

- (1) There are several things I would like to say in reply to this question. First I would like to stress the spontaneity of the revolution. I would go as far as saying that there was not even the intention to make a revolution. There was great dissatisfaction but there was no revolutionary intention. The main issue was the demand of freedom of speech, the demand of freedom in general ~~and~~ through economic conditions intensified dissatisfaction, ^t there was a conviction ^{however,} that conditions must be changed ^{peacefully;} but there was no intention to change them by revolution. The other thing I would like to point out is that the free world did not or did not want to recognize the fact of Soviet aggression for if the free world had recognized the fact of Soviet ~~aggression~~ aggression with all its consequences then the free world would have been obliged to help the Hungarian revolution. Third, during the revolution the Hungarians had a great trust in the West. The conviction was that if we hold out the West will help us, in other words, that the help is only a matter of time. Fourth, after the Soviets suppressed the revolution there was a complete disillusionment in the West. Now the Hungarians realize the Western pronouncements about humanism and human rights are as much a bluff as the similar pronouncements of the Soviets. The West was unwilling to take any risk for the defense of these lofty ideals. The West was not ready to take the risk of war, to sacrifice its comfort and

economic status quo. ~~although~~ I think that help could have been rendered to the Hungarian revolution without a world war. Had the West through the United Nations taken action at the right moment. There were several days when the Soviets were in complete confusion and when it looked as if the Soviets would have lost the initiative. This was during the victorious period of the revolution. This would have been the right moment for the UN to act by sending troops and putting strong pressure on the Soviets. These I think are the most important things that the world should know about the events in Hungary.

- (2) The events that led to the revolution began early in the summer of 1956 although I would stress again that at that time nobody ~~was~~ thought that these events will lead to a revolution. There was a relaxation going on within the regime until then but it was not until the early summer of 1956 that the entire country began to realize that there is a relaxation ~~at~~ and fermentation. I would like to discuss these two aspects separately. First, how the fermentation relaxation effected the regime from within and then how the nation as a whole became aware of the changing situation. As to the first aspect of the question no doubt the important event was Stalin's death. After Stalin's death there was a relaxation in the Soviet Union and from the Soviets the new trend spread to Hungary.

This new trend in Hungary manifested itself during the regime of Imre Nagy in 1953. I remember well his first radio speech, I remember people saying "This man is not a puppet, he is a politician who tries to help Hungary". True, he proved to be a puppet in a certain sense and it could not have been differently under the prevailing conditions. ~~but~~ Nevertheless the people remembered him, that he was the man who tried to do something about the situation and it was quite logical that during the revolution Imre Nagy was considered the only possible leader of the nation. To your question what impact the reconciliation of Moscow with Tito had on the Hungarian situation I would say that this did not have any effect. We thought of Tito as an enemy and we did not rely on him. It is different, however, with the 20th Congress of Russian Communist Party in February 1956. This was the beginning actually of the second aspect of the question, namely it ^{was} ~~was~~ ^{broad} ~~was~~ after the 20th Party Congress that the ~~masses~~ ^{masses} began to realize the new trend of relaxation. Now about the second aspect of the question, this feeling among the masses of a new trend in the making became especially strong only during the summer of 1956. The press was instrumental in creating this new atmosphere. But it was not the press alone. The party as a whole promoted the new trend in an indirect rather than direct way. The very fact that the press was given greater freedom was a part of the party's new policy. Also the freedom enjoyed

by the Petöfi circle was inspired by the party. The events, of course, did not follow the intentions and ^{hand} direction of the party. The situation got out of ~~hand~~ above all in the Petöfi circle. The party realized that, and the party tried to resume its control over the situation. This effort has failed, however. They failed above all because those whom the party considered as reliable proved themselves too independent. The writers did not obey the party. The situation became the more difficult for the party to control because public became excited by the writers. The broad masses rallied around the writers and as a result it was the writers and not the party who were in close touch with the country. It was very difficult for the party to apply drastic ^a measures ~~measures~~ against the writers because such a ^a drastic action would have been a repudiation of the new trend the party itself has adopted since the 20th Party Congress. The ^{increased} Poznan events ~~consolidated~~ tremendously the self-confidence of the people. They saw the Poles act against the regime and they saw the Polish regime to make compromises rather than use repression against the people. The way the Polish regime treated the Poznan events had its parallel ^{pressure} in Hungary, too. The Hungarian regime yielded to ~~pressure~~ of the people when Rakosi was dismissed in August 1956. Thus Poznan and the dismissal of Rakosi were/ two very important events in encouraging the Hungarians in their attitude towards the regime. As far as the regime want

the dismissal of Rakosi was a tactic to ~~appease~~^{appease} dissatis-
faction. As far as the people went they were watching
the Petöfi circle because the Petöfi circle had well-
known connections with the party. Therefore, whatever
the Petöfi circle did was an indication of how far the
party would yield to the pressure of the public opinion
led by the writers. The continued activities of the
writers in the Petöfi circle and in the press was a proof
in the eyes of the public opinion that the party is
yielding to the popular pressure. The people sensed ~~that~~
the confusion within the party although no one really
knew how deep this confusion had gone. In answering
your question about the impact Rajk's funeral had on the
developments I would say that this was a confirmation of
the new trend which became so evident with Rakosi's dis-
missal. After all everybody knew that it was Rakosi who
sent ~~might~~^{Rajk} to the gallows. The Polish events in October
which returned Gomulka to power gave of course the final
push to the Hungarian developments. The hope became
stronger than ever that a new situation can be created.
The events in Poland served as an example. The thought
has arisen spontaneously among the Hungarians that Imre
Nagy could become our Gomulka. We were hopeful of a
similar change in Hungary. The change people had in mind
was not to be achieved through revolution but along the
samelines as it happened in Poland. What we demanded was
not clearly formulated but we wanted to have something

similar the Poles have succeeded in achieving. Hence the spontaneous expression of sympathy with the Polish events. We ~~thought~~^{felt} if we express ^{sympathy} with Poland something good may happen to us, too. There were no clear-cut objectives except that we wanted to have freedom. In what way this could be achieved we did not know exactly. All what we knew was that we have to make common course with the Poles. I remember that this was distinctly in our minds when the meetings of the students started around the middle of October. These meetings had been inspired by the events in Poland. We watched keenly the role the Polish students have played in returning Gomulka to power. Our immediate objective was to replace the DISZ with a new students' organization. How this demand would effect the general developments in the country we did not know, but we wanted to act and we acted the way we could. I was active in these student meetings. I was present at the first mass meeting of the gymnasium students in Budapest. The meeting was called by the party in order to satisfy the demands of the students for such a meeting. There was an evident proof of the party's intention to keep student dissatisfaction under control. This the party did not succeed to achieve at this meeting. The meeting became so noisy and tumultuous that the Minister of Education Magda Joboru left the meeting before it was over at the height of confusion. I spoke at this meeting and I said among others that we

have to follow the example of the Polish students. I mentioned also that Gyorgy Lukacs wrote in one of his recent articles that we young people are cynical, that we have no interest in public affairs. My reply to Lukacs was that this meeting is the proof that we are not cynical; but I said also that we have to formulate our objectives. Among these objectives I mentioned the formation of a new student organization. I spoke also in favor of the religious education along side with ~~the~~ Communist education. I demanded that the ideas of Communist materialism and Christian idealism should have a free play in our education. Only if we are exposed to both ideas will we be able to think. I stressed this because one of the charges levelled by Lukacs against the youth was that the young people do not think. The reason we do not think I said is that we are indoctrinated only in one way. This does not encourage thinking. My speech was a great success and I owed to this success that I was elected to a five member committee in charge of working out a program for the youth. We were to get in touch with the party and discuss our program but no such negotiations with the party followed because of the outbreak of the revolution a week later.

(c) It was during the student meetings before October 23rd that I first had the feeling that we arrived at a turning point.

(e) The writers played a leading part. They were leading the 

nation in general and the student in particular.

- (g) I was particularly impressed at ~~the~~ a literary evening of the Petöfi circle at which the writers were reading from their unpublished manuscripts. Apart from that two poems written during the revolution made the greatest impression on me. One was the poem "Red Blood on the ~~Székesvárosi~~ Streets of Pest" written by Lajos ^T Damasi and the other Gyula Illyes' poem, "A Sentence on Tyranny".
- (3) The major factors leading to the revolution I think were the followings: First, the Soviet policy of relaxation and conciliation, second, the struggle of ideas, centered around the Petöfi circle, third, the irreplaceable desire for freedom of the masses, and fourth the developments in Poland.
- (b) The control system collapsed because its members were not reliable. Not even all members of the AVO were reliable. In general there were few convinced Communists in the party. But even among the convinced Communists there were many decent people and they ~~abandoned~~ ^{deserted} the regime during the revolution because they were decent
- (c) As I have said before there was no clear-cut program in the minds of the people on the eve of the revolution or on the first day of the revolution. It was mostly I think a demonstration of sympathy for Poland because it was believed that we may achieve something similar the Poles did.

- (f) People in high positions of course opposed the revolution, also the opportunists and some convinced Communists but it is very difficult to describe these people by defining to what groups ~~are~~ they belong^{ed.} I think there were no groups of people who opposed the revolution except perhaps the AVO.
- (g) This is again difficult to define. I think the neutrals were ~~the general~~ ^{in general} the people who/are indifferent and ~~perhaps~~ ^{perhaps} the opportunists.
- (h) The most popular slogans were those which called on the Russians to go home, then those attacking the AVO, finally those which expressed the demand for equality.
- (i) Yes, it was anti-Communist but perhaps ~~I would say~~ it was in the minds of many people especially who started the revolution, directed against Communism in its present form.
- (k) I think those Communists who participated in the revolution ceased to be Communists by the very fact of their participation.
- (4) On October 23rd I took part in organizing the demonstrations of gymnasium students in Budapest. While going to school in the morning I have learned about the planned demonstrations from friends who were students of ~~the~~ technology. I was a student at the Jozef Attila Gymnasium in Buda. My room teacher and one of my other teachers gave me the^{per} mission to leave the school. All this had to be arranged in secret because the director

of the school was a Communist. After leaving school I went to the apartment of one of my friends. Her parents were divorced and she lived in an apartment of her own and I used her telephone in calling the members of that committee which we have elected at the students meeting which I have told you about earlier. I could reach them in their respective schools during recess and informed them about the planned demonstrations and asked them to see to it that the students of their schools will go on the streets in the afternoon after school is over. The time of the demonstrations was set ~~at~~ for three o'clock in the afternoon. Then I went back to school and saw to it that the students of my own school will be on the streets in the afternoon. The places where the students were to meet were at the National Museum, the Technology, and the Rokus Hospital. We left school at two p.m. and after a quick lunch by three o'clock we were heading towards the pre-arranged meeting places. I took place in the demonstrations both at the Bem Statue and the Parliament. The five member committee I was talking about earlier had a meeting scheduled in the Central Party Building on the Republic Square for the afternoon. ~~and later~~ So later that afternoon we went there. To our surprise when we entered the building some party people lingering around asked us: "What are you doing here? Why don't you go to the streets? go on the streets". We rejoined the street demonstra-

tions. I was at the Parliament Square when later that evening Imre Nagy appeared on the balcony and addressed the crowd. I must say that Nagy's speech was a disappointment. He did not sound like a leader should. While on the Parliament Square I remember a truck arrived, students shouting from it: "Come to the Radio Building. The AVGs are shooting at us". We did not heed these appeals, we simply did not believe what they were saying. We thought this is a Communist trick to draw away the people from the Parliament Square.

This incident ^{occurred} ~~happened~~ before Nagy appeared on the balcony of the Parliament. As it later turned out the news of ^{shooting at} the Radio Building proved to be right. I myself with my friends went over later to the Radio Building. I witnessed the shootings ^{like} ~~with~~ others. I threw myself to the ground in order to avoid the bullets. It was there that I saw several interesting things you would be perhaps interested in knowing. I saw people in the telephone ^{booths} ~~booths~~ were calling the police and the army and the Red Cross reporting what is going on and asking for help. Of course the understanding was that the help would be rendered against the AVO. I stayed on until late night around the Radio Building and went home very late. My parents were worried and next day on October 24th they did not let me out ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ spite of my parents' opposition ~~I left~~ on October 25th, the next day, ^{under} ~~under~~ some pretext I left home and participated in the

demonstrations but I avoided the places where shooting went on. I went home late that day. On the next day, on October 26th, this time with my parents consenting, I left again and joined a Red Cross team. The way this team had been formed was rather interesting, it reveals clearly the element of spontaneity which was so important during the revolution. The team was made up of a chauffeur, a doctor, and five Red Cross volunteers. I was the only girl on the team. We banded together in an adhoc way. I was standing near to a scene where fighting went on and there were many wounded. An abandoned city bus was that gave the idea to several young people that we should form a Red Cross team. A chauffeur volunteer^{ed} to drive the bus and four students and myself decided to drive with him to a hospital and there ask for first aid material and a doctor. We drove to a hospital and we got what we wanted. With lipstick I drew a red cross on a sheet and I hoisted this sheet as a flag on the bus. The chauffeur was very courageous young man, not so the doctor who was a typical intellectual lacking in physical ~~power~~ ^{prowess}. We drove close to the battle scenes and picked up the wounded and carried them to the nearby hospitals. During the ~~work~~^{rescue} operations I suffered a small injury on my heel but after bandaging it I continued my work. This went on until October 29th. We all slept in the hospitals during these days. I did not return home until the 29th and my parents were of

course very much worried. Nevertheless I felt also that they were rather proud of me. After October 29th those few days followed when we thought that the revolution was victorious. I was going to many meetings during these days. I also started to write a diary which I continued to write until January the 10th. I have this diary with me and if you wish I can show it to you. On November 4th on the day of the Russian attack I was at home. During the ensuing fightings I joined a rebels' group in Buda. we helped building barricades, we carried ammunition, and so forth.

- (5) I consider myself a non-fighting participant.
 (Interviewer's Note: See ~~question~~ question (4) about respondent's participation in a Red Cross team.
- (6) Not applicable.
- (7) The workers councils had the greatest authority among the revolutionary groups because the workers ^{bore} ~~suffered~~ the brunt of their ^{armed} ~~armed~~ fighting.
- (a) Yes, I have seen conflicts among the rebels both before and after November 4th. I could tell about two incidents. One happened before November the 4th when on the Republic Square I witnessed a heated discussion among the rebels who took part in the attack on the AVO building. The disagreement arose over the treatment of the captured

AVO soldiers. Some of the rebels condemned the cruelties committed against the AVO people, others defended the action. The other incident I saw was after November the 4th. I took part in a meeting of the workers council in the Belojamisz factory. The controversy was over the question whether the workers should stay on strike or resume work. It was a heated debate. The majority of the workers insisted that the strike should go on. Those who argued in favor of resuming work were mostly people belonging to the intelligentsia.

- (8) In general, as far as my experiences go, the Russian troops behaved decently towards the population. True, I have seen Russians looting shops but as far as I know the Soviet soldiers did not enter the lodgings of the population and did not molest them. This was no repetition of what happened during the siege of Budapest in the winter of 1945. (Interviewer's Note: This last sentence of the respondent was in reply to interviewer's question whether she thinks that the ~~Russians~~ Russians behaved differently this time than in 1945.) I was talking to several Russian soldiers after November 4th and I heard them asking where is Suez and the Red Sea. Some of them seemed to believe that they are in Western Germany. They did not know where they were but they all seemed to believe that they were sent to repel an aggression.
- (e) I saw Russian soldiers to let Hungarian students climb on

their tank but I had the feeling that this was not really a defection. The Russian soldiers rather ~~tried~~ seemed to act as if they would try to be friendly with the Hungarians without really going over to the side of the rebels. I had ~~this~~ ^{the} feeling that this was a Russian trick. May be I am wrong. I don't know.

(9)

(a) I was reading the newspapers but did not consider them reliable. You could not expect the newspapers to report actually the events in a confusion of this sort.

(b) All sorts of rumors were circulating and of course we picked up many news from people on the streets and of course I have learned at least about some of the events as an eye witness.

(c) I was listening both to domestic broadcast and to foreign radio. I found Radio Paris the most reliable. BBC and Radio Madrid would come next as far as order of reliability goes. I considered Voice of America and Free Europe Radio less reliable.

(10) I would compare the situation to anarchy. How can anything function in a situation like that?

(a) I don't have first hand informations but contrary to general believe I don't think that the AVO ^{for instance} disintegrated as much as the party did. / ~~in~~ our house

four AVO people were living and during the night they usually left their homes. They must have gone somewhere. I don't know where.

- (b) The party organisations disintegrated but I think the party was functioning just the same. It did not disintegrate entirely. I don't have any accurate information but this is what I believe to be true.
- (g) I would repeat that there was anarchy. You could not speak about functioning of a government.
- (j) I don't know of organisations the rebels had used for their own ends. I have known of cases, however, when after November 4th AVO soldiers put on the uniform of the police. I have heard this from one of the four AVO people who lived in our house. One of them namely broke with the AVO after November 4th. I don't know what happened to him. (Interviewer's Note: The last sentence is an answer to interviewer's probe).
- (k) The new organisations were the revolutionary councils and the workers councils.
- (l) I had been present at the formation of one of the workers councils in the Mining Research Institute where my sister was working. The members of the workers council were elected. As far as I know they were mostly Communist Party members but the kind of Party members who were no Communists.
- (m) The government which would have emerged from the revolution I believe would have been a democratic republic.

- (11) I am thinking a lot of the revolution.
- (a) For the time being I really don't know whether the revolution was useful. As things stand now I am inclined to believe that it did more damage than good to Hungary. I would say it was good for the West rather than for Hungary. What I mean is that as a result of the Hungarian revolution Communist sympathies in the West have weakened and thus the West has been strengthened.
- (b) The revolution could have succeeded only with foreign help. Had UN troops arrived at the right time, remember what I said about that, the revolution could have succeeded.
- (c) Naturally I expected help from the West. On what basis? Well, we thought of the West as the defender of humanism. We really believed that and this was enough for us to believe the West will help us. After all we were fighting for the cause of humanism. And then, too, for years the West has encouraged us to expect a change and the West assured us that she will help us in attaining this change. In what form did we expect help? In form of military assistance. As for me I expected ~~that~~ before November 4th assistance through the UN, after November 4th I expected American help.
- (c) Imre Nagy is an honest man but I don't think that he was good enough as a politician. He was under Soviet pressure and he could not act the way he wanted to. I fully ~~realize~~ realize that. Perhaps no one could have acted better in his position.

- (2) I would see first Eilay, then ~~Wass~~^{Ragg} and Bari, finally Maister.
- (3) I would set up the following order: First the youth, second the workers, third the intellectuals, fourth irresponsible elements, fifth soldiers, sixth other, seventh the peasants.
- (12) I decided to leave Hungary in January 1957. I have organized a five minute silent demonstration in my school. The AVO must have found out about that because one day when fortunately I was not at home the AVO was looking for me. Perhaps they have held other things against me, too. In any case I decided to leave and my parents were of the same view. I left Hungary on January 23rd, 1957. Almost a month earlier my sister escaped from Hungary but she had no political reason. She was anxious to leave because she wanted to study in the West. She is an anthropologist. She would like to go to America.

- (1) I was a student of the gymnasium.
- (2) Not applicable.
- (3,4,5) Not applicable.
- (6) The living conditions of my family were pretty bad after the second world war. Conditions improved a little later. I would say it was about the average.
- (7) Not applicable.
- (8,9) Not applicable.
- (10) The Hungarian economy showed rising tendency after the second world war but there was a relapse ~~after~~ around 1949/50. There was an improvement when Imre Nagy came to power in 1953. There was a fluctuation thereafter and again an improvement immediately before the revolution.
- (c) Before 1941 the standard of life was not high in Hungary. There were great class differences.
- (d) After the war the general standard of life deteriorated. On the other hand the class differences have vanished.
- (f) The re-emergence of the private sector was successful. It improved the economic situation. It eased to a certain extent the political tension, too.

- (8) During the last year of the revolution conditions in general were somewhat better.
- (11) Economic conditions played an important role but even more important was the oppression of freedom.

- (1) I was attending the fourth grade of gymnasium, that is to say the last grade, what used to be the eighth grade.
- (e) After finishing the general school I tried, upon my parents' advice, a technical school which I have attended for a year. But it did not appeal to me. Thus I decided to attend a gymnasium, a humanist gymnasium, because this appealed to me most. My interest is mainly in the humanities.
- (2) As long as I have been in Hungary I received as much schooling as I wanted.
- (e) I have had some difficulties in getting into the human gymnasium because of my middle class origin. I would have had no chances to get into a university.
- (3) We were taught constitutional history which was actually a study of a people's democracy. Another subject compulsory for political reasons was political economy. It was taught entirely in Marxist spirit.
- (4) The main objective of education was to regiment the society, to want the people do what the regime considered best for them and not what the people considered best for themselves. A marked feature of this system was that the regime was anxious to raise a new intelligentsia of working class and peasant origin. And of course the objective of education was to indoctrinate the youth in

Marxist ideology.

- (b) Education for Communism in the schools I think was effective. I should add, however, that it was not effective in the way the regime expected it to be. What I mean is that the young people became indoctrinated with Marxism. This situation has changed in 1956. On the eve of the revolution there was a wide-spread realization among the young people of what was wrong in Marxism, not to speak about the difference between Marxist theories and practice. There was a growing resistance on social philosophical basis.
- (c) I would not be able to generalize but I can say a few words about my own position. I became opposed to Marxism on philosophical, religious basis. I opposed Christian idealism to Marxist materialism. I believe that the ^{prime} mover is not the ~~materialist~~ ^{matter} but God.
- (f) The change came as far as I can see during the year of 1956 as I have already explained earlier.
- (h) It was not merely education for Communism that changed the attitude of the children as compared with the earlier generations, it was a different world we were living in and we have undergone changes, we were different. I don't think you can speak about any rule, it depends on the individual.
- (5) My father was a manager of the restaurant at the Eastern railway station in Budapest before the Communists' take

over. The restaurant was under the management of a private company.

- (a) After 1945 my father opened a restaurant but in 1949 he became again manager of the restaurant at the Eastern railway station. This time, of course, the restaurant was run by the state.
- (f) I would say that our standard of life was average.
- (g) We were five in the family. I have an older sister and a younger brother.
- (h) My parents are living in Budapest with my younger brother who is going to school. My older sister, as I have already said, is now in Vienna. She is studying at the university there.
- (i) As of 1956 I lived with my family.
- (k) My social origin was to my disadvantage.
- (6) I was not married.
- (7-10) Not applicable.
- (11) I got along well with my parents. They respected my individuality. In general, in our family we lived pretty much our own individual life. I considered this good although I would say that this was not the prevailing form of family life in Hungary.
- (12) We talked about politics and there was a general agree-

ment among us.

(13) Not applicable.

(14)

(a) The personal ties as ~~my~~ I have said were on a individualistic basis. Our family life was not particularly close.

(b) As I have said I don't think that this was typical although for different reasons actually other families have no closer ties than we had. But in our case I would say that this was the result of personal disposition. It had nothing to do with the changing conditions of family life in Hungary under the Communist regime. Whereas in other families the closeness of family ties loosened as a result of the changing conditions.

(c) I was fond of reading, I went to concerts, I was studying philosophy, psychology, and also graphology. Also conversation with my friends filled considerable part of my leisure time.

(g) There was no interference with my leisure time.

(15) As I have said before, in general
family ties/have loosened
in Hungary after the second world war. It was the policy of the regime to make family life loose in order to enable the state to exercise control of the individual and to exempt the children in particular from family in-

fluence. Also lack of time on the part of the parents has been an important factor. As a rule both parents have been working.

(a) By ~~xxxxx~~ the above this point has been answered.

(16) Relations between boys and girls became freer, ~~although~~ ~~mixing~~ mixing the boys and girls was a part of the regime policy. Not only in schools where co-education was the general rule but also in their leisure time. ⁱⁿ General, I would maintain that this had bad effect: because it undermined mutual respect.

(b) The new form of courtship which was an informal relationship between boys and girls sometimes made ~~relationships~~ ~~relationships~~ these relationships more human, more intimate. But I think it was rather the exception to the rule. The rule, on the other hand, was that this informality as I have said destroyed mutual respect between the sexes. As for marriage, marriage became to be regarded by great many people merely as a ~~physical~~ physical relationship. Extra-marital sexual relations were wide-spread as a result of this view.

(e) I have something to say about prostitution. When I attended the eighth class of general school it was discovered that several of my class mates became prostitutes. They were girls of fourteen years of age. They were of working class origin. X

(f) The Communists popularized the idea of free relations

among the sexes. I think the Communist principles in sexual matters were less strict than before and in practice it was very loose.

- (h) Legally the illegitimate children enjoyed equal status with the legitimate ones but in practice I think there was still a discrimination against them. Not much but some. In my experience most people made some distinction between legitimate and illegitimate births.
- (i) The status of women has changed in Hungary and it became worse. Most women were working, they had jobs. As a result family ties have loosened. In general the status of women in the society has been demoralized.
- (17) The general state of morals has sunken in Hungary after the second world war.
- (18) I am thinking of someone whom I have met in 1951.
- (c) We did sports together and went also to ~~concerts~~ ^{concerts.}
- (g) I value most in a friend ^{adherence to} honesty/ principles.
- (i) Among my friends there was people of different opinions. It was a intellectual circle of friends. We spoke about music, literature, and other things of common interest.
- (19) My parents are Catholics.
- (b) I am a practising Catholic.

- (20) Communist rule had a twofold effect on religious life. On the one hand it discouraged the practice of religion, on the other hand, under oppression, religious life became more intensive.
- (a) The Catholic religion was especially ^{hard} hit.
- (b) The final goal of Communism was to stamp out religion and replace it by Marxism.
- (c) ~~They~~ They were turn-coats opportunists.
- (f) No, one could not attend church services freely. I was summoned before the director of my school and he admonished me not to go to church. He said if I want to study at the university I better cease going to church.
- (i) The people who attended church ^{more} ~~more~~ frequently were mostly people of the middle class, a part of the youth, the older people. Those who attended church services less frequently were those who before the war went to church under the ^{pressure} ~~influence~~ of social customs. Such churchgoers discontinued practicing their religion actively altogether.
- (k) For those people for whom religion means something, religion ^{today} means ~~really~~ more than it meant to so-called religious people before the war. In general, however, I would say that religion means less to young people today than to their parents.
- (l) The church played an important role in fostering opposition. Going to church itself was a demonstration against the regime.

- (21) Provided he or she has talent and ^{the chance} ~~the chance~~ I would ^{occupations} set up the following order of preferred / : Musician, linguist, doctor, actor, engineer.
- (b) My advice would be: "Don't talk politics".
- (22) I would set up the following groups in this order:
1) high party functionary, 2) AVO, 3) engineers who are party members, 4) workers who are party members, 5) intelligentsia who are party members, 6) peasants who are party members. These are the people who were best off. Now as for the people who were worst off I would set up the following groups in this order: People prominent in the old regime, people who are no party members, finally ~~the persecuted people~~ people persecuted for political principles.
- (a) I would say that I have belonged in the group of people persecuted for reasons of political principles. Had I stayed in Hungary I would have definitely belonged to this group.
- (23) The following social classes exist in Hungary today:
First the privileged, second the workers, third the intelligentsia, and fourth the peasants.
- (b) This reflects no doubts the changes which have occurred in Hungary since the war.
- (d) Among the social classes I mentioned before I would draw the dividing line between the privileged and the

rest.

- (e) In general I believe social equality is greater than it used to be.
- (g) There is a general informality in the intercourse among people. I would say/that manners became rude.
~~however,~~
- (24) I don't see any difference in the treatment of minority groups. I know about the expulsion of the Germans but I think that this was a result of the war rather than the consequence of the Communist rule that engulfed Hungary after the war.
- (a) I don't think that any minority group has benefited from the Communist rule.
- (25) Under the Communist regime a part of the Jews no doubt has risen higher. On the other hand those who did not rise higher still enjoyed some advantages. This was quite natural after the persecution of the Jews under the previous regime.
- (c) Yes, I have had Jewish acquaintances. Some of them were decent who did not take advantage of the favors the regime extended to the Jews in general and some of them were not so decent.
- (e) Anti-Semitism definitely increased.
- (h) If the Communist regime would disappear it would result in reducing the influence of Jews. Much would depend on the kind of government that would ~~supersede~~ ^{supersede} the present

regime, whether anti-Semitism would spread or not. No doubt there is a basis for anti-Semitism in the Hungarian society. Even during the revolution there was a anti-Semitic trend although there were no atrocities against the Jews as such. There was a general trend, however, to oust the Jews from positions and to reduce in general the Jewish influence.

- (1) Yes, I have interest in politics but while in Hungary this interest was not too pronounced. Actually I am more interested now than I was before.
- (2) My basic position was one of opposition to the regime which has intensified during the years.
- (a) Not applicable.
- (e) I have been attracted to the West. In addition, practical experiences have no doubt something to do with my negative attitude toward Communism.
- (f) I would choose (ii).
- (h) The explanation lies in the terror the authorities have exercised over the population.
- (3)
- (a) (i), (iv), (xii).
- (b) (viii), ~~(iii)~~ (iii), (v).
- (c) (iv), ~~(ix)~~ (x), (xi).
- (d) (vi), ~~(xv)~~ (xv), (xiii).
- (e) (xiv), (iii), (vi).
- (f) Cultural opportunities have been made accessible to the broader masses, such as sporting opportunities. And in general there was a lessening of class differences which I would include in my answer to this question.
- (4) The real power was the Soviet Union. No doubt about that.
- (f) There was, of course, a wide-spread bureaucracy.

- (h) The people who went into government service were mostly Jews who were party members, then also many people of working class origin.
- (5) I don't see any advantages in belonging to Disz.
- (a) I don't know what drawbacks I would think of. After all we were all members whether we liked it or not.
- (d) Yes, I ~~belonged~~ belonged.
- (e) I became a member ~~because~~ because it was compulsory when I was in the eighth grade of general school. I was even a Disz secretary in the 3rd grade of gymnasium but this was at the time when the Disz did not function much. I was elected because I was well liked by my fellow students. It was more or less just a formality, however.
- (6) I would distinguish not so much between party members and non-party members but between active party members and those for whom party membership was just a formality. The active party membership was significant because it enabled the party member to enjoy different privileges, advantages, higher pay, better job, and so forth.
- (e) I would make again the same distinction between active membership in the party and just a formal one.
- (f) Well, here again I would set up two different groups, one the convinced Communists, two, those who never were really convinced. In the latter case you could not

speak about disillusionment because there was never a real believe in the Communist doctrine. As ~~for~~^{for} the disillusionment of the idealists, of the convinced Communists, I think it was simply the difference between ^{their} theory and practice that caused a disillusionment.

(h) I was no member.

(r) The Soviets ran the Party.

(7) I did not belong to any other organization except ~~E~~
the Diss as I have already said.

(c+d) Not applicable.

(g) In general, people held the mass organizations in contempt trying to avoid them.

(l) The mass organizations were under the direction of the Party.

(m) The workers hated the trade union because it did not represent their interests.

(8) I would estimate the number of Communists who really believe in Communism at ten percent of the party members.

(9) Such organizations easily could become a center of opposition because it included so many people, almost the majority, who were members without conviction.

(10) The terror manifested itself everywhere. This was the only way how the system could be defended.

- (b) The AVH was the main instrument of terror against the population.
- (e) The members of the AVH were recruited either on a voluntary basis or they were forced into the organization. This was especially true about released prisoners who were forced to spy on their fellow citizens.
- (j) The police was subordinated to the AVH.
- (k) I would describe the relations between the AVH and the Party the following way: The ideological direction came from the Party, the practical maintenance of the regime was the job of the AVH.
- (11) I have never been arrested but I have known many students who were, five at least were held by the AVO from half to one year. They were accused of organizing a clandestine group where they discussed the form of society they would like to have after liberation. The ^{charge} ~~charge~~ ^{against them} incidentally was true. They were released shortly before the outbreak of the Revolution. I have heard about the ~~many~~ cruelties committed against them. They were beaten up, they were starved in order to force them to confess.
- (b) The people who got most frequently arrested were those who had some political role in the old society and, second, those who ~~rather~~ either made pronouncements against the Communist regime or did something against it.

(g) As I have said, in our house were four AVOs living and we heard about the AVO prisons from them. What we heard from them was much less than what everybody learned about these institutions ^{during} ~~at~~ the Revolution when the AVO building was captured by the rebels.

12
(20) Not applicable.

(13) I would advise complete indifference.

(c) -
The connections of Party members is very useful. They are not incorruptible at all.

(d) A good class background is helpful but not always.

(f) The answer is the same.

(14) The following fluctuations in the extent of terror could be distinguished between 1948/53 very strong, in 1953 some lessening, in 1956 again lessening. Nevertheless we were aware of it in 1956 and we knew that we have to be careful.

(15) The Soviet Union was all powerful in Hungarian affairs.

(a) I had no contact with Soviet personnel.

(e) The Soviet influence was strongest in political and economic areas. The least pronounced it was in the religious life.

- (16) Only privately.
- (c) You could be frank only with reliable friends but actually nothing was safe.
- (d) You could be more candid for instance with such things as literature but you could be least candid about things political including literature if it involved politics which was often the case.
- (17) Sabotage was wide-spread. The general attitude towards the state or the regime was this: I am cheated by the state therefore I cheat the state wherever I can.
- (18) The strength of the regime consisted in the terror it applied. Its weak point was the failure to ~~maintain~~ indoctrinate the population.
- (19) The most frequent form of opposition was sabotage as I have described above. (Interviewer's Note: See answer to question (17).)
- (b) The groups most hostile to the regime were the followings: The former aristocracy, the middle class, the peasants, the workers.
- (c) The groups least hostile was that of the privileged.
- (1) The emergence of the Petöfi circle and the Mefesz is explainable by demand for freedom and also by Party tactics. (Interviewer's Note: Respondent preferred to what she said earlier in Section R, question (2), point(b).)

- (1) Yes, I heard the foreign broadcasts and I considered these as the most important source of information.
- (a) As I have said before I considered the most reliable the Paris Radio and therefore this was the most important source of information for me.
- (2) I was reading the newspapers quite a lot and magazines, too.
- (a) The newspapers I read most frequently were the Magyar Nemzet, Szabad Nep, Irodalmi Ujsag, the Radio Ujsag, and the Hetfői Hirlap.
- (g) I saw from time to time the Life magazine.
- (3) I went to the movies rather often.
- (b) What mattered was that they were good pictures.
- (4) I was reading a lot.
- (e) My favorite Hungarian author was Marai, my favorite Hungarian poets were Gyula Illyes and Attila Jozsef.
- (5) I listened to the domestic radio.
- (6) I was listening to foreign stations.
- (d) As I have said before the Paris Radio I considered most reliable, ^{then} and the BBC, Radio Madrid, Voice of America, and Free Europe.

- (7) As everyone else I got quite a bit of information by word-of-mouth from friends and acquaintances.
- (9) I read the domestic newspapers but the information I received I did not consider reliable.
- (d) I used my own judgement above all and also listened to opinions of people whom I have trusted.
- (e) I considered the Magyar Nemzet more reliable than the rest of the newspapers. As far as the domestic radio programs are concerned it made no difference.
- (9) Yes, I think people tried hard to be well-informed.

- (1) I will answer this question by saying what I considered the most important. These are the fundamental civil rights, free elections, free information. None of these exists under the present system.
- (a) What I would want to keep is the abolition of class differences. Also I think that the idea of self-government for the youth is good and should be kept.
- (2) I think that there should be political parties.
- (3) I would not curtail the right of the people to express themselves.
- (c+d) I would not curtail these fundamental rights.
- (4) I maintain that people have the right to participate freely in meetings.
- (b) I believe that if the government does use a policy against the interests of the people and apply force against the people can and should be overthrown by whatever means including armed uprising.
- (5) The most ~~important~~ ^{needed} important economic changes in Hungary I think are the following: Revision of foreign trade relations, then to stop ^{the} forced and artificial ^{finally} development of heavy industry, ~~and~~ to secure foreign assistance for economic development. ~~and~~ Greater stress on agriculture would logically follow from discontinuing forced industrialization.

- (6) I agree with the nationalization of key industries.
- (b) Under certain conditions factories could be restored to their former owners. The principle applied should be ^{the} interests of public good.
- (c) I consider private profit good.
- (e) State monopolies are justifiable in the field of key industries. The state should exercise control also over wheat production. In the other segments of the national economy I disapprove of state monopolies.
- (7) Such questions as nationalization should always be decided by considerations of the public good.
- (8) I agree in principle with government planning. I think, however, that the best form of economy is the mixed economy, that is to say, the system in which free enterprise can live along ^{side} with government planning and nationalized segments of the economic life.
- (9) The areas in which the state should not interfere are private life in ^{general}, family life, and religion.
- (10)
- (e) I believe that the citizen has as much duties toward the state as the government has duties toward the citizen.
- (11) Medical care became available to more people than before.

On the other hand the standard of medical care deteriorated.

- (12) More people have the opportunity to go to the movies or to the theaters or concerts than before the war.
- (13) People do not eat better than before the war.
(a) They eat, however, better than they did in 1946.
(b) They do not eat better than in 1950.
- (14) They clothe themselves no better than before the war.
(a) But they do better than in 1946.
(b) Or in 1950.
- (15) I think industrial production did not increase since 1945.
(c) I don't know enough about the question.
- (16) The workers should have leading positions but only as far as they have qualification for it.
(b) The best experts should be the managers.
- (17) ~~Imlikivexfarenxre~~ I think it is a smart idea to have collective farms but it should ^{be} practised on a voluntary basis only.
(c) In ~~the present form~~ their present form the collective farms should be ~~disbanded~~ ^{disbanded}. If the peasants so

desire they should form such farms on a voluntary basis with the assistance of the state.

- (f) The limit on land holding should be 100 hectares.
- (h) Land should be restored to the kulaks who were expropriated.
- (l) Yes, the state should help agriculture both with money and advice.
- (m) The machine tractor stations are necessary but I think they should be run on a private enterprise basis.
- (18) The state and church should be separated but I believe also that the church has the right to make herself heard in politics as everyone else has the same right. In addition I think the church should play a very significant role in public education especially on the level of the general schools.
- (f) I would send my children to denominational school up to the first eight grades.
- (19) The Party members as well as all others should be punished if they committed crimes.
- (e,f,g) Same principle should be applied.
- (20) Hungary's greatest contribution was the role she played against the Turks, also the revolution of 1848 was a great contribution because Hungary acted as the defender of the oppressed people against the Habsburgs and, of

course, the Revolution of 1956 was a great contribution because it revealed to those who did not know the true ~~plans~~ nature of Communism.

- (21) A think there is a Hungarian national character.
- (e) Today I would distinguish the following differences:
The privileged differ from the non-privileged, also I think the intelligentsia of working class origin has a character of its own.
- (f) The differences before 1945 were not of the same nature. Then there was a difference between aristocracy, the middle class, and the working class, and the peasantry.
- (22) I don't have any opinion to express.
- (f) The economic inequality in Hungary before 1945 was significant.
- (i) ~~I think the period between 1945 and 1948 was better than the period between 1948 and 1956.~~ The period between 1945 and 1948 was better than the years before but worse than the years after. ^{Upon} (Interviewer's Note: Probing ~~the~~ respondent to explain she said she could not but this was her opinion.)
- (23) Border lines would ~~lose~~ lose their importance in case a United States of Europe came into existence.
- (b) Hungary has rightful claims on an ethnic basis.
- (d) I do not believe in natural conflict between Hungarians

and other people.

- (24) The best solution to the problem would be the formation of a United States of Europe Central Europe or it would be even better to have a United States of Europe. Within a United States of Europe there could be a regional Central European Federation consisting of Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Poland, and Bulgaria.
- (25) The Russians need directions from above. In general they represent a lower standard than the Europeans. The explanation is that they were isolated for so long from Europe and as a result of domestic conditions they could not develop as the European nations did.
- (26) Philosophically speaking Marxism should be given credit for developing the materialistic aspects of sociology.
- (a) Materialism does not appeal to me. On the other hand in the above sense I can recognize the significance of Marxism.
- (b) I can think of a situation in which a Marxist can be a democrat.
- (i) A democrat will above all defend the fundamental human rights.
- (j) I doubt whether Hungary has ever had a system which could be called truly a democracy.

- (27) National Communism is Communism within one nation. It is the Communist way to defend national interests against the trend of international Communism as represented by Soviet Russia.
- (e) Since Communism essentially is international in principle no Communist can be a patriot. On the other hand a national Communist may well be a patriot.
- (28) If Imre Nagy had stayed in power I think conditions would have moved in the Soviet direction, even more closer than it happened in Poland under Gomulka because Imre Nagy did not have the power Gomulka had, in other words Nagy would not have been in the position to resist Soviet pressure to the extent Gomulka was capable of doing in Poland.
- (b) I don't think that Nagy could have remained at the head of the government.
- (29)
- (a+b) Good.
- (c) Bad.
- (d) Good.
- (e) Bad.
- (f) Good.
- (g) Good.
- (h) Bad.
- (i) Good.

(j+k) Bad.

(l) Good.

(m) Bad.

(n) Good.

(30) In free elections today the Small Holders Party would be the winner.

(a) I really don't know who would be the most popular leader.

(31)

(a) Below.

(b,c,d,e) Also below.

(f) Below.

(g) Above.

(h) Below.

(i) Below.

(32) Before 1948 point (a) did not change, point (b) did not exist, point (c)(d)(d)(e) and (f) better, point (g) did not exist, point (h)(i) better.

(33) Point (a) coincide, point (b) conflict, (e) coincide, (f) conflict, point (g)(h)(i)(j) conflict.

(34) There were things that concerned me about the United States. I think the capitalist system in the United States went too far and is often hurting the interest

of the economically weak.

(35) Only those who are privileged would fight for the regime.

(36) My opinions did not change.

- (1) I have no questions to ask.
- (a) If these interviews you are doing, will add further ~~information~~ has the free world/about the Hungarian Revolution. Then the West will have to draw certain conclusions. First, the West will have to answer the question whether she stands on the basis of humanism. The second question she will have to answer whether it is more important to defend the well being of the West than to defend rights. the human ~~rights~~. Third, this project should also help to clarify the question whether there was ^a chance for the West to help the Hungarian Revolution without running the risk of a world war.
- (2) I intend to go back to Hungary.
- (3) I have the following suggestions to make: Whatever you will do with the material collected in the course of the project, think above all that the most important thing for Hungary is what assistance she can receive from the free world.

Interviewer's Rating:

Subject is a person of exceptional intelligence. Her rapport was excellent. I think she was frank. Objectiveness/excellent. I did not discover any shyness on her part. Her answers were quick proving that she had given much thought to the problems. Her answers were sometimes so quick that I had the feeling that she had seen the questions in advance. Incidentally, she is writing poetry and is working for the youth program of Radio Free Europe. She wants to become a professional writer, is planning to go to Vienna, and study at the university there French, German, and Hungarian literature.