In general it is good. The material will be valuable although the questions are sometimes naive and many of them are super-repetitious fluous and ~~repetitious~~. She is convinced of the sincerity of the answers.

(2) ~~It~~ If she decided to go home, the following conditions will have to be in force: retreat of the Russians, free political life, perfect relationships with the West, possibility of economic progress.