Copy No. 13

NO. 158 "A" FACESHEET AND RATING AO p.1

September 1957
New York

1. NCWC-6
2. [redacted]
3. [redacted]
4. 1935
5. F
6. Hungarian
7. Roman Catholic
8. Roman Catholic
9. S
10. 0
11. Bookkeeper
12. Weaver
13. Worker-peasant
14. Worker
15. --
16. No
17. --
18. Volunteered but not in much action
19. High school graduate
20. Nyiregyháza
21. Budapest, Nyiregyháza
22. North-East Hungary
23. None
24. December 17, 1956
25. Austria, then New York
26. Back to Hungary
27. --
28. No
29. --

31. "8-9". Respondent felt awkward at the beginning; she was ashamed that she did not know much about politics and has not read much.
32. "9-10"
33. "10"
34. Not at all.

(1) / What You should know first of all about the recent events in Hungary is that the revolt of November was a righteous, clean revolution for freedom. My parents were considered reactionaries and could not receive a decent job. We were looked upon as clericals because my father worked in the church; he rang the bell and did other jobs for the church, while my mother and I used to clean in the church and decorate the altar. After eight years of general school, I already knew that I would not be able to go to the university because of my clerical family. At that time, when I finished my eight years general school, was the Mindszenty trial/. and clericals were in the greatest disadvantage everywhere I stayed out of school for a whole year and then I registered at the business school.

The leaders of the new regime said that the workers will have all the rights, but this was not true. The Communists were very well of, but whomever they observed not to be ~~ex~~ pro-Communist was oppressed and lived in the greatest terror. They (the Communists) even disposed of their own members. From time to time they arrested even Communists and tortured them.

In school, politics was introduced especially to the history classes. If someone answered something which was against the Communist teachings, it depended on the teacher what his fate was to be. If many people heard the answer, the teacher could ~~not~~ do ~~any~~ no thing ~~else~~ but to inform the authorities about it.

Few of the intellectuals were Communists. If a teacher trusted his students, then he told them freely that he was anti-Communist and gave them all sorts of anti-Communist information.

I think that there are faults here in the West, too. Whoever is stronger will get ahead and will get rich. The others will stay behind. So, I think there are faults and mistakes, too, but at least there is freedom.

(2) The whole thing started on October 23. At about two, half-past two in the afternoon, the students held a demonstration in front of the Bem statue. I joined them when they passed through the Margit Bridge. The demonstration was quiet and the demonstrators had posters with the slogans of the demonstration. The slogans were: "We want Kossuth's coat-of-arms." "We want a Hungarian government." (I think they even had) "the present government should resign." In front of the statue, writers and poets gave us speeches. The soldiers were not allowed to leave the Bem barracks, but they shouted from the windows that they are with us and would love to join us. The people, too, who took part in the demonstration, shouted to them and asked them to join. The soldiers said that the doors were closed and that they were not allowed to go out of the barracks. The people asked to open the doors. It was not done, however. None of the demonstrators had arms. People started to shout in the crowd that we should

go to the Parliament. So we marched to the Parliament through the Kossuth Bridge. Once in front of the Parliament, we started to shout: "We want Imre Nagy, we want to hear Imre Nagy. We want Imre Nagy to the government." "For the others, bread, and for Rakosi, a rope." "Gero should resign, we want a Hungarian government." The sun went down and it started to become dark. All the lights went off in front of the Parliament. There was no loudspeaker and Imre Nagy did not come. Then everyone took out his newspaper, lighted it, and so the crowd illuminated the square. In the meantime, some writers made speeches in front of the Parliament. Peter Veress was one of the speakers. I heard his speech. The people did not like it, because he talked in a compromising way. The people did not want to hear him any longer and he had to stop. Everyone was waiting excitedly that Nagy should come to the Parliament balcony. Communists came to the balcony and the people from the crowd made photos of them with flashlight cameras. Some of the Communists talked to the people from the balcony. In the meantime, Gero talked to the people, but instead of pacifying the demonstrators, he just made them angrier by his speech. The crowd wanted Imre Nagy into the government, and the men threw their hats into the air in their enthusiasm, since they thought there was freedom.

Finally, at nine o'clock or half-past nine, Nagy arrived, came to the balcony and talked to the people. He said: "My

dear brethren, we have to guard the achievements of the democracy, you will not be disappointed in me." The people did not like this very much, but as far as I see it, he could not talk more freely. After all, he talked from the balcony of the Communist parliament. The people asked for the twelve point ((actually they asked for that at the very beginning of the demonstration). Some of the points were: the free usage of the uranium, the freeing of the Hungarian war prisoners in Russia, the resignation of Gero, and Nagy into the government. They also wanted a Hungarian army and not Russian army and the AVH, and they wanted to abolish the AVH.

(2 a) As to the incubation period I only know that my salary was miserably little. I worked in a flax factory as a pupil, learning the trade of weaving. I received so little pay that I was practically hungry. I heard other people talk too about their miserable salaries. I heard this when I traveled in the [redacted] tramway. I also heard the word "strike" mentioned, too. My salary was 600 forints in a month. The workers became more and more dissatisfied in all the other jobs, too. They talked about oppression, they wanted to have their rights and the managers gave promises for a better future. It looked as if some revolt could be started.

(2 b) Arrests became more [redacted] frequent in the last few years. Whole families disappeared. The living conditions became worse and

worse. The people felt more and more the oppression and the terror. There was bitterness because of the uranium, which was taken out of the country. I heard that Stalin wanted to confess to a priest before he died but did not have the time. He had tremendous tresures everywhere. As to Imre Nagy's premiership from '53 5o '55, I don't think it contributed much. Maybe it gave some hopes to the peopèe that Communism will lose ground. I don't know enough about the reconciliation of Moscow with Tito to know whether it contributed to the Revolution or not. After the Twentieth Party Congress the people were very glad to hear the Communists criticize themselves and to feel a freedom to criticize the regime The replacement of Rakosi gave some hopes to the people, too. I do not know anything about the Poznan events. I am sure that the funeral of Rajk contributed to the outbreak of the Revolution. Everyone dared to criticize openly. A tremendous amount of people came to the funeral. I was not there, I was not in Budapest yet. The Communists criticized themselves there. I do not know about Gomulka's return to power.

(2 e) I would say that the funeral of Rajk was one of the turning points, and then the demonstration in front of the Parliament. The latter was the most important.

(2 e) The writers had an important role in giving the right information to the students, write posters, and write little poems about the faults of the regime. The university professors were very

enthusiastic in trying to inform the students and to move them to demand freedom, but the minute they saw that there will be fight, they tried to keep the students back. I know about a university professor from Miskole who became insane when he saw the dangers and when he thought about his role in trying to move the students towards a revolt.

(2 f) I do not know, I did not read ~~MÁKÉN~~ much.

(2 g) I didn't read much.

(3) Desperation because of the oppression was the major factor leading to the Revolution. First of all ~~there were~~ the workers who were ~~most~~ desperate, because they received a very miserable pay. The apartments and the clothing were expensive. There were family quarrels because of money and because ~~their~~ women had to work, had to go to meetings afterwards and had no time to do the housework. The babies were taken to the day nurseries. Whole families lived dispersed, since the bigger children worked in different towns. The morals of the youth became worse and worse. Even if we cannot say in general that youth had no morals, immorality occurred more often than when the young people were living with their parents.

(3 b) The Communists could not conceal any more the mistakes they made. They criticized themselves. In spite of the ~~fright~~ threat from the AVH and the Russians, the students who observed what went on in politics and knew that the regime was not for the good of the people,

were stronger and stronger in their decision to ask for the rights of the people. The university students of Szeged put together constructed the "twelve points" and came to Budapest to join with the university students there and demand freedom and the other rights written in the points.

(3 c) The twelve points were in the minds of the people who staged the demonstration of October 23. They wanted freedom and they wanted economic prosperity for the country. People wanted to be free and wanted a better living. They wanted to have the Hungarian war prisoners back from Russia. They wanted to have a Hungarian army, to see the Russians out from Hungary.

(3 d) The demonstrators were not satisfied with the speech of Imre Nagy. They decided to read their demands into the radio and to print the twelve points. Before me there were children in the ranks of the demonstrators. These children started to go to the radio. In one of the streets before the radio there was a truck burning and the children stopped, but the crowd shouted, don't mind the truck, let's go to the radio. As we turned in at the corner through Museum Arany Janos, there was shooting from the upper floor. There were several wounded among the demonstrators and this fact even more united the demonstrating crowd. They shouted with tears, "Forward! We stay together!" The children were really afraid and they were crying. Part of the crowd escaped into the museum garden. There a Hungarian soldier disobeyed

his officer and did not want to shoot into the crowd. The officer shot him right there and then. But no time passed, and the officer himself was shot right there. There was more shooting and the crowd became wild as ~~they~~ they saw the dead and the wounded. They could not stay together, however, but had to take refuge from the shooting. Part of the crowd went into the court yard of the nearby university. There were AVO people on the top of the building and they fired on the ones who were in the ~~K~~courtyard. There was some hole digged for a building in the court yard and the whole almost filled up with the dead and the wounded. After about half an hour on this square the people started to stop buses and trucks and went for arms to the barracks of Vac Street, and to the Ben barracks. They received some arms and came back. ~~XXX~~ There were such places where Communist officers did not allow that the soldiers hand out their arms, but the soldiers disobeyed and there were such officers who sympathized with the people and they also tried to help them with arms. I was not there any more when the buses and trucks came back with the people who carried the arms.

(3 e) No, there were no different purposes. The people were united. One could not trust, however, the Jews. There were a few Jewish boys who fought with the people, but among them there were such who were more on the side of the AVH. There were a few in the

AVH, though very few admitted it. AVH people and their families were, of course, against the Revolution. Not important AVH people or at least their families were with the people.

(3 f) First of all, the leaders of the Parliament were against the Revolt. They 'phoned the Russians to come to help to fight against the Revolution. On the evening of the Revolution they were already at the border. They must have been informed of some sort of a movement much before the Revolution started. Then, of course, the AVH was against the Revolution. The people who belonged to the AVH used to be very poor people before this new regime. They did not want to accept their fate and did not want to see that it was their fault that they were so poor. Apparently they did not work hard enough. In the AVH they receiv and excellent pay. A small part of the ~~jewelry~~ belonged to the AVH, then such Communists who were "Communists in their belief already before this regime started." I did not know any AVO people, at least I did not know their names. I only knew a family who lived near us. They used to be very poor before the head of the family joined the AVH. These people were ready to kill even their own parents if the AVH told them to do so. They were angry at their parents that they brought them up in poor circumstances conditions. They did not know God. In this family the man belonged to the AVO, his father-in-law was an AVO informer.

one of their sons belonged also to the AVO, the others were party members, they were workers.

(3 g) The peasants were ~~XXXXX~~ neutral, though one has to mention that the youth came in from the countryside to fight and the peasants themselves encouraged the fighters and brought food from the country. Therefore it is hard to say that they were really totally neutral. Totally neutral were only a few who were afraid to join either side.

(3 h) The most popular slogan was: "Out with the Russians! ("Ruszkik, haza!") "Let's take off the Russian uniforms." and "We want freedom and we are ready to die for our country." Also, "Let out the prisoners!" (political prisoners)/

(3 i) We did not want to fight an idea, but we ~~X~~ wanted to fight the terror. We wanted to have freedom, and the people did not want to hear about communism.

(4) On October 23 I joined the demonstrators when they marched towards the Bem statue. I marched with them later to the Parliament Square and then went towards the radio. I was there when the shooting started. We saw Hungarian soldiers with armored cars, they were the armored cars of the Pilisecsaba unit. The people greeted them because they hoped they would help them. As far as I know they really did guard the people against the AVH. When they came I went home with my girl friend. I lived in Obuda in a sublet room. On October 24, very early in the morning, I went back to the Margit Bridge. In front of the West Railroad Station I saw a small group of armed civilians,

especially youths, 250 to 300 persons. I joined them and we went towards the radio station. On the other side of the road there were Russian tanks, but they did not shoot. They only tried to encircle us and to push us more and more back. We seemed quite lost when a group of Hungarian soldiers passed by with their officers. (They were AVO people.) The Russians thought that they too were with the revolutionaries and instead of fighting us, they went after the soldiers whom they thought more dangerous than this group of youths who had only scant armaments. We went on towards the International Red Cross station. We found an abandoned wooden soldier's post, and in it where we found Russian guns. We distributed the guns and went on. I did not dare to touch one and I did not take any. Then we arrived to a corner which was encircled ..... from two sides by the AVO. There were other people there and we all tried to escape. This place was near to the main ambulance station, but I did not know about that then. We were three girl friends together. The hand of one of us was shot away. We stopped to put a bandage on her so that she should not loose too much blood. By that time we were already about 100 meters from the fire. Our wounded friend could not come with us, she stayed there, and the two of us took refuge in a deep window of the ambulance station. My friend did not dare to come further. I started to go across the road where millions of bullets crossed all the time, but someone in the entrance

of the ambulance station got hold of my arm and pulled me under the door. Only then did I realize that the building was an ambulance station. There were thousands of wounded everywhere. Physicians left the building all the time in the ambulance cars and helped the wounded into the cars. This was an extremely dangerous job and everyone saluted the physicians who went out in the ambulance cars. Those wounded who were conscious were proud and courageous. I saw an elderly man coming in, proudly holding his head up, and holding his right arm, which was almost completely torn down from his shoulder. The fight lasted for about an hour. I wanted to go out, but the people did not let me. Then I helped to give first aid to the wounded. We went down to the basement for surer protection. As soon as the fight receded, they started to take the wounded into different hospitals. I left the place at about noontime. Most of the afternoon I was out in the streets with other young people. Nobody seemed to want to go home and be alone. We came together in the sublet rooms and apartments of the other young people I got acquainted with during the day. During the evening of the same day (October 24th) I joined a group which went to free political prisoners from the police headquarters. We were singing the hymn all the time. We shouted: "Let out the prisoners!" The policemen came out to the balconies and respectfully took off their caps when we sang the hymn. They let free all those prisoners who

were imprisoned while taking part in demonstrations. I did not go home that night. We had Hungarian flags with us and we used them during the night to warm us up. The next day we walked through the streets and we took off all the red stars and since I always carried scissors with me (being a weaver), I cut out all the Russian coats-of-arms from the flags. In the evening, between eight and ten, we went to the Szabad Nep building. This was on the 25th of October. (I do not remember whether 24 or 25.) There was light in the building, but as we arrived there and started to sing the hymn, it became dark inside. We passed the word among each other that whatever happens we will not stop to sing the hymn and we will not start fighting in the midst of the hymn. They did not shoot, and as we finished to sing the hymn, the lights went on again. There were civilians and policemen inside the building and they looked out from the windows. The crowd shouted: "Free press!" Once a truck arrived and asked us to come to help free the prisoners from the Andrassy ut prison. Among others, I, too, climbed into the truck. I heard later that just five minutes after we left the crowd was shot at from the balconies. Most of the boys who were in the truck had some arms, but we had not too many. As soon as we arrived to the barracks, six people stopped the car. They practically stood before the moving car. The car driver could not do anything but stop. They asked us not to go to the barracks because it

is impossible to leave the place alive. Small boys of about eight years old ~~[illegible]~~ jumped down from our truck and decided to go to the barracks to "show them." We went carefully after the children. All of them were shot and died. We all thought that it was the AVO people who were shooting from the barracks. We could not approach the barracks and waited to see what was going to happen. In about a quarter of an hour a good-looking young man ~~[illegible]~~ joined our group and told us that we should go to the East Railroad Station, where all the revolutionaries are assembling. The girls have ~~[illegible]~~ to be taught how to shoot and we have to get organized there. He said we should stay where we are, he would come back for us. We were about 50 in this group, and we all stood in the doorway of a house. One of the tenants of the house was scared to see us there and asked us to go away instead of endangering the lives of the tenants. It took us some time to grasp the situation. We thought that the person who just came and went away must have been an AVO-man and now he is probably already on his way with AVO reinforcement to try to wipe us out from there. We had to escape. From the side of the barracks the AVO was ~~[illegible]~~ watching all the moves we made. On the corner there was a workers' dormitory and there we went, but the AVO-man from the barracks saw where we were going. They started to shoot at that corner. We went into the dormitory. In the dormitory there were young workers who were all armed. ~~[illegible]~~

We found a back door and we could escape through this, one after the other. When we met again, we were only 18. Now we stood under a doorway in the Tolnai Street. The others tried to go home or go somewhere else. Only the ones who lived very fa. and wanted to stay and fight remained. We found another workers' dormitory, we went up and slept. The workers who lived there did not know at first who we were, because it was dark and they were afraid that we were AVO people. Once they found out who we were, they brought us bread and tea. We left in the morning (I am not sure which morning this was, maybe the 25th). We heard some shooting during the night. We had to stay there until the morning. It seemed safer to pass the barracks during the day. If one or two people without arms passed the barracks during the day, they were not shot upon. Once they were suspicious or there were at least three, the AVH shot them. So we passed the barracks one by one in the morning. In the morning I saw a taxi passing the barracks, the AVH were out in just a second, stopped the taxi and took out whoever was in the taxi. In another second they disappeared again. We tried to observe where they are shooting from. They were shooting from the basement and also from above. I heard such stories that small children, who were not suspected by the AVH, could go quite easily into the courtyard of the barracks, and once there they could do much damage to the AVH with their handgrenades. Some of them

were so quick that after they did the job they even could escape safely. During this same day we went to one of my acquaintances', a girl who had a room in the city. From the window we saw that a Russian tank wanted apparently to stop an ambulance, and the two almost collided. The ambulance, however, after a successful turn and a small collision, went on its way. The Russian tank driver became so frightened that he went to the sidewalk and started to run in curves with his tank like a drunkard. On the 26th of October we girls left the armed group because we knew that we would not be able to do anything there and decided to go home. All the girls who lived in Buda (West from the Danube) went together. People in the streets were very nice as they saw this group of young girls who looked revolutionaries. They gave us cigarettes. As we arrived to the corner of the boulevard and the Rakoczi Street, we heard shooting. We saw people around the Stalin statue. Everyone wanted a piece from the statue. We went toward the West. At once we heard the voice of coming tanks and we saw tanks coming in a long, long row. We escaped under a doorway. The tanks were shooting all around them on the boulevard, so that no window remained after they left. The houses were full of holes from the bullets. The people went down to the cellars to try to escape the shooting. The revolutionaries were shooting from the windows, so that the Russians, too, had their dead. There was a fight for about

half an hour. It was horrible the way the boulevard looked after this combat. Soon the Russians started to build enforcements on the street, breaking up the pavement of the street. We went to see that. We saw that the Russians did not look where the shooting came from, they were just shooting at random all around them. If a Russian was killed, the Soviet soldiers took his body and put it on the tank to show us that that's ~~XX~~ why they are fighting the revolutionaries. Around the Margit Bridge there were Russians and would not let civilians pass the bridge. If they saw a group of people who passed the bridge, they started to shoot, even if one by one people tried to pass, they shot from time to time. I had a tough time crossing the bridge. Once we arrived to Buda, some of my friends and I stood in line to try to buy bread. Then we went up to the room of one of the girls and since no one wanted to go home and be alone, we stayed there overnight. We were eight in this group. We were not afraid when we were together. The landlady was a Jewess and she went down to tell the superintendent that "an armed group" was in her apartment. The superintendent came up, but he was also on our side. By then there were two boys in our group, two students. They were so angry at the woman that they shouted to her that if she would not shut up they would kill her. She did not bother us any more. We could not sleep during the night too much

because there was shooting all the time. The whole house was shaking. In the morning we said good-bye and promised to meet again. We went out to XXXXXX stand in line to get some bread. By the time I got home it was afternoon. During the whole day Saturday I was at home. Sunday, too, I was in Obuda. Then I heard about the fight on the Szena-ter, which happened during the XXXXXXX previous day. I heard that the revolutionaries built barricades there and armed with gasoline bottles and hand grenades, they tried to stop the Russian tanks. I saw damaged houses in the neighborhood. I also saw houses where AVO-people stood on guard. Sunday was quite quiet there where I lived. There were many Russian tanks in the neighborhood. There were such people who would stand around and talk with the Russians. Other people around were angry at those who talked to the Russians. During one of these past days, I do not remember which one it was, but it must have been quite at the beginning of the Revolution, I went back to the factory where I used to work. This factory was on the Csillag Hill in Obuda. The factory was still working. The women who worked in the factory asked me where I had been and they seemed not to know anything about the happenings in Pest. I told them everything and I also asked them why they were working when the Revolution was on in the city. But the foreman shouted at me for causing trouble and told me that I would be sent away if I would not shut up. I told him that I did not mind, since

I could not possibly live on the tiny salary I was receiving in the factory. Nevertheless, I got scared for a moment, and I did shut up. But after I thought for a minute, I did not see why I should be scared and not tell the truth. Fortunately, other people, too, arrived to the factory and told the workers that I was right and told the news about the Revolution. The people did not work then any more and we did not go to the factory any more. On the 29th I was at home and my landlady sent me for bread and other food. I did not think it was just, that only I should stand in the food line when it was very dangerous to stand in a line. The AVO people were everywhere and Russians were here and there. Once they did not like a line or thought someone suspicious, they just shot into the crowd or the food line. Nevertheless, I could not very well tell to my landlady that she should stand in line instead of me, so I told her there were all sorts of food distributions and that I could not possibly stand in each line. So she came to stand in a line, too. Again, as on so many occasions, shooting started, and she forgot all about food and ran home. I, too, went home. From that time on she did not send me to stand in a line any more. On the 30th, too, I was at home. On the first of November I went over to a high school in our [illegible] neighborhood where there were armed revolutionaries. I did not join them because I did not know how to shoot, but I helped to give first aid to the wounded. I saw once that when

an ambulance wanted to enter into the school to take some of the wounded, the Russians would not let ~~them~~ the ambulance come in. One of the girls who was with the revolutionaries shot at the Russians with an automatic gun and so the ambulance could enter. Then I went to Pest to look for my brother-in-law, who, as far as I knew, was fighting somewhere in the city. I was glad to hear, when I arrived, that he went back to his wife to their home in the neighborhood of Budapest. At the same time, I met an acquaintance who told me that he saw my fiancé fighting in the city. I was quite surprised because I did not think that he would be brave enough to fight. I sent him a message to take care of himself. As I found out later, he did come out unwounded from the fights, but as soon as he arrived to his parents' home and went out to the balcony to look around, he was shot and died. As I walked around in the city, with my girlfriend I arrived to the Athenaeum Press. There was a Hungarian military tank from the Pilisecsaba unit. There were also some trucks around from the same unitI. They had some telephone station there and they received orders for the tank where to go to fight. They also received the news where the AVO was attacking. The soldiers who handled the telephone station were very tired and asked us, my girl friend and me, whether we wanted to relieve them. We did relieve them and we stood there with the telephone. All of a sudden we received an order to send the tank somewhere near there to fight. We were very

excited and the soldiers asked us whether we would like to join. We both jumped into the tank and I was given a heavy automatic weapon to handle. As we arrived to the scene we saw that there was no danger and we did not have to shoot. We went back to the station. My friend and I relieved each other at the telephone and once again we received an order for the tank. My friend was afraid to go with the tank, but I joined them again and was given the order to handle the heavy automatic weapon. They showed me how to do it before. We arrived at the place and I had to shoot at the AVO people. It was mostly to frighten them. Our soldiers jumped out from the tank and arrested these people. One of the AVO people whom they arrested had ten identification cards in his pockets and lots of money, which he apparently took from the people whom he arrested, killed, or tortured. The people demanded that the tank should crush him. The tank driver, however, did not want to take upon him to do that. The mob took the AVO-person away and, as I heard later, they hanged him in front of a restaurant. When we finished our job, we went back to the unit again. Then again my friend and I took care of the telephone. For self-defense we had hand grenades in the booth. During the night a suspicious truck passed around the unit. Every car or truck was searched by the soldiers, but this one did not want to stop. We were given orders to try to stop him with hand grenades. I threw a grenade, but could not throw it far enough

and was thrown down by the pressure the detonation caused. Fortunately, someone else stopped the car with another grenade. The car was searched and the people were taken away by the soldiers. Once more I went out with the tank on duty. It probably was, however, a false alarm, because we had nothing to do once we arrived to the scene. I had great success with the crowd when they saw that there was a girl in the tank. They asked me to stand up so that they could see me. I did so and they all cheered me.

By that time it seemed that the Revolution has won its victory and I went home. I gave my address to the military unit to which the tank belonged and asked them to call me as soon as they needed me. After that I stayed at home in my room at Obuda and walked around in Buda. Walking around I heard many things about the events that happened during the Revolution. I also heard that a group of Russian soldiers actually fought the AVH in order to protect an unarmed group of demonstrators. According to one version of the news, ~~XXXX~~ these Russians were executed while they were here in Hungary, but according to another version they were taken back to Russia and punished there. I do not remember the exact date, but it must have been around the fourth of November, or before that, that I went home to my parents to Nyiregyhaza. I was very anxious to see them because I was very much worried about their safety. I knew that in

the neighborhood there were several AVO people, living near my parents.

(5 a) I participated in the demonstrations on October 23 and also in most of the demonstrations that followed this one.

(5 b) I did not work ever since the 23rd of October.

(5 c) I helped the fighters when I gave first aid ~~XXX~~ to the wounded in the ambulance station on the 23rd of October, and at some later date in Obuda, also helping with the first aid in a station of the revolutionaries which was in a school in the neighborhood of my room. I also helped the fighters when my girl friend and I took over the handling of the telephone station for the Pilisecsaba unit, for which we volunteered. I actually went into action in one of the tanks of the same military unit, and I even had to shoot with the automatic weapon of the unit. The actions we were called to were actually not real fights any more, because they were at the time of the victory of the Revolution. On another occasion I was called upon to throw a hand grendde to stop a truck which did not comply with the instructions of the revolutionaries and did not want to submit itself to the inspection of the latter.

(5 d) My friend and I walked in the streets and removed all the Russian stars we could get hold of and cut out the Russian emblems from the Hungarian flag.

(7) The students and other youth groups had the greatest authority

among the various revolutionary groups. The students and the ~~xhimx~~ other youth groups showed the most courage in the fighting.

(7 a) There were few conflicts or disagreements among the revolutionaries. The only such disagreement appeared when some people wanted to steal goods from the broken storewindows. Such people were usually very severely punished by the revolutionaries, who wanted to keep such thing out of the Revolution, and keep the Revolution clean.

(7 c) I was mostly together with students and young workers.

(8) The Russians were shooting because they received orders to shoot. They did not care too much where they were shooting, they just shot because they were supposed to do so. The Kilian barracks ~~were~~ Were attacked by the Russians. Otherwise the Russians were afraid even from the Red Cross ambulance cars. They even shot on civilians if they saw more than three walking ~~xxxxxx~~ together. Once I saw a Russian walking near the Eastern Railroad Station and shooting all around him with his automatic gun, because he heard ~~xx~~ a shot from somewhere. Once while walking in the street with a group of young students and young workers, part of whom were armed, we met a Russian unit resting near the road. We told them that we did not want to kill them and fight them, all we wanted was to be free. We asked them not to participate against the revolutionaries. They sort of promised us that they would not do it. We saw, however, that they received some sort of an

order, since their officer was called to the telephone. Shortly after that the tanks and the whole unit started to move somewhere. We knew it then that they will participate and fight against us.

(8 e) I do not know about anything but the facts that I related to you before, that is, that a group of Russian soldiers protected a group of unarmed civilian demonstrators in front of the Parliament against the AVO (on the 23rd of October)/

(9) I listened to the radio and I listened to what people talked about.

(9 a) I read newspapers very rarely and then I read the Szabad Nep. I also saw some leaflets and posters with instructions to the revolutionaries. Some leaflets were distributed from the air by planes.

(9 b) By word-of-mouth I heard about the fights at Szena-ter, about the fights around the Kilian barracks and about the fight of the Russians against the AVO people while protecting a group of demonstrators. I also heard that many Russian soldiers arrived from the HHH border region. I also heard that Hungarian soldiers fought with Russian soldiers at the "Tüzszerész Műszerész barracks". The soldiers succeeded in taking several cars away from the Russians. The soldiers of this barracks prevented the Russians to come to the radio station, where they were going, wanting to disperse the demonstrating crowd. I also heard that on the fourth of November many Russians came, because the AVO-people were too weak to put down the Revolution, and besides were dispersed and in

hiding. In many military barracks, as I heard, soldiers who did not comply with the orders of their officers and did not want to fight against the revolutionaries, were deprived of their stripes and their caps. I also heard that the last stronghold of the revolutionaries was in Csepel.

(9 c) Yes, I heard for example the speech of Mindszenty, who spoke for freedom. I also heard the demands of Imre Nagy, who asked help from the West.

(10) The Communist Party ceased to exist, and so did the government, with the exception of a few "turncoat" leaders, who tried to take their position near Imre Nagy.

(10 a) The DISZ collapsed and the MEFESZ was organized. The police had a strange position. (In what way?) Some of the AVO-people went around in police uniforms. Many of the soldiers fought against the Russians. Others dispersed.

(10 b) The Party ceased to exist.

(10 g) They were all replaced.

(10 j) They used the military organizations.

(10 k) The workers' councils and the MEFESZ emerged during the Revolt.

(10 l) The workers' councils were chosen by the workers themselves in every factory and workshop. They ran the factories.

(10 m) I think there would have been a clean government which would have complied with the wishes of the people and which the people would have trusted. The members of the government would have been chosen by the people in free elections and in complete freedom.

They would have worked for the well-being of the people. They would have made peace with the West and with the East. They would have given back the land taken away from its owners, but only up to 50 holds. They would have given back the trade license of the artisans.

(11) I do think a great deal about it.

(11 a) Actually, it was not useful for Hungary, it was very harmful. I do think, however, that it was a step forward in world freedom. I also think that it was even a step forward in the freedom of Hungary herself. The trouble is that the regime is punishing now the people for the Revolt.

(11 b) Had Gero not called in the Russians to help the AVH, the Revolution would have succeeded.

(11 c) Yes, we expected a great deal of help from the West. Our hopes were kept for a long time by expectation of Western help. True, we were afraid that in case of help from the West there could have broken out a new world war. We hoped to receive help from the United Nations in the form of U.N. troops as well as other troops of youth, volunteering to help from everywhere. The Russians were weak and with help we could have succeeded. The West could have succeeded against the whole of Russia at that time.

(11 e) I think he was well-meaning and popular, but he made mistakes in not being open enough with the people. He was afraid of the Russians and our people did not understand that.

(11 f) Paul Maleter was very important. The leader of the revolutionaries

who fought on the Szénatér was an important figure of the Revolution too, but I do not know his name. I do not know about the others, except Tildy, of whom I heard bad things.

(11 g) I would rank them in the following way. In the first group I would put the workers, the intelligentsia, the students, and the youth; next I would rank the soldiers, next the peasants, and then other people, and last irresponsible elements.

(12) Actually, I did not want to leave Hungary and I did not want to go to the West. When I arrived home to Nyiregyhaza, the Revolution was already crushed. Neverthteless, I still kept on coping. I went home with a friend of mine who also came home from Budapest. The two of us walked around our home town and we found out that the movie house was playing. We were outraged and went to the manager of the movie house and asked him how it was possible that while people are fighting and dying in Budapest, here the movie house is playing. The manager did not know how many friends we had who would attack the movie house would it go on playing, and got very scared. He asked us not to do anything, because he had orders to start playing movies in the movie house. We were very angry, however, and we told him that such a thing was just impossible. Then we realized that after all we could not do anything about it, and that the authorities could imprison us any time for causing trouble. Therefore we rushed away from the movie house. In the evening we heard from people who came

from the movies that the movie house stopped performing right after the middle of the movie. We were very happy to see our success. At that time, we still hoped that there was some possibility for the Revolution to succeed again. My friend and I were concealing before no one that we did participate in the Revolution and that we hoped very much that it still would succeed. The AVH people in our town looked strangely at us and slowly people who did not go to work were picked up from the streets. The situation became more and more dangerous and finally my smaller sister and I decided to escape and we escaped to Vienna. My sister is 19 years old and is still in Vienna. She was not allowed to come with me because she was so young and did not have a sponsor here.

(1) I am a bookkeeper. At least that is what I studied in business school.

(2 a) My first job was, except for helping my mother, cleaning in the church and in private homes, a job in the summer in a tobacco factory.

(2 e) It was a fairly large factory where I worked. I do not know how many workers were there. I worked there only for about two months. M On my next school vacation I worked in Tarcava.

(2 a) In Tarcava I worked in the harvest. I worked on a large state farmM. I cut my arm and as it became gangrened, I received there an easier job. I could sit and count. M The other people who worked on this state farm were taken from their homes and kept here under surveillance. I worked here of my own will, there was no other job available. I was already 17 years old and people made remarks about my not working during the summer vacations. Years later I started to work in my next job in the weaving factory in Budapest.

(2 a) In the weaving factory I was weaving, as a matter of fact I was MMM learning the trade. I just finished the studying period when the Revolution started and I was just about to be promoted to be an assistant.

(2 e) The factory where I worked was a fairly large factory on Csillaghegy in Obuda. I worked there for about three months on a weaving machine.

(3) I liked this job very much.

(3 d) The pay was very bad, as a matter of fact I was going hungry while I worked in this factory. The place was healthy, the machines went all on electricity, there were older and newer ones. They were not obsolete. The quality of the produce was not good, because we were hurried too much and therefore the quality was poor.

(3 f) We worked eight hours a day.

(3 g) Six days a week.

(3 h) We did not work overtime, it was not allowed. We worked on a norm system.

(3 o) I only had medical care.

(4) Only women worked at the weaver's shop.

(4 a) There were girls and some young married women who used to take their babies to the day nursery before they came to work. Theye were some middle aged women too. The workers came from workers' families, from white-collar families, and from peasant families.

(4 b) There was not much difference between workers and supervisors at work, they talked to each other freely, but they did not meet socially outside work. If someone was not a Communist, she was not given a chance to advance.

(4 f) I do not know, I was not a member.

(4 i) I do not know ~~that~~ what this is.

(4 l) Yes, they did. They did not care about the quality, but they wanted to have a great output in quantity.

(4 a) People who came from workers' families and who belonged to the Communist Party were good cadres. Whoever was not a good cadre was always watched very carefully.

(4 p) I do not know about it.

(5) One had to have a very good excuse, maybe an excuse concerning family matters, to change jobs.

(5 b) I would have gone on with my studies.

(5 e) I would help my parents with money, I would bring out my sister from Austria, I would spend my time with sports, I mostly would like to fly a glider. I would like to swim, and so on. I would like to arrange my life comfortably, but not luxuriously. Then I would like to help my brothers and sisters who live in Hungary. I would like to send my brother and my smaller sister to study.

(5 g) No, I would not. I would have liked them to study and become white-collar workers or teachers.

(6) After the war we still had a few "holds" of land, and at that time we still lived fairly well. In 1950, however, our land was taken away and it was harder and harder to live on the money we had.

(6 b) We could not afford amusements any more. We could not go to the theater or to eat an ice cream or a piece of cake in a patisserie. We had only the most important food supplies.

(7) I worked only two-three months during the vacation in 1952, and

I earned 850 forints a month. In '55 I did not work.

(9) We lived in our own house, but we were very crowded. We had one room and a kitchen and a wooden shack for poultry and pigs. We lived there seven people: four children, my father, my mother, and my grandfather.

(9 a) If I divided the time we stood in line ~~XX~~ into days, ~~XXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXX~~ it would be about half an hour each day.

(10) The workers did not work with their heart and with enthusiasm. They were hurried in their work in the factories and the agricultural workers and the farmers in the collective farms were hurried in their work on the land. In spite of that, enough food grew in Hungary for all the population. It was not distributed, however, among the Hungarian population, but was taken from the country to Russia and other countries. So the standard of living in Hungary was very low.

(10 c) The economic situation in Hungary before 1941 was not very good either. One could live better and I know that there was freedom then, but there were difficulties even then.

(10 c 2) Between 1941 and '42 the food supply was very low, since most of the food was taken to the army on the front lines.

(10 d) I think that the economy deteriorated after 1944.

(10 f) Lately, the Maszek, or private sector, re-emerged. The artisans received their trade licenses and could start to work privately again.

(10 g) Things were worse in the last year before the Revolt. People were more troubled by the terror than by material difficulties.

(11) Material difficulties were not as important as the fear from the terror.

(1) I graduated from a business high school.

(1 a) I attended school from 1940 to 1955.

(1 b) I went to a parochial school until 1947 and from then on our school was nationalized and belonged to the state. The business school I went to was a state school.

(1 c) Yes, I attended the business school.

(1 d) I attended business school for '52 to '55.

(1 e) I wanted to have a profession as soon as possible and be able to work and earn.

(2) I did not have the chance to study as much as I wanted because I had to go to work. I would have liked to go to the university, or at least to a professional school for teachers (two years' course after high school graduation for elementary school teachers).

(2 c) Yes, I am sure of that. If I had had more schooling, I could have chosen my job more freely and the fact that I was not a Communist would not have hindred me so much in my progress.

(2 d) I was an average student.

(2 me) No, I did not have the same opportunity, because my parents were not Communists.

(3) We studied political economics, and at the beginning we studied Russian language. Russian language was compulsory in the day classes, but once I started to work and switched to evening courses, I did not have to take Russian.

(3 a) I liked Hungarian literature, history, geography, and physics.

(3 d) We studied civilian defense from air attacks.

(3 e) Politics was introduced everywhere.

(4) The main objectives of Communist education was to make the children believe that there was no God and to make them believe in the Communist doctrines. Seemingly this education was successful, only the Revolution showed it otherwise.

(4 b 1) As it turned out, it was not successful at all.

(4 b 2) Seemingly they wanted to educate the children to be Communists, but actually they themselves were not Communists. They could tell the truth to their pupils only if they had such pupils whom they could trust.

(4 e) Schoolchildren laughed about Communism. In order to be able to progress and to be able to go to the university, they entered the DISZ, and previously the Pioneer organization.

(5) My father used to be a mason before the Communists took over. Many years ago he had an accident and he lost one arm, but still he went on working as a mason, while my mother or some other paid help assisted him.

(5 a) My father used to be a sexton until 1954 or '55, when the AVH arrested him for being a clerical and tortured him. When he was released, he was sent on night guard duty to a [illegible] department store.

(5 b) This job was a very low-paid job in the department store. While my father was a sexton, he always had enough time to do some additional jobs in masonry or otherwise. Once he started to work as a watchman in the department store, he was occupied for so many hours that he could not do any other jobs. Naturally, our income dropped tremendously.

(5 c) My father had six years of elementary school and attended four years grade school.

(5 e) My family had five "holds" of land, which was rented to someone who cultivated it, however, it was nationalized and we lost it.

(5 f) I was not worse, but not better off than the others, either.

(5 g) We were six children, my father, my mother, and my grandfather.

(5 h) My grandfather died in 1953. Two of my sisters got married, one sister and a brother are at home, one of my sisters is in Austria, and I am here.

(5 i) In 1956 I lived alone in a sublet room in Obuda, where I worked in a factory.

(5 k) My social origin helped me.

(6) No, I was not married.

(11) Yes, we got along very well with our parents. We listened to them and we accepted their teachings in religion and in politics. We lived according to their advice.

(12) Yes, I did.

(12 a) My parents explained us how and when communism started. They told us how many bad features the Communist regime had, and they

also told us what were the good things in the Communist government. They also told us about the good and bad features of the past regime.

(13) No, I have had no trouble over my education.

(13 b) I had no trouble with my friends.

(13 c) We had the same opinion, my parents and I, concerning politics.

(13 d) We had the same religious beliefs.

(14) My family was all dispersed in the last few years. The children worked all in a different city, but all of them helped their parents and the children who remained at home. Although we lived in different cities, our family ties did not loosen.

(14 b) I think this was fairly typical.

(14 e) I went to church, I went to the movies and on excursions.

(14 f) I would have loved to fly a glider and to parachute. I would have loved to swim and go to the theater.

(14 g) Yes, I was free to do whatever I wanted with my leisure time.

(15) In general, I think that family ties loosened after 1945.

(15 c) Yes, children are becoming estranged from their parents. This is true especially of those children who are put into nurseries when they are small and who are in a "college" when they are bigger and taken care of by Communist educators. Their parents have no time to be with them and teach them religion.

(16) Yes, relations between boys and girls have changed much in Hungary in the last ten years. People are more open and freer in these things today. Years ago it was a shame for an unmarried girl

to give birth to a child. Today it is not such a shame any more. The young people have more opportunity to get together without parental supervision.

(16 b) Marriages break up very easily lately. The married couple sometimes does not have K enough time to be together. Courtship patterns did not change.

(16 e) Yes, there was.

(16 f) I think they were quite strict.

(16 h) Yes, it changed.

(16 i) The status of the women became worse. They are compelled to go to work now and with their jobs and housework are hurried very much. Most of them are overworked.

(17) It became worse.

(18) My best friend was a neighbor in Nyiregyhaza.

(18 a) She was an assistant worker in a factory.

(18 c) We used to talk about our boy friends and about the events that happened at home.

(18 d) Yes, we did talk about politics. We always talked over the news about tortured priests.

(18 g) I want my friend to be very conscientious and very honest. I want her to understand me and I want her to wish for the same things for me as she would for herself.

(18 i) I had all sorts of friends, some of them were older than I, some came from white-collar worker families, some were university students, others were workers.

(18 k) This would not have affected our friendship. Maybe we could not have been as honest to each other as we used to be, but otherwise it would not change too much.

(19) My parents are Roman Catholics.

(19 b) I am Roman Catholic myself. I believe in one God who rules the world and this is the only God I believe in.

(20) Yes, it did affect religious life. Officials were not allowed to go to church. If they did try to go to church, they had to do it in such a way that ~~XX~~ their supervisors should not observe it. The Communists wanted to make us believe that there was no God, and we came from the apes. Such children who were not taught by their parents otherwise, believed these teachings. The AVO came from such people who believed all the Communist teachings. The Communists tried ~~XX~~ to teach the students to hate the clergy.

(20 a) First of all the Roman and the Greek Catholic Churches were affected by the Communist regime. The Protestant Churches were better off, though their leading clergymen were persecuted, too.

(20 b) I think that the Communists tried to stamp out religion and educate the youth to believe in the Communist doctrines.

(20 c) The "peace priests" were not Communists, only people who were afraid of being tortured and therefore registered in the Communist Party.

(20 f) Workers could go freely to attend church services, but not officials or intellectuals. Churchgoers were watched carefully

and were not given good jobs.

(20 i) Professional people attended church services in secret, but workers attended them freely. More older people attended church services than young people.

(20 h) Yes, I attended church services every week and every holiday.

(20 j 2) People did not care about religious differences, except for the differences between the Jews and the Christians.

(20 k) Less young people went to church services now than when my parents were young, but for the ones who attended church, religion was more important than was for my parents in their young days.

(20 l) Our priest encouraged the people to keep on hoping. If some preachers talked about politics in their sermons, they were arrested and tortured.

(21) I would advise him to become a physician.

(21 a) This is a great and very serious profession, and physicians help the sick.

(21 b) I would have told him to keep quiet about politics, to be religious and conscientious and to go to church.

(22) Those Communists who occupied important positions should be in the first group. In the next groups are the workers who are seemingly Communists, in the third group the farmers and the officials, then the workers.

(22 a) I belonged to the workers' group.

(22 b) I would have liked to belong to the intellectuals.

(23) The today existing social classes in Hungary are: the intellectuals (professionals), then the officials, the workers, the peasants, and other people.

(23 b) (Was not asked; it is not underlined in the Hungarian questionnaire.

(23 d) No, class background does not raise barriers between people. The kulaks are separated from other officially by the regime. This is, however, only an official separation, since the people do not discriminate against the kulaks otherwise.

(23 e) There ~~XXXXX~~ is less difference between people than before.

(23 g) No, there are no changes in the manners of people. It is possible that people have no time to be as polite as they could be otherwise.

(24) No, I do not think so.

(24 a) I do not know.

(25) The great part of the Jews supported the regime. Many of them filled important positions in government offices.

(25 c) No, I had no closer Jewish acquaintances.

(25 g) I think that there was more anti-Semitism after the war than before. Many Jews ~~filled~~ had important leading roles in this regime, and the people ~~x~~ attributed the low living standards partly to them.

(25 h) I think in the future they will not have so important positions and roles. They will live in Hungary just as they do in other countries.

(1) Yes, I have been interested in politics. I was not very much interested in politics during the Communist regime, but I wanted to know the faults of this regime.

(1 a) POlities was the least important compared with my other interests. I was very much occupied and busy with other things.

(2) I heard about communism from my parents and I also learned about it in school. I did not like it from the beginning.

(2 a) I was very small in 1948. My parents, however, belonged for a short while to the Smallholders' Party, up to the time when this party was united with the Social Democratic Party.

(2 e) My parents told me about the Bela Kun regime. They told me how bad it was and this information determined my initial attitude toward communism. After some time I saw it for myself that this government was against the Church, against God, and kept our people in terror. My parents always taught me not to take part in any political activity and belong to no party. I always followed the line and teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, its priests, and the Pope.

(2 f) (ii.) -- always against the regime.

(2 h) The only explanation I could give for that was that people were afraid from the AVH. They were afraid to loose their lives, to be tortured, or to loose their livelihood. After a while they adjusted themselves to the way things were. Besides, the Communist regime promised a lot at the beginning, and some people

hoped that it will fulfil its promises.

(3) My main grievances were the terror we lived in, the torture by the AVH, and the Russian economic exploitation of Hungary.

(3 a) The most important complaints for me were (iv), (x), (xii).

(3 b) The least important for me were (viii); (xiii), -- no one believed them anyhow --; (i) -- they could not interfere in our family ~~XXXX~~ life.

(3 c) For the intellectuals, the most important were (ii), (iv), (vi).

(3 d) For the peasants the most important were ~~XXXX~~ (iv), (vi), (xii).

(3 e) For the workers the most important were (iii), (v), (vi).

(3 f) In compensation, people met in each other's homes and criticised the regime strongly and encouraged each other to do something about it.

(4) The real power in Hungary was the AVH and the ministries, or rather the chief leaders of the AVH and the ministries. These people, however, received their orders from the Soviet Union.

(4 f) Yes, there was a great bureaucracy. I would not know how it compared with pre-1944 Hungary.

(4 h) First of all, Communist party members went into government service, and in addition such non-party members, intellectuals, whom the government could not replace with others.

(5) Yes, there were definite advantages in ~~XXX~~ belonging to the DISZ. ~~XX~~ If I had belonged to this organization, with my qualifications I could have worked in an office instead of ~~in~~ a factory.

(5 d) No, I did not belong to it.

(5 i) Yes, I could have joined.

(5 j) No, it did not.

(5 k) I dok not know.

(6) To be a party member meant to have a better chance in receiving a better job. One had to be very careful not to say anything which would not agree with the party line.

(6 e) (This question was not asked since it is not underlined in the Hungarian questionnaire.)

(6 f) I do not know.

(6 h) No, I was not a member.

(6 p) I could have joined. Of course, I should have joined the DISZ first and joined the party only after I had been a member there.

(6 q) Yes, not being a member of the party affected my career. If I had been a party member, or for that matter a DISZ member in high school, I could have gotten an office job right after I graduated from business school. Instead I had to go to work in a factory.

(6 r) I do not know, maybe Rakosi.

(7) I belonged to the Third Order of St. Francis. This was a Roman Catholic religious organization.

(7 e) Its purpose was to say certain prayers, to live on a high moral standard, to be God-loving and teach others to be God-loving, to show example of high moral standards in one's community and

to help the clergy in whatever help they needed.

(7 d) I joined this organization because my parents taught me to be religious. After eight years of general school, I wanted to belong somewhere, to some organization, and I choose this one.

(7 e) I went to meetings of our organization to the sacristy of the church. These meetings were organized and called by the directing priest of the Order. I discussed the questions of faith and love of God with people who did not believe. I tried to persuade them to believe. I taught the teachings of the Church to my friends and people whom I met.

(7 g) People did not mind to become easily members of mass organizations, because they thought that these organizations were still not too closely connected with the Communist Party.

(7 l) People were organized into these organizations (mass organizations like the Women's Democratic League in Hungary, or DISZ, and others) at their working place. Functionaries of these organizations used to carry small booklets in which they made notes of the payment of membership fees. If someone showed anti-Communist tendencies or opinions, he was thrown out of these organizations. Whoever could keep his or her mouth shut, was quite safe there.

(7 m) I do not know.

(8) I think less than half of the Communists really believed in the Communist doctrines.

(9) The Youth Movement was never really Communist. Most of the

members were taught by the parents to be anti-Communist.

(10) The terror worked in such a way that people did not dare to talk against the regime, because they knew that if they did they would be tortured.

(10 b) It was the job of the AVH to keep the people all the time in fear. They were generating fear by ~~in such a way that they tortured~~ torturing everyone who was suspected ~~suspicious~~ of being an anti-Communist. There was an AVH station in our town, too. I know of an AVH family, where most of the members worked, some way or another, in the AVH barracks. One member of this family would torture to death anyone for 50 forints. Every time he was called upon to do such a thing, first he was given liquor to be drunk before he did it. After he received the 50 forints, he usually drank most of it away. There were girls who were ready to wash up the blood of these tortured, and killed people in the AVH, for just a few forints. They were not supposed to talk about that, but once they were fired from such jobs, they could not keep their ~~MXXH~~ mouths shut. My mother used to clean in private houses and used to meet these other cleaning girls after they were fired from the AVH. They told her about things that happened in the AVH. The AVH station in our town hired also gravediggers. Sometimes they brought a whole carriage load of tortured and killed people and gave orders to the gravediggers to bury them at night, in secret. Sometimes there were some ~~XX~~ among these tortured people who were not yet dead. The orders

of the gravediggers were to kill them with their spade and bury them with the others. Once a gravedigger took pity on one of those tortured who still moved when he was brought for his burial. He took him home and took care of him until he recovered. Such cases were very rare, however, because the gravediggers who did such things were in great danger from the AVH.

(10 e) Only such people whose parents, too, were Communists, could belong to the AVH.

(10 j) The AVH and the blue police actually worked together, the difference being, that while the AVH terrorized the people, the blue police tried to help the political prisoners.

(10 k) I do not know about that.

(11) My father was arrested and was tortured by the AVH.

(11 a) From 1953 on, my father used to be a sexton in the church and used to ring the bells for Mass and for other occasions. He also used to distribute, on orders from the priest, a Catholic newspaper and other Catholic pamphlets and writings. In 1955, he was arrested by the AVH as a clerical and was tortured there for two weeks. Among others, he was asked whether there was a God. He said that there was. They did not give him food then, and told him that if there was a God, he should give my father food, because they would not. Then my father told them that they could kill his body, but they could not kill his soul. When my father left the AVH station after these two weeks of torture, he came

out as a skinny, white-haired old man. When he went in, he was quite fat and had almost no grey hair ~~at all~~. He did not want to tell us anything about his torture. After that ~~time~~ he was not allowed to work in the church any more and was given a job as a watchman in a department store for 600 forints. My mother and I could go to work in the church, cleaning and decorating the altar, but my father was not allowed to ~~to~~ do that. We had a very hard time after that, because the 600 forints were very little, and father had to work so many hours at the watch post that he could not accept any other jobs beside it.

(11 d) Priests, farmers, especially kulaks, and people in general who were not members of the party, got arrested mostly.

(11 g) I know about this AVH prison in Nyiregyháza, where I lived, where the AVH tortured and killed people. I told you what I knew about it when you asked me about the AVH. (See 10 e.)

(13) I would tell him to keep quiet and to try to live from a very small income and not try to look for additional income, either outside, or inside the AVH. The most, one can do for some additional income is to raise some animals at home. We had at home poultry and pigs.

(13 e) Yes, personal connections help a lot. There are many people who are seemingly Communist, just to be able to help others.

(13 d) Yes, a good class background helps too.

(13 f) Yes, one is safer if one can keep one's mouth shut, but never is anyone totally safe.

(14) Yes, especially in the last time.

(15) Everything was directed and led by the Soviet Union in Hungary. The Russians exploited Hungary and whatever they paid to their officials in Hungary, and whatever products they took away from Hungary, was actually reduced from the pay of the Hungarian workers.

(15 d) (This question was not asked because it was not underlined in the Hungarian questionnaire.)

(15 e) The Soviet influence was most pronounced in the police activities, that is in the activities of the AVH. I do not know where it was least pronounced+.

(16) People cannot show their feelings under the Communists.

(16 c) One could be frank only in one's closes circle of friends. Only two people ~~XXXXX~~ together could talk openly about political matters and criticize the regime. Once there were three people together, it was already dangerous.

(16 d) One could talk quite freely about the fact that one's pay was very low. To criticize the Communist regime one could not freely.

(17) No, there are no such ways for Hungarian citizens.

(18) The strong points of the regime were Russian support and the AVH. The weakest point of the regime was the fact that most of the intellectuals and the students in Hungary, as well as the workers, were against it. In this opposition group one could include also those farmers who were not in collectives.

(19) There was no ~~XX~~ open opposition. Everyone criticized and hated

the regime ~~by himself~~ thought.

(19 b) The groups which were most hostile to the regime were the intellectuals, the clergy, then the workers and the artisans.

(19 e) Those who were the least hostile were the old Communists (who were Communists even before regim) who tried to protect and guard this system and regime.

(19 l) I do not know how they emerged. The MEFESZ fought for freedom and the extinction of the AVH, as well as against the Russians.

(1) I listened to the Hungarian radio and I read, very rarely, newspapers.

(1 a) The most important were those news which I heard from people who listened to foreign radio stations.

(2) During such an average month I read only about three times newspapers, and even then, I much rather read sports news than ~~and not~~ political news.

(2 a) On such occasions I read the Szabad Nep.

(2 b) I did not read any newspaper or mayazine regularly.

(2 g) No, I have not.

(3) I went to the movies about once in two weeks.

(3 b) I liked to see comedies.

(3 c) Yes, I have seen several foreign films, French and Italian films.

(3 e) No, I could not afford that.

(4) I did not readX much. I readX very little. If I read, I read mostly biographies of saints or other religious books.

(4 a) I read about five in a year.

(4 b) I read about the lives of saints, the life of St. Francis of Assisi, for instance.

(4 c) I had no favorite writers.

(5) Yes, I did listen to the radio.

(5 b) We did not have a set at home. We used to listen to the radio of our neighbors. When I lived in Budapest, in my sublet room, my landlady had a set.

(5 d) I liked to listen to dance music, popular songs, and plays.

(5 e) I did not listen regularly.

(6) No, I did not.

(6 d) I do not know about it.

(7) Yes, I heard foreign news from people who listened to foreign stations. For example I heard news about war prisoners in Russia who ~~still~~ were still not allowed to come home. We always asked about such news, because one of my uncles was still in Russia, or at least we thought so, because we never heard about him after the war. We also heard news about the Western world and events.

(7 g) Priests told us many times about good news. I do not know, however, whether they really knew about those news, or whether they were only hoping that such news might be possible. The AVH people knew more than others.

(% 8) We did not believe much from what we read in the newspapers.

(8 d) Wherever the regime indulged in self-praise, we knew that they were lying. Wherever they criticized themselves, if just a little bit, we believed them.

(8 e) Yes, for example, the Voice of America and the Free Europe broadcasts were considered to be reliable and more trustworthy than others.

(8 f) No, I have not.

(9) Yes, people tried hard to be well-informed.

(10) a. I am very much against using atomic weapons.

(10) b. I do not know.

c. I do not know.

d. I only know that they are rearming, I did not think about it.

e. I did not think about it, though I knew that they were leaflets sent by Free Europe balloons.

f. I do not know about it.

g. I do not know about it.

h. I do not know about it.

(1) The first thing to do would be to dispose of the Russian-influenced regime. Communism should be extinguished from Hungary.

(1 a) I would keep even under another regime the fast rate of production. I would only take care to improve the quality of the products.

(2) No, there should be no political parties.

(3) Yes, everyone should be free to say anything he wants.

(3 e) If the government functions according to the wishes of the people, it gives freedom to the people, and does everything just for the good of the people, then people should not talk against the government.

(3 d) I do not know about that.

(4) Yes, everyone should be free to participate in meetings.

(4 b) An armed uprising is only justified if the government is not governing by the will of the people and compels the people by force to live and work in a certain way.

(5) I do not know.

(6) I am in favor of this, but only if the government is working for the good of the Hungarian economy.

(6 b) I do not know. I do not know how the future and the well-being of the workers would be secured in the best way. On the other hand, it would be just to return the factories to their previous owners. After all, these people to whom the factory belonged, as well as their parents, worked for this property.

(6 e) It is good.

(6 e) Yes, I think state monopolies are good, because they are ~~XXX~~ for the good of the state.

(7) (This question was not asked since it is not underlined in the Hungarian questionnaire.)

(~~7~~8) I think that plans are very important. Everybody has to plan one's future ~~and so has the state including the~~ ..... . I am for planning.

(9) I do not know.

(10) Yes, I think so. Military ~~XXXX~~ service is one of them, then paying taxes, and obeying laws and orders.

(10 d) No, it is not true. For example, in a Communist state like ours, when they want to take taxes on the land, one should not pay it.

(10 e) Yes, the government has to keep law and order. The government has to secure the health service for the people, has to conduct and direct the economic life of the state, to ~~XXX~~ conduct the foreign affairs of the state.

(11) Medical care improved since the war.

(11 a) There was medical care for the poor who could not afford to go to private physicians, even in the past. The medical care of today, however, is better than before. The trouble is that the physicians, too, have to work on a norm system. They have to examine a certain number of patients each day, and therefore cannot give proper care to everyone of them. Also it happened many times that people who needed rest did not receive the order for

such rest from the physician, but had to go back to work in the factory.

(11 e) I had an accident once during working on the fields; I cut my arm very badly. My arm became swollen and full with gangrene, when I finally received a penicillin shot.

(12) Yes, people have more opportunity for that.

(12 a) I was a child before the war.

(12 b) Yes, they do.

(12 c) First of all those people have opportunities who work in good positions. This is true especially concerning the ~~XXX~~ theaters, because theater tickets are expensive.

(12 e) There are few such people.

(13) They eat worse than before the war.

(13 a) They eat better today than in 1946.

(13 b) I do not know.

(14) I do not know.

(14 a) They clothe themselves better than in 1946.

(14 b) Somewhat better than in 1950.

(15) Yes, it did increase since 1945, since much more people work than before.

(15 c) (Was not asked since it was not underlined in the Hungarian questionnaire.)

(16) Workers should have a word in everything. Actually, I do not know how much they should decide.

(16 d) A factory should be managed either by the proprietor or by those people who are chosen by the workers to manage it.

(17) The collective farms did not work out in Hungary. The farmers were forced to enter these farms and they did not work with their hearts and with enthusiasm.

(17 e) In my opinion, the collective farms should be distributed among the farmers.

(17 f) Yes, there should be a limit. No more than 50 holds should be given to one farmer. Later on, XX if he works well and can buy another piece of land, he should be allowed to do so.

(17 h) Yes, it should be restored.

(17 i) Only up to 50 holds to one farmer.

(17 l) I do not know.

(17 m) The machine tractor stations should remain state property.

(18) The Churches should be free from the state.

(18 a) Yes, they should be completely independent.

(18 e) If there is need for it, the Churches should receive financial support from the state.

(18 f) I would send my children to denominational schools.

(18 g) Yes, the land which used to belong to the Church should be returned.

(19) I would observe and investigate each party member. The ones who tortured others should be punished. We should not do it, however, in the form of terror, but on the XXXX grounds of investigation.

(19 d) Nothing should happen to them, only to the ones who committed crimes.

(19 e) I would investigate them.

(19 f) I would send them to Russia.

(19 g) They should be free and working.

(19 h) I do not know. I think nothing should happen to them. They should be free and should have an opportunity to work.

(20) It was an important event in world history that the Russians entered and occupied Hungary, and that during this long period of 12 years after the war they could educate, in Hungary, many Communists and AVH people. The 1956 Revolution was a very important event, because Hungary could show to the world that this regime was not governing by the free choice of the Hungarian people, but was forced on the Hungarian people. I do not know about Hungary's contributions to world culture.

(21) Yes, I do think so.

(21 a) The Hungarian person loves freedom more than does the German.

(21 b) I do not know.

(21 c) I do not know.

(21 e) I do not know.

(21 f) I do not know.

(22) The regime of King Karoly was the best in the XXth Century. I heard this from my parents.(Why was it such a good regime according to your parents?) Because he was a just king and loved his people.

(22 f) Yes, there was social and economic inequality in Hungary before 1945.

(22 i) (This question is underlined in the Hungarian questionnaire, while it is not in the English questionnaire.) The period between '45 and '48 was worse than the period before '45, and better than after '48. I cannot explain it, I do not remember very well.

(23) Borderlines are important, but they should be free. People should be free to travel.

(23 b) I do not know.

(24) Hungary should make treaties with other nations. there should Maybe a federation, ~~first of all~~ with the Austrians and Germans. This would be important because of exchange of products between Hungary and those two countries.'

(25) I cannot be angry at the Russians. They are oppressed people just as we are. They behave the way they do in Hungary because they are compelled to do so.

(26) I do not know, I don't remember well about marxism.

(26 e) He is not. He is a turncoat.

(26 h) Maybe yes.

(26 i) After the Russians occupied Hungary. But I do not know exactly what democracy is.

(27k) National communism is a situation where the state stands on the ground of Communist teachings and doctrines.

(27 e) No, they are not.

(28) If Imre Nagy would have stayed in power after the Revolution, then the first leaders of the Revolution and those who worked

with him would have stood in their place as leaders until the people would have chosen better leaders in a free and just election.

(28 b) For the time being, he would have remained at the head of the government, but I do not know what would have happened after that.

(29) a. I do not know exactly what it is.

b. It is bad.

c. It is bad.

d. I do not know what National Front is.

e. Imperialism is good.

f. I think it is good.

g. Middle class is good.

h. Good.

i. Peter Veress seemed to be a turncoat. I do not know whether he is good or bad.

j. I do not know who he is, though I remember hearing this name.

k. I do not know who Masaryk and Benes are.

m. Anna Kethly is good.

n. He is good.

(30) I do not know.

(30 a) Mindszenty.

(31) a, less; b, less; c, received what they deserved; d, kulaks received less; e, less, only the ones who were Communists received what they deserved; f, what they deserved; g, what they deserved; h, less; i, less.

(32) Kulaks were better off before 1948, so were intellectuals. Soldiers

were better off after that year,

(33) a, coincide; b, coincide; c, coincide; f, partly is in conflict; i, prior to 1945 I do not know whether they coincided or were in conflict.

(34) I was not afraid of danger from the United States. I was only disappointed that while they promised to send us help, they did not help us. I do think, though, that probably they could not help us because they did not want a new world war to break out. Maybe they were not ready yet for a World War.

(35) Only the AVH-people and their families would fight for the present regime. Also a few Communists and Jewish leaders in important positions, but not all the Jews.

(36) No, none of my opinions changed since I left Hungary.

(1) No, I have no questions.

(1 a) I think it was very interesting.

(2) I would like to return to Hungary for good, but after this regime is over. Maybe I would like to stay longer to make here some money, and if I would be able to establish myself here, I might try to bring my parents and brothers and sisters over instead of going back.

(3) You should keep in touch with those people who are just coming out from Hungary not only for the information they can furnish ~~to~~ you, but also because most of these people have relatives in Hungary and they worked out a certain code in which they can receive interesting information from Hungary without having their letters censored.

Portrait of Respondent.

This young girl of 24 was never interested in politics, yet she was an enthusiastic participant in the revolutionary demonstrations and even took part in the Revolution in a small wayX. She is a very social person, and is seriously concerned about her family and at the moment especially about her little sister who is still in Vienna. She is very religious and the persecution of the Catholic priests made a great impression on her.