

No. 131

"A" FACESHEET AND RATING

AO p. 1

June, 1957
New York

1. CS-11
2. [REDACTED]
3. 619 Furnald Hall, Columbia University
4. 1938
5. M
6. Hungarian
7. Jewish
8. --
9. Single
10. --
11. Student
12. Student
13. Middle class
14. --
15. No
16. No
17. No
18. No
19. College Student
20. Papa
21. Papa
22. Dunántúl (West Hungary)
23. None
24. November 22, 1956
25. 1 month in Bard College, Annandale-on -Hudson; and New York
26. No
27. --
28. No
29. --
31. "9" No
32. "9" There might have been minor exaggerations in connection with the number of books he read.
33. "10"
34. Not at all

- (1) In the United States people did not really know what went on behind the Iron Curtain. People in the United States would have been very much surprised to know what went on. One thing they probably knew was that this Revolution could not have succeeded alone. They did not send arms because, I think, they thought it would bring ~~forward~~ ^{toward} another world war. The success of the Revolution would have been ^{would we have received help from the West} very great indeed/and there would have been great repercussions throughout the world. We knew that the United States did sympathize with the Revolution. Now there is again terror in Hungary.
- (2) There was a change in the atmosphere after the 20th Party Congress. People dared to criticize the regime and especially some writers had great influence in this direction. Writers who wrote in the Irodalmi Ujsag, in the Igazsag described to their readers the ~~faults~~ ^{faults} of the regime. These papers could print only a certain number of issues and those issues were snatched away from the newsstands as soon as they arrived there, people were fighting over the issues of these newspapers. These writings made people think and they exercised an awakening influence. By this time people already tasted the taste of freedom under the premiership of Imre Nagy. They ~~awakened~~ ^{the} awaited great things from ~~he~~ ^{the} latter.
- (2a-1) The time after the 22nd Party Congress already brought a new atmosphere and it was becoming apparent a change in the regime.
- (2a-b) The drastic change marked by the end put to ~~of~~ ^{of} Stalin's cult and the downfall of Rakosi were the next important ~~steps~~ ^{fault} toward an awakening. After the downfall of Rakosi every ~~thought~~ ^{blamed} of the regime was ~~connected~~ ^{Farkas} to him, Mihaly ~~Barlos~~ ^{Barlos} was also blamed. The happenings in Poland and Gomulka's ~~drive~~ ^{policy} was also an important influence though

we still didn't think of a R^{ev}olution. The R^{ev}olution itself started spontaneously after all ~~those~~ ^{these} and actually it was the use of weapons, by the counter-revolutionaries which caused directly a revolutionary uprising.

(2b) The death of Stalin contributed to the happenings and developments in such a way that Imre Nagy came to power and he lightened the burden of the peasants. Imre Nagy also pressed the fact, that Hungary is an important agrarian country while before that, Hungary was to become an industrial country and a heavy/ ^{industrial} one. I think that the 20th Party Congress as well as the death of Stalin ~~connected~~ ^{were} essential in bringing ~~the~~ ^{toward an} uprising in Hungary.

(2c) Yes, it certainly did. We had a taste of the freedom. The fact that he became a prime minister ^{was} already a step toward greater freedom. Before the revolution everybody talked about the possibility, and hoped for Nagy to become Prime Minister again.

(2d) It didn't play too much of a part in it. ^{The} ~~only~~ ^{only} reconciliation of Moscow and Tito/ meant a reconciliation of Hungary with Tito as well. Then was the second trial of Rajk and the arrest of Mihály ^{Farkas} ~~Sarkas~~. Many important things came to be known at that time. The Rajk funeral was definitely something against R^Akosi and it was a good opportunity to criticize the regime. This whole reconciliation of Moscow and Tito, meant to a certain extent that Moscow recognized National Communism.

(2e) This had a deciding role. I knew about the Congress from the newspapers. ^{Not} from the Szabad ~~Press~~. The most important was the ending of Stalin's Mikojen cult. The secret speeches of ~~Khrushchev~~ ^{Khrushchev} and Krushchev gave a similar picture ^{about Stalin} ~~from Stalin~~ as we had in ^{our} ~~the~~ mind ^{about} ~~from~~ Hitler. I heard about those speeches from the Western radios. We waited and hoped after the 22nd Party Congress that R^Akosi would fall, but he didn't.

- (2f) They didn't have too much effect. We say, however, that very little can be done with arms against the Soviets. We heard about the bloodshed and influence we knew that nothing succeeded. Gomulka had a strong effect on Hungary. The first riots were organized in sympathy with Poland.
- (2g) I was very glad until I heard that it was Gero who took ~~Gero~~ who ~~replaced~~ his place.
- (2h) There wasn't such a moment.
- (2i) I thought about that, about a month after the 20th Party Congress. The atmosphere changed in Hungary.
- (3) They were the 20th Party Congress and its aftermath, the downfall of coming Rakosi and Gomulka's ~~came~~ into power.
- (3a) The dissatisfaction increased more and more, and it was composed of many smaller greater and ~~smaller~~ ^{a proper} grievances. It seemed that only on an occasion was wanted for the outbreak.
- (3b) The peasants were burdened by having to turn in great amount of products. The kulaks were actually persecuted and exploited; everybody was lacking the freedom of speech. Everybody was terrorized, and people did not dare to talk to each other. They did not trust each other and I think people started to lose their human qualities. Everybody had to push and fight ^{wanted to} for whatever he ~~could~~ reach. The party members were favored in all sorts of positions. This lack of freedom was in complete opposition with the Hungarian constitution. The workers in addition to the mentioned grievances had to do with much less pay than they received before and had to work harder. I speak especially about the unskilled workers. The position of the intelligentsia was very bad, at the beginning. Later on, however, they were in the same kader with the peasants. They were needed and therefore their position became better. The life of the businessmen ^{tradesmen} and the ~~tradesmen~~ ^{businessmen} was made difficult. The class strangers were discriminated everywhere. The children were not admitted to the

universities and they had trouble in finding positions to work.
ripe

- (3c) The happenings made these times ~~ripe~~ for the Revolution. The riot before the statue of Bem, in sympathy with Gomulka, and the points demanded by the youth, seemed as being natural consequences of previous happenings. But

~~XXX~~ very few people thought even then about a Revolution.

- (4) Nobody burst out the R^{ev}olution.

- (4c) There was a general goal, and this was an independent, democratic Hungary. In smaller details however the interests differed according to the class positions of the different participants.

- (4d) They didn't have altogether the same goals. There were many political prisoners who were freed during the Revolution. Many of them, Horthy sympathizers of Hitler and many ~~Hitler~~ people. These were extreme rightists, who demanded ~~extreme~~ rightist changes. These were, ~~most~~ however, a small minority in the fighting revolutionaries.

- (4e) Against tyranny and against Soviet domination.

- (4f) People wanted freedom.

- (4g) Out with the Russians! (Ruski Gamoi)! Freedom, Independence, Well-being for the people! ~~We~~ We are no fascists!

- (4h) They meant, a breaking away from the Russians, denouncing membership in the Warsaw block. Hungarian affairs should be managed by Hungarians and there should be free elections.

- (4i) Yes.

- (4j) Many people joined the Communist Party because they wanted to promote the well-being of their families. Some of them ~~didn't believe~~ ^{believed} in the Communist ~~doctrines~~ ^{doctrines}. These latter, however, were soon disappointed.

- (4l) If the Russians wouldn't have interfered from the very beginning, (October 23) there would have been no fighting, no bloodshed at all. The

Revolution could have won. If they would not have interfered the second time on the 4th of November then now we could have ^{an independent} ~~independence~~ and neutral Hungary.

(4m) ^{were} ^{now} If I ~~am~~ in Hungary/I think I would have been satisfied. From here, however, I see things differently. From here, we can see that Gomulka is far from being independent from the Russians. Such a situation cannot lead to a good end. Either Gomulka will stay with the Russians and will ~~not~~ gain no independence, or there will be a bloodshed in Poland and he will be forced to stay with the Russians. ^{The situation} ⁱⁿ ^{the situation} ~~with~~ Poland is very different from that of Yugoslavia.

(4n) At the beginning there were no personal, or special interests in the Revolution. Later on, however, the ~~different~~ ^{advocated different views.} leaders of the different parties ~~had different views.~~ The parties, who were represented in the Revolution were the Smallholders Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Peasants' Party which became later the Petofi Party, the Christian Democratic Party and finally the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party which was actually the Communist Party.

(4o) ^{faithful to the regime.} The ones who opposed the Revolution were the Communists, the Russians, and the ones who were afraid of bloodshed and did not have any hope for success.

(6) On the 23rd of October I participated in the riots before the statue of Bem. After that we marched to the Radio Broadcasting Station and demanded the broadcasting of the 16 points which were put together by the students. The AVO people denied us this right and started to shoot in the air in order to disperse the crowd. The rioters started to throw stones on the AVO and in answer the AVO people started to shoot, this time into the crowd. The people escaped to the Garden of ^{Museum,} ^{Csepel} ~~the Museum~~ I went with a group to ~~Verdicht~~ Island in order to

get some arms and come to help to the masses who were still under the fire of the AVO. In our way we reached the Stalin statue which was torn down ^{crowd.} ~~TOWARD~~ ~~damnat~~ this time by the ~~ciand~~. Here we heard that Russians are in Csepel. We couldn't go there because we didn't have arms and therefore we had to disperse and go home. On my way home I heard that the riot at the radio station did not succeed and that it was very dangerous to approach the place since AVO people ^{were} ~~are~~ watching. On the 25th of October there was a riot before the Parliament, I was not there, I only heard about it. The AVO people were shooting on the crowds with machine guns. At the beginning the Russians seemed to ^{sympathize} ~~sympathize~~ with the rioters and some of the rioters climbed on Russian tanks, ~~and~~ All of a sudden, however, and I do not know why, the Russians too started to shoot. On October 26th and 27th it was forbidden to go out into the streets. I didn't participate in the fighting. The only thing I tried but did not succeed, ~~that was to go~~ because we could not go out on the streets was to try to collect some money for the good of the families of those who ^{rows} ~~were~~ killed in the fighting in the ~~rows~~ of the revolutionaries. I couldn't go out from the house because I didn't have arms and this particular area where I stayed was under fire for quite a while. I had ^{on} ~~was~~ to stay there until the 4th of November. (This ~~was~~ under Rakosi Street where I stayed with friends.)

(7a)

I saw before the radio station that the AVO people who tried to disperse ^{the AVO men,} the crowd and the crowd threw stones, they shouted that they too were they should not stone them, Hungarians. / Then I saw before the Parliament Building a fight between the AVO and the Russians. Later on the Istvan Blvd. I saw a fight between the Hungarians and the Russians. The Hungarians had few ^{shot at} ~~arms~~ and yet were ~~killed~~ by the Russians.

- (7b) I saw a platoon of recruited soldiers who denied to follow the orders of their officers and gave their arms over to the Revolutionaries.
- (7c) I didn't see that, but I saw hanged people on the streets.
- (7d) I saw Russians go over~~to~~^{join} the Revolutionaries at the beginning of the Revolution. I also saw three~~en~~ Russian tanks ~~go over to~~ the Revolutionaries.
- I also saw Russian tanks shoot into the helpless crowd. I saw an old man being shot on the street while he was going home with the bread under his arm. He just bought it after standing in a long/line. People said that there were some subterranean/ catacombs before the Republic Square and that many AVO people escaped there. There was some talk about exploding the catacombs ~~since they~~^{but the uprisers} thought that also some R^{evolutionaries} were there who escaped/they did not do it. I saw also a thief who stole from broken store windows and who was almost killed by the crowd of R^{evolutionaries} because of stealing. The R^{evolutionaries} shouted "We are no thieves; we are Revolutionary fighters."
- (8) Does not apply
- (9) I joined the crowd and took part in the riot.
- (9a) Yes, I took part in riots.
- (9b) No.
- (c) No.
- (d) I was there when the crowd pulled down the Stalin ~~statue~~^{statue} and when they tore down the sign of the Soviet-Hungarian association.
- (9e) No.
- (f) No.
- (9g) In no other way.
- (9h) I took part in the riots.
- (9i) I felt I had to do so.
- (9j) Does not apply.

near the scenes.

(10) I heard in the radio and I read it in the newspapers, and I also was ~~there~~. Yes, I was in the riots.

(10a) The role of the newspaper changed a lot. People stopped reading the Szabad ~~the~~ Nép but instead they read Kis Ujság (this was the paper of the smallholders) The Igaszság (this was the paper of the Revolutionary organization). The Nép ~~Akarat~~ Honvéd (the Social Democratic paper), The Magyar Honvéd (this was the paper of the army), and then there was the Nép Szabadság (this was a Communist Party newspaper).

(10b) People were doubtful about the Nép Szabadság, but they agreed with the other newspapers.

(10c) I heard from friends about the Kilian military camp, about the ~~Mahester~~ ~~affair~~ ~~latter~~ ~~affair~~. This was actually the most important event of the Revolution. I also heard ~~these~~ TszCs about what happens in the country. I heard that the TszCs was dispersed ~~sent~~ ~~without~~ and that the peasants ~~sent~~ food supplies ~~without~~ payment.

(10d) I heard that Kossuth radio, the Radio Free Europe, BBC, the Voice of America. This way I got the information about the meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations and about the repercussions of the Hungarian uprising in the West. Later also about the Hungarian uprising itself. The best source of information was the Radio.

(10e) I received information through the telephone about search for arms by ~~in the~~ the Russians and the Hungarian police. This was already ~~the~~ second part of the Hungarian Revolution.

(10f) In the fourth and fifth day of the Revolution I received the best information through the BBC and the Voice of America. The best one after that was the Hungarian Radio under Imre Nagy and then the BBC. Radio Free Europe broadcasted many incorrect news. I didn't like the way they attacked Imre Nagy.

(10g) I received most of the news about the local happenings directly while I

received news about happenings in the other parts of the country through the radio, or from the family, through telegram.

- (11) Most of the official Communist organizations were dissolved. Then the great part of the members joined other parties, very few members remained Communist. The Hungarian ~~Soviet~~ Soviet Association was ^{dissolved} ~~dissolved~~ altogether.
- (11a) The party organization was dissolved, but the party meeting places and centers remained in use by other organizations. In the country (outside of the city) the whole organization dissolved altogether, at least in 90%. The meeting places and the centers of the party were used for other purposes than party meetings. A number of party functionaries were sent away from their jobs. They were not harmed.
- (11b) The police disappeared - ceased to be. The policemen were neither with the revolution nor against it.
- (11c) The AVH was dissolved, part of them were killed and the other part was investigated. Their punishment was decided according to the circumstances in which they were recruited.
- (11d) The "old guard" was changed.
- (11e) Part of the soldiers ^{gave} ~~gave~~ their arms to the revolutionaries and didn't want to fight against them; part of them joined and fought with the revolutionaries. A very small minority fought against the revolutionaries.
- (11f) The trade unions had meetings and decided that they were going to serve the interests of the workers.
- (11g) I don't know.
- (11h) New people took the positions everywhere.

- (11i) There was more relative freedom.
- (11j) Officially, or on paper at least, the ~~AVO~~ ^{AVO} was dissolved and so ~~the T.Sz.Cs.~~ ^{and the T.Sz.Cs.} were the party organizations, ~~the~~ ^{the} police was reorganized, and a new organization the National Guard was organized.
- (11j) They used the National Guard, and they tried to use the military organization, in which they succeeded in part, since the soldiers ^{at least} did not fight against them.
- (11k) The National Guard and the National Trust (Bizottmány) (this was headed by Jozsef Dudas). Different parts reorganized and there was a new organization ^{of} ~~from~~ the political prisoners who were freed in the first days of the revolution.
- (11m) They wanted to take in their hands the direction and the management of the factories. They wanted to organize the strikes. They were composed from simple workers and engineers. The workers' ^{councils} ~~councils~~ were organized by election of the workers ^{council} ~~councils~~ into the ~~council~~ ^{council}, and the leaders of the ~~council~~ ^{council} were elected on a secret ballot.
- (11n) A Democratic independent regime would have developed.
- (12) ^{Of} ~~From~~ the ^A Russians who were there earlier, some ^{joined} ~~went over to~~ revolutionaries. The ones who did not ~~participate~~ ^{join} the revolutionaries ^{from among these Russians} ~~were not~~ ^{were} not cruel, at least, ~~while~~ ^{to suppress the revolt} while the ones who came later ^{were} very cruel.
- (12a) Yes.
- (12b) The difference was that the Hungarians fought with enthusiasm, while the Russian soldiers did ~~even~~ ^{even} not know where they were. Some of them thought that they were in Germany, others looked

for the "Great Channel" and fought without enthusiasm.

- (12c) This was expected, it was far not so important for the Russians as it was for us.
- (12d) I don't know.
- (12e) I don't know.
- (12g) They were the ones who ^{governed} ~~ruled~~ Budapest after the revolution and they headed the separate visionary organizations.
- (12h) The uprising was very unexpected for the Russians, and once it started they thought it was small and not important.
- (13) I decided this after the revolution had not succeeded.
- (13a) I thought that there was no other way since the Soviets were back in Hungary.
- (13b) Yes, I talked it over with my ^{parents.} ~~parents.~~
- (13c) I didn't have any particular plans, I just started out with a group of five.
- (13d) I heard in the Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America what happened to the other people who escaped Hungary and went to Austria. I knew they were helped and I knew that there was a chance to receive a scholarship in the United States.
- (13e) I didn't think of any other possibility.
- (14) Yes.
- (14a) Partly yes, because it caused damage to the Russians. However it caused damage to the Hungarians as well, but the damage ^{since} that was caused to the Russians was more important ~~in the past~~.

~~ask~~ it was moral damage.

- (14b) No, it could not have succeeded, only with the possibility of a world war.
- (14c) I would have done the same.
- (14d) After the downfall of Rákosi, there was a time of free criticism. Only Poland was similar in such conditions. Once Rákosi was removed, there were all sorts of discussions and there was a time of insecurity when many things were possible.
- (14e) I had a great respect for him; ^{under} ~~in the~~ same conditions I would have done the same.
- (14f) Important posts had ^{Maleter} ~~Maleter~~, ^{György} ~~Kiraly~~, ^{Losonczy György} ~~Losonczy György~~ (in Nagy's ^{Béla Kovács} ~~Malakow's~~ cabinet), ~~Malakow~~ was sick, only his name was used. Tildy tried to do the most useful, but he was not popular enough anymore.
- (14g) The real heroes were Imre Nagy and Maleter and the Hungarian people.
- (14h) I would place them in the following order: first the workers and the apprentices; next the students, next the intelligensia; next the soldiers; and then in one group the peasants from the collectives and the peasants who did not join the collectives; next the clerks; ~~and~~ last the other groups.
- (14i) Yes.
- (14j) Yes.
- (14k) It had a very great role in the preparation ~~in~~ the popular opinion, in the recruiting of the revolutionaries and in

informing the people. I wasn't surprised ^{about} ~~its~~ its great role.

(141)

I don't think that they could have done more than they really did. They did not have any arms. They helped with whatever they could. They sent food supplies and whatever they could send to the revolutionaries.

- (1a) I was a ^{high}~~high~~ school student.
- (1b) My father was a business man.
- (2) I did not not work. I was a ^{high}~~general~~ school student in the ^{General State Gymnasium}~~general state gymnasium~~ of Papa.
- (3) Does not apply.
- (4) (Since the respondent did not work I asked the questions concerning his father's job and income).
- (4a) I don't know ^{my} father's income in 1946, ^{because} ~~but~~ at that time he was still in business, and did not have a fixed salary.
- (4b) His income of 1950 was from 700 to 900 forints a month.
- (4c) During 1955 my father did not work. Hew was in prison. Instead of having an income he had to pay for his food supply there.
- (4d) In, about, 1950 my ~~basie~~ father's basic salary was 724 forints a month. (After the deductions)
- (4e) 10% of the income was deducted for peace bonds (Békekölcsönök) , for trade union membership fees, for old age security and for taxes.
- (4f) He didn't receive any.
- (4g) None.
- (4h) When he had a job he was a clerk, and clerks received the lowest salaries.
- (4i) About the same.
- (5a) Eight hours a day.
- (5b) He worked six days a week.
- (5c) He worked overtime but he was not paid for it.

- (5d) My father received two weeks paid vacation.
- (5e) This was the same in all of his jobs.
- (5f) This was taken very seriously.
- (5g) Yes.
- (5h) There was no latecomings. And if it did happen one was scolded. If one was late without having a good excuse one's salary was reduced.
- (5i) Where my father worked there was no norm.
- (5k) No.
- (5l) No.
- (6a) They were mediocre.
- (6b) (Here I again asked that the respondent on conditions
c These
in school) ~~These~~ were very good.
- (6d) Does not apply.
- (6e) I went by foot. It took me 7 minutes.
- (7) (Here I asked respondent on classmates in school)
- (7c) Yes, not with everybody.
- (7d) The boys in the class did~~not~~ not trust each other from a political point of view, but otherwise they did.
- (7g) Not with everybody.
- (7h) The DISZ was organized in school and this was compulsory for everybody.
- (7g) Was there were such things ~~see~~ especially in connection with ones record before one applied to the university.
- (8a,b,c) ~~Do~~
~~It will~~ not apply.
- (8d) The question is to what university one has protectcia.

(Good connection)

- (8d) Family traditions, material gains, with some people that they should be useful for society.
- (8e) No.
- (8f) I could see that I wouldn't be able to, since I was not admitted to the university.
- (8g) I think everybody wanted success or a leading position, since it is a human quality in everybody to ^{want} ~~xxx~~ to be more than the other person.
- (8h) People are just born that way.
- (8i) In this case I would travel to Europe; first however, I would like to know America. In Europe I would like to travel in Western Europe, in France, England, Spain, and Italy. I would love to ^{be} ~~be~~ well-to-do to the end of my life; and also see that my parents are well-to-do and secure.
- (8j) I only thought of those things here in the United States.
- (9) I felt that until 1948 we were quite ^{well} ~~well~~ off.
- (9a) Only my father worked.
- (9b) They didn't change much.
- (9c) My mother did the shopping. I don't know. (Respondent refused to answer the rest of the questions asked in this section, saying that he was too young and he didn't know about those things. He is 19 years old now).

- (1) I attended eight years of general school in Papa.
After that I attended four ^{years of} gymnasium, ^{and} ~~and~~ received
^{high}
my ~~high~~ school diploma.
- (1a) I went to school from 1945 to '56.
- (1b) I finished high school.
- (1c) In Papa (it is in West Hungary).
- (2) I went to the general school and gymnasium in Papa.
- (2a) As stated before.
- (2b) No.
- (2c) No.
- (2d) No.
- (2e) During two years of my gymnasium studies I attended compulsory political seminars. On this seminars we discussed and studied the political life of Hungary and Russia. The seminar did not last long, because people did not attend willingly and they did not ~~show up~~ ^{show up} whenever they could find an excuse.
- (2f) This was the best school in Papa.
- (3) No I did ^{not} see this.
- (3a) I wanted to be a chemical engineer.
- (3b) This field interested me most, and I felt I had the talent to study it.
- (3c) I tried to be admitted to the university; I passed the entrance exams with very high marks and yet they did not admit me, ^{claiming} ~~saying~~ that they had not enough places in the class. Since I was one of the firsts according to my grades, to pass the entrance exam, the only reason that they did not admit me could only have been my class origin.

- (4) No I was not admitted to the university.
- (4a) I wanted to finish university studies.
- (4b) My "class" origin was in my way.
- (4c) I was interested in studies and I thought I had the talent to do it.
- (4d) Does not apply because the respondent graduated from high school shortly ~~after~~ before he left Hungary.
- (5) Does not apply.
- (6) I was an excellent student.
- (6a) I liked to study.
- (7) In high school I had the same opportunity as did other people.
- (7a) ^{"class"} In the university my/origin stood in my way. I wasn't a good Kader.
- (7b) Yes whoever was born in a worker's family or peasant family was in a much better position.
- (8) Everything was compulsory in high school. The only choices we had, ^{realistic} was to choose between a ~~real~~ school, or a humanistic school. The difference being that in the former we studied more mathematics and science in the latter they studied Latin and Greek. There was one more possibility and people were very much pressed to choose this class. This third possibility was a class, where much more Russian was studied than in the other classes. ^{One's} ~~Once we~~ studied in this Russian department ^{one} ~~of the class~~ had to do ^{one's} ~~their~~ regent exams in Russian, orally ^{as} ~~and~~ well as in writing, ^{while} ~~while~~ in the other sections ~~on the class~~ one had only to pass

a written exam in Russian. In this Russian section they studied much more hours of Russian during the week than they did in the other sections.

(8b) I studied in the ~~xxxi~~ ^{realistic} section since I wanted to prepare to be an engineer. I liked most of the subjects.

(8c) I thought it was a pity they compelled us to study Russian. As for my part I preferred English and French to Russian.

(8d) The Communist ideology was entered into all the subjects. The happenings were explained very much accordingly and therefore, very much one-sidedly. They ~~thought~~ ^{taught} history as if they would have ~~thought~~ ^{taught} it to entirely ignorant people. They supposed that we ~~didn't~~ didn't read anything else besides the school textbooks, ~~we~~ ^{that we} didn't go around with open ears and eyes. For example, they wanted to make us believe that World War II was fought only by the Germans and the Russians.

(8e) I don't know about it. I didn't ~~have~~ ^{take} part ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ it.

(8f) ~~There~~ ^{There} wasn't such things in our school. The only other compulsory course we had to pass except for our gymnasium ~~subjects~~ ^{lessons} was the "l'ego". This was exercises ~~making~~ for civil defense, in case of an air raid.

(9) It wasn't successful at all. As the October happenings showed it clearly.

- (9a) No the behavior of the children and the youth did not change, except that they were forced to think more, since they wanted to find out what really the truth was.
- (9b) No.
- (9c) No, we were laughing at ~~tee~~ those things.
- (9d) I don't know anyone who accepted the Communist slogans.
- (9e) The Communist education is most effective ^{upon} ~~in~~ certain sections of the working youth, who lived under very bad conditions before, ^{in the age of} ~~from the age of~~ 20 to 24 mainly. These groups became later the best workers Kaders.
- (9f) One could find it out by discussing with them, or talking with them, ^{one} ~~but~~ never dared to contradict them. ^{would have been} ~~This was~~ too dangerous of course. They received important positions among the officials of the city council and they used their authority wherever they could.
- (10) My father was middle class business man.
- (10a) My mother belonged to a similar family.
- (10r) Does not apply.
- (11) ["] We were class strangers. ["]
- (12) My father was in the grain business.
- (12b) He became a clerk in 1950.
- (12b) At this time by ^{the pressure of} ~~stress and~~ overtaxation he was compelled to liquidate his business. He became then for

a year and a half a bookkeeper clerk for a salt marketing enterprise of the government. The enterprise was liquidated in 1952 and from that time on my father worked as an administrator in a leather goods wholesale enterprise until 1954. At that time he received back his trade permission and could go back to the grain business. In 1955 he was arrested and was accused of selling grain on a wholesale scale while his permission was only for retail business. The fact was that the police chief of our town wanted our apartment for himself and by staging a "window trial" he achieved his purpose by imprisoning father. My mother had to leave/Szombathely to live with her mother, and I stayed in Pápa with some relatives. To be sure, after taking our apartment they gave us another apartment, but this was a horrible hole to live in. We just could not stay there. My father was kept in prison for six months until his trial finally ended it. At that time there was some relaxation in the severness and terror of the regime. When father was finally tried, the workers of Tata coal mine gave their witness statements, telling the judge that at the time father sold a bigger amount of grain to them, he had to do it, because of an emergency since at the time there were floods in Tata and there was a serious shortage of food there. The judge couldn't do anything x else but acquit father. It was obvious, however, that he, the judge, had orders from the AVH

to keep father in prison and since he acquitted him he himself was arrested and convicted. When father left the prison he was very ill and was unable to go back to work. He went to ~~some~~ SZombathely and had to rest. His brother-in-law was supporting him and mother. Even though he was acquitted and found not guilty, father did not receive back whatever was taken away from him, ~~that~~ including our apartment and belongings. After some rest father got back his trade permission and wanted to start again in the grain business even though this meant trouble again. But he was ~~denied~~ ^{denied} and this was his only way of making a living. ~~and~~ jobs everywhere/

(12c)

^{that} The governmental jobs/^{was holding} my father/~~business~~ did not suffice for the income of the family. We had to sell many of our belongings for small prices in order to be able to buy food. When father went back to business I was afraid this will bring trouble as it really did ^{and} ~~And~~ father was imprisoned. Even ^{the fact that} ~~the fact that~~ my father is in business now I do not like /~~it~~ because there will probably be a change again, and ~~the~~ father might be again in trouble.

(12d)

^{business} My father had a ~~business~~ high school diploma. He could trade in Hungarian, German, and French.

(12e)

I liked to be a student very much.

(13)

^{an} We lived as ~~the~~ average family.

(13a)

From '45 to '48 we lived better than the average.
From '48 to '50 we came closer and closer to the

average. From '50 to '54 we lived like the average, and in '55 we lived worse than the average. From '55 to '57 again like the average.

(14) Father, mother, and I.

(14a) Father and mother~~still~~ still live in Hungary and I am Here.

(14b) In 1956 I lived with my relatives in Papa. My parents were at that time in SZombathely., later I lived in Budapest in a furnished room because I had to prepare and had to pass my ^{entrance} exams to the university, ^{where} ~~where~~ I tried to be admitted.

(15) Only father worked.

(16) It was very ^{unfavorable} ~~unfavorable~~.

(16a) I felt this only when I wanted to be admitted to the university. In high school the only thing ^{in which my} ~~this~~ background ^{that I was not qualified} ~~that I was not qualified~~ harmed me was, ~~in not being able~~ to be a member of the student council.

(17) It does not apply.

(22) We were in the possible best terms.

(23) I used to ask about happenings that happened before I could follow them, before I could read newspapers about current events. We also talked about contemporary politics.

(23a) We usually discussed the articles in the newspapers and tried to find what was the cause of what, what was true, and what could be the outcomes of certain happenings. We tried to read the truth out of the articles.

- (24) No.
- (24a) No, when I was 14, I decided what I wanted to be. I read about it and I was interested in it and my ^{did} parents ~~did~~ not oppose my wishes in this ~~respect~~ respect.
- (24b) No.
- (24c) No.
- (24d) No.
- (24e) No.
- (25) There was no need for that. I respected my parents very much and in turn they let me live my life quite independently.
- (26a) There was no change in our family life. The happenings did not change at all our good relations with each other.
- (26b) In general it was an average, typical good family life, ^{independent} except that I was very ~~independent~~ in my own affairs. I know of many families, where the family relations changed and became worse, because of difficult financial situations. But this usually was only a temporary change.
- (26c) I liked to do all sorts of sports. I liked to read, to have dates with girls, I want to concerts, ^{to} ~~the~~ the movies, and I studied foreign languages, English and German.
- (26d) We were together at the breakfast and lunch, and at the evenings we had supper together if I was at home.

- Otherwise it was quite spontaneous our being together.
- (26e) We spent about four hours a day together.
- (26f) I would have loved to read Western newspapers but I didn't have a chance. We also would have loved to travel in Western countries.
- (27) In certain cases the family connections became better and stronger; in other cases they loosened. The latter happened often because of difficult financial situations.
- (27a) Nobody could trust nobody and between the many strangers of whom people were afraid wife and husband escaped to each other. Wherever the family relationships loosened it happened many times because of financial difficulties. The relationship of the children to the parents did not change with the Communist education.
- (27b) Yes.
- (27c) Yes.
- (27d) No.
- (27e) Yes, except that in the country the respect toward the parents always was greater than in the city.
- (28) Yes.
- (28a) We became freer with each other.
- (28b) I don't know how it was before. Now they get married between the age of 22 to 26.
- (28c) I don't know really how it was before 1944, but I think less worried for that lately the mothers were ~~more worried because~~

of their daughters. They understood that whatever happened depended ~~because~~ really ~~depends~~ on the daughter herself.

(28d) I thought this was right.

(28e) There was no legal prostitution; yet there was a lot of it ^{Since} in the big cities illegally. ~~If~~ there was no supervision of the prostitutes, venereal diseases became widespread.

(28f) They didn't even talk about it. They even left out love from the literature itself. It was only ^{from} propaganda/ ^{purposes} that they came out against immorality. They accused the West ^{of} being very immoral; ~~the~~ ^{the} Americans, especially, were the target.

(28g) They encouraged child birth. They tried to increase the birth rate, and they tried to help mothers with many children. There was ^a ~~was~~ changes in this policy from ~~1956 summer~~ the summer of 1956

(28h) It changed fundamentally. There are no illegal children anymore. Besides, every father ^{has} ~~have~~ to support his child, ^{that} ~~that~~ is, to ^{pay} ~~pay~~ for his child. Since this is very expensive it pays off to marry the mother instead.

^a
(29) I met my best friend in the general school. He was about my age.

(29a) He is a student and prepared to be a teacher.

(29b) He's nineteen and his father is a clerk.

(29c) We ^{use} ~~was~~ to talk, we use to help to ~~solve~~ solve each others problems, we went together out to movies and

other performances. We spent lots of time together and we were very good friends. For some time we went to school together, but then he went to the teachers' seminar and I continued in the Gymnasium, ^{but} ~~and~~ we remained the best of friends.

(29d) Yes, very often we discussed the every day political happenings.

(29e) It only became deeper and stronger.

(29f) Yes we correspond now because he is still in Hungary.

(29g) I value most, in a friend complete honesty, ~~freedom~~ readiness to help each other and trust each other.

(29h) This would have depended only on him. It could have been ^{un}pleasant for him to associate with me, but if he ^{have} wouldn't change his attitude I wouldn't change mine either.

(30) They are Jews.

(30a) Everybody was the same. There were no differences.

(30b) It is hard to explain. I would rather not talk about it.

(31) In general yes.

(31a) The party opposed it very much and therefore people who occupied important positions ^{did not dare} ~~and did not dare~~ ^{churches} to go to ~~churches~~ and synagogue.

(31b) Yes equally.

(31c) The churches did not have much authority and they ^{had} ^{own} /their/difficulties.

(31d) Religion is in complete opposition to the Communist

ideology.

- (31e) They wanted to end religious life. They couldn't make use of it.
- (31f) If they opposed the religious life they usually persecuted the leaders.
- (31g) Yes but if I would have had an important position I couldn't go, and they would have written in my Kader documents ^{that I went to the synagogue.} ~~whether I go or not.~~
- (31h) I went once a week.
- (31i) It depended how religious the person was and what job he was holding. In general in a responsible job he could not go to the synagogue, or church. They didn't let hold important jobs for religious people.
- (31j) Some tried to work together with the regime. ~~But~~ ^{What} ~~is~~ they really wanted to make ^{was} some sort of a compromise between the state and the church.
- (31k) I think they tried to do it about equally but I note that the Catholic church was the greatest and the strongest. Therefore, ~~this~~ was the one that was mainly persecuted.
- (31l) It meant less to the younger people. I wouldn't know exactly why.
- (32) The religious Jews had difficulty in keeping the ritual. One had to work on Saturday. This was the best way to oppose Jewish religious life.
- (32a) There was a duality in that. On one hand many became Communist leaders, but here I have to point out that

all they had in common with Judaism ^{was} ~~were~~ their origin.
On the ^{other} ~~hand~~ most of them were just as much ~~as~~ oppressed
by the regime as were the others. Many took part in
the revolution and many shed blood for it.

- (32b) They were glad because of the revolution. They were
just as badly off under the regime as were the others.
- (32c) I cannot answer this question.
- (33) In the first group there are older people who belong
to the state administration, the party members, the
~~hierarchy~~, the higher ^{party functionaries} ~~parties~~, the paid
protection (AVO), the police, and the courts. In
the second group I would place the directors of great
projects and factories. Next would come the artists.
Then the physicians. Then the skilled workers. Then
the engineers, then the peasants, then the teachers
and students, then the unskilled workers and then the
clerks and petty officials.
- (33a) I belong to the student group.
- (33b) I would have liked to belong to the engineer group.
- (34) I would have advised him to be a physician.
- (34a) He could have made a great amount of money.
- (34b) I would have told him to go to his office every day
with the ^{Szabad Nép} ~~Avanpost~~ in his pocket, that he should talk
alot about Communism, of course from a Communist ^{'s} ~~point~~
point of view and occasionally he should do a good
job. He also should be a party member.
- (34c) The ones who had the best opportunities to be physicians

No. 131

"A" PRETEST

SECTION 8

AO p. 30

were the ones who were born in the preferred social
classes, and could be admitted to the medical school.

(1) Yes.

(1a) Earlier political happenings interested me, as history. And then a person's future, a person's present, depends on politics. The whole future of the world depends on politics.

(1b) I was only a by-stander looking from outside.

(1c) It took a small part; I was interested in it, but this wasn't my main interest.

(1d) No, I didn't.

(1e) I think I was more interested than my surroundings, I was just instinctively interested in it.

(2) My main objections were the lack of freedom of speech. Even though I had grown up in it, I felt it; the whole standard of living was very low, we had trouble in being able to live on the income we had; the teachings in school were far removed from the truth; we were closed out from the whole remaining world; we had to applaud all the Soviet personalities.

(2a) The most important-the heaviest ones were: VI, IX, IV, X, III, II, XI. The least important were I, V, VII, VIII.

(2b) VI and IX

(2c) II and VI

(2d) V

(2e) VII and IV

(2f) Some of the previously mentioned grievances touched them, too, disillusioned and ~~it~~ also some were just ~~disillusioned~~ seeing that practice is very different from the the-

- ory. ^{If} One was limited in ones aspirations, ^{then} ~~they~~ one thought ~~about~~ about those wrongs. However, otherwise one just did not have time to think about them.
- (2h) I talked it over with my friend, ^{Everytime} ~~everytime~~ when a problem arose which was in connection with those things, ^{we} ~~he~~ discussed them then., By '54 and '55 we were already tired of discussing those things. One could not say ones own opinion freely. Starting from '56 however people started to talking politics again anew and people were more and more free in giving their opinion.
- (21) One could ^{help} ~~talk~~ one or two of those ^{grievances} ~~grievances~~ within the Communist regime, but to help things really, truly, one had to eliminate the regime. I couldn't help my grivences (I was not admitted to the university)
- (3) I started to be interested in politics in 1952. Then ^{height} ~~the height~~ of the terror year and I realized that there was some great weight upon us. Imre Nagy's premeirship changed the situation and It ^{became} ~~was~~ better. I wondered what was behind all this. Our apartment was taken away and I wondered what change would change back our situation.
- (3a) No, I did not
- (3b) NO, he did not.
- (3c) ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ III.
- (3d) No, it did not.
- (3e) More than 90% of the population thought the same way as I did. ^{Those} ~~Those~~ who sympatized with the Communists

or were ~~was~~ fellow travelers ^{they were} / ~~they~~ actually ~~were~~
looking for some better living conditions. Around
1948 ^{sympathizers} ~~they~~ were much more ~~sympathizers~~ than later.
^{disillusioned}
People later were ~~disillusioned~~ and the number of
the sympathizers ^{decreased} ~~came down~~ to about 10%.

- (3f) The terror was so great that people could not even think of fighting against the regime. There was no possibility; ^{and} ~~and~~ there is no possibility ^{while} ~~until~~ the Russians are in Hungary.
- (4) It was in the hands of the Russians. They were the ones who directed the Hungarians. They did this through Russian counselors and through the Russian ^{ambassador} ~~ambassador~~ in Hungary. The direction and management was made by the Russians, and the Hungarians only ^{executed their} ~~executed their~~ directions.
- (4a) One can see this because everything was done for the interests of the Russians. For example, all sorts of business connections with Russians ^{were} ~~was~~ made in such a way that only Russia could gain on the deal. Besides any new procedure or any new direction in the USSR was introduced right away into Hungary as well. Hungarian leaders traveled very frequently to the USSR.
- (4b) In smaller deals the Hungarian government decided.
- (4c) Every organization such as police, or government received their directions and their orders from the party.
- (4d) They all received directions from the party.

(5) It followed the will of the USSR.

(5a) Except for the 1956 meeting it had no important role at all. In 1956 the parliament was somewhat freer in its discussions. Until now, they voted for everything without opposition, whatever the party brought before them.

(5b) They had no role at all. They were supposed only to show to the West how the people liked the Hungarian workers' party.

(5c) Yes ^{it} ~~they~~ had and there was a connection between the local councils and the police as ^{the local authorities} they had a great influence on police matters.

(5d) I don't know.

(5e) Yes there were many in 1954 and '55 they were maybe too many to write about them in the newspapers. There was very little money for living and people just tried everything to make some more. There was ^{plenty of} ~~inter~~ of corruption. For example, the meat of the beef which was just slaughtered had a different weight than meat that was ^{already} ~~already~~ several days ^{old.} ~~ago~~. Meat loses from its weight as time passes and when slaughtered houses sold the meat they usually sold it on the price of the meat which already stood for some time, as if it already had lost the supposed weight, ^{which} ~~what~~ meat loses ^{when} it stands, ^{while} ~~while~~ they actually sold fresh meat. As to ^{bribery} ~~primary~~ almost everybody could be bribed only not AVO people, I think.

- (5f) They came from the good Kaders.
- (5g) They came from workers and peasant boys. Their whole family was investigated before they were accepted to be officers of the army. They had advantages, & they had good pay and when an officer left the army he received a good job. Or became a part functionary.
- (6) One didn't have advantages if one was a DISZ member. Everyone was a DISZ member. It was compulsory. One only had to pay the membership fee. If someone was active in the DISZ one had advantages in being admitted into the university.
- (6a) There were no disadvantages either except that one had to pay membership fees and one had to buy the ~~the~~ Szabad Ifjusag newspaper.
- (6b) It was compulsory.
- (6c) It was compulsory.
- (6d) One just couldn't avoid it.
- (6e) People didn't want to be members, because they didn't want to be members of an organization ^{about} ~~with which~~ ^{of which} the ideology and goals/they did not agree.
- (6f) Yes I was a member.
- (6g) I was automatically admitted, ^{or rather} ~~that this~~ compelled to enter it when I was about 13. I entered when the whole class ~~that~~ did.
- (6h) I didn't have any official position there.
- (6i) None.
- (6j) None.

- (6k) I didn't do anything there. The secretaries had quite a lot of work to do. They had to organize the collection of waste paper and other waste materials and they had to do it themselves, too.
- (7) To enter the Communist Party meant, as far as the party members were concerned, to become "The pioneers of the workers". In the last past years it was quite difficult to become a member. One was first only a preliminary member or candidate and he could become such a preliminary member only if he was a functionary in the DISZ, or if he were a well trained engineer. As a matter of fact most engineers were compelled to enter the party.
- (7a) The ones who occupied leading positions or the ones who were the heads of some research institutions were compelled to ^{enter the Party.} ~~enter~~
- (7b) The ones who believed in the Communist doctrine entered the Party, but they were very few. Only about 1% between '54 and '55; and the others who entered were the ones who wanted to change to the bettering of their living conditions.
- (7c) Officially he didn't have any special rights, but not officially he was in a very good position as far as jobs were concerned or salaries. If a party member did something against the law, many times the punishment was much milder than if he had not been a party member. (In certain cases if somebody em-

bezelled some money and he was a good Kader he just was not/punished). A party member had a right to buy a car. Mainly ^{Stachanovists} had cars and some physicians.

(7d) The party member had to be a faithful member of the party. He ~~had~~ ^{had} to be convinced of the party ideology and he ~~had~~ ^{had} to discover all the organizations that were organized against the party. He also had to love the Soviet Union.

(7e) Yes I knew some. I knew the wife of a dentist who entered the party because she wanted ~~that~~ ^{to} her husband ~~should~~ be a head physician in a clinic. ~~in~~ Her husband did not enter the party, but after she entered he really became head physician. I knew the manager or director of a big company whose company was dissolved. The person ^{of} ~~whome~~ - I 'm speaking ~~about~~ ^{" "} was a good Kader, but he was not a party member. For quite some time he could not find a job. Then he entered the party and received a job immediately.

(7f) " Yes there were many. People who didn't have a good Kader or whose father didn't have a good Kader ^{" "} could ~~and~~ not enter.

(7g) No.

(7l) No I was too young and I was a bad Kader.

(7m) Doesnot apply.

(7n) They entered from all sorts of social classes, but the most were workers and very few ["] class strangers. ["]

- (7o) Some of them became more vain, but one could not see other ~~influence~~ influence of the party.
- (7p) The Soviet Union or actually the Bolshevik party of the Soviet Union ^{ran} ~~directed~~ the party. In the country itself the highest organization was the executive council or trust. (végrehajtó bizottság)
- (7q) 100% influence.
- (7r) 100% influence.
- (7s) The higher officers were all party members.
- (7t) 100% influence there too. Trade unions did not do ~~do~~ anything for the ^{interest} ~~interest~~ of the workers. They served the party. They did not keep ^{their} ~~their~~ promises ~~turned~~ to the workers.
- (7u) The churches were in opposition to the party, because ^{churches} ~~they~~ were against the materialistic ideals.
- (8) No I ~~wasn't~~ did not.
- (9) They were a ^{stronghold} ~~stronghold~~ of the Communism only on paper. Very, very few of the members were ^{really} ~~only~~ Communists. It was easier to work through an already organized institution or association, and change suddenly to another direction than to organized a new one.
- (9a) The only influence this education had on the youth was, that the youth started to think and as it started ~~to~~ to think it turned against the party.
- (10) "They were all good Kaders." Many of them were sons of people who immigrated to the USSR already at the time

of the first World War.

(10a)

I don't know.

(10b)

They came mainly from workers and peasant families.

They said that they were faithful to the regime. ~~These~~
These really
~~these~~ people were/trusted.

(10c)

No, they were not.

(10d)

Yes I would make a difference. The informers were usually forced by some threat to be informers. Other AVH members were many times recruited.

(11)

No, we were not.

(12)

I would tell him he shouldn't talk about politics and he shouldn't mix with people whom the regime distrusts. safe.

(12a)

No nobody can be ~~safe~~ There are no safe jobs. Anybody who will say, or do something against the regime, even trouble. ~~from~~ the miners who were very much needed, got into/

(12b)

Yes.

(12c)

It is very great at job or any other place.

(12d)

It has ~~various~~ advantages. These people are trusted by the party. They ~~receive~~ better and better paying positions. ~~It is~~ very difficult to deny ~~one's~~ origin, because many times. ~~because~~ everybodys background is questioned ~~with~~

Sometimes one can disclaim the property of a house or such things. Every project has personnel people, whose job is to inquire about the background of the workers.

(12e)

Yes it can help to receive the right connections or to give bribes on certain occasions. If one has

a serious income one does not depend so much on the party.

(12f) Not every time. If the party wants to show that someone is guilty of something he will be able to show that.

(12g) Yes the class strangers mainly, the ones who had factories, businessmen, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ ^{clergyman,} writers and some clerks.

(13) The AVH has mostly political authority, but they also deal with the- bigger or more important economical issues too. The AVH is the most trusted organization of the regime. The police, work under the AVH, but they deal with criminal cases, or other non political cases. The background of the police people is much less investigated, and much less important, than that of the AVH. The courts depend alot on the AVH, especially when political crimes are concerned.

(13a) One does not have a just trial anywhere. The best possibility is still with the courts.

(13b) They were at the best understanding with each other. ^{cynical}
(In a very ~~sympathetic~~ tone.) It was the party, who har-
monized them.

(13c) I don't know. I had no connections with them.

(14) Yes they were changes.

(14a) At the end of '49 the intensity of the terror grew. In '53 ^{more} still, but still in '53 it started to be milder. In '55 it grew again in intensity, in the beginning of 1956 it again became milder.

- (14b) Yes definitely.
- (15) It played a very important role. Whatever happened in the USSR soon happened in Hungary too.
- (15a) About the most important matters Moscow decided. For example, who should be the secretary of the party and which minister should be removed, ^{who} should come into his place. Also ~~Hungary's~~ Hungary's foreign policy was decided in Moscow. Other matters were decided in Hungary.
- (15b) This was generally known, and it was proved.
- (15c) The Soviet pressure was manifested in the political life, in the cultural life, in education, and indirectly in everything.
- (15d) No I didn't.
- (15e) The strongest it was in politics and education and ^{it is} ~~in~~ ^{to tell} very hard/where it was the least, ^{because} it influenced everything.
- (15f) ^{Factories} which were important from a military point of view ~~in~~ ^{and} the Hungarian Russian projects had Soviet advisers assigned to them.
- (16) No, I do not think so
- (16a) ^{tried} They ~~tried~~ to hide their feelings especially the ones who ~~didn't~~ ^{did not} agree with the regime.
- (16b) For example if one was called to the AVG one ^{would} ~~would not~~ show that he was afraid and would not talk about this incident, altogether, to his neighbors. If people knew he was called to the AVG, for whatever purpose, people

would be afraid to associated with him.

(16c) One could trust only people who were close to him ,
who were close relatives, or very close friends.

(16d) One could talk about sports. There was no danger in-
volved. One had to watch already if one talked about
literature. Small job problems could be discussed too.

(16e) Things varied according to
the waves of
the terror.

(17) Yes if one bribed the bureaucracy.

(17a) No, only such orders or laws could have been avoided
which were not important from the point of view of
the state.

(17b) I didn't have such interests.

(17c) No, if he doesn't do it, than they take it away from him
or they imprison him. It is very dangerous not to give
peasant.
whatever is demanded from the person.

(17d) One couldn't joke too much. Such a change of place was
to be taken as a special trust from the party.
"protekcija". (connections)

(17e) One could do this only with
Because if one person left one's job by ones own will,
one could not receive another job, or had much diffi-
culties to receive another job.

(17f) If one was ~~thrown~~
could
thrown out once (not admitted at the beginning) one ~~had~~
do
/nothing to ~~do~~ One could go to the ministry of edu-
cation and try to ^{appeal} ones case there, I tried
it, but it didn't help.

No. 131

"A" PRETEST

SECTION C

AO

p. ~~13~~

- (18) Party members and people who served the regime can get ahead. Others who behave neutrally to the regime are handicapped/ⁱⁿgetting ahead.
- (19) In certain things there was ~~sabotage~~ ^{sabotage} Students didn't want to study Russian and didn't want to study/^{the}constitution.
- (19a) It was impossible even to think about strike. The peasants had to comply with the regime's demands, some writers simply did not write. There was only a passive opposition to the party and some smaller espionages.
- (19b) The class strangers mainly but also others.
- (19c) Only those groups who had some use or had some advantages from the regime.
- (19d) It grew. People saw that it^{was} possible to criticize the regime.
- (19e) The opposition was a ~~private~~ ^{personal} matter of everybody.
- (19f) I knew that in the party there were different groups, ones who were Moscowites and others who did not comply entirely with the direction given by Moscow. Rakosi was a Moscowite, Nagy was not. They thought first that Kadar was not a Moscowite but later he became one. Within the army they were all sorts of different views but those views and the differences within the party were not publicized.
- (19g) Opposition appeared in smaller things like the interpretation of some orders or in theoretical ~~discussions~~ ^{discussions}.
- (19h) There were ~~not~~ ^{many} but it was very dangerous to tell them.

- (1) I received the information about what was happening in the world mostly from foreign radio broadcasts and from the Hungarian newspapers if I tried to look behind the words of lie and see what was the truth, also I received information from leaflets.
- (1a) The most important source of information was for me the Voice of America.
- (1b) After that came BBC.
- (2a) I read the the Szabad Nép, sport, Magyar Nemzet, Irodalmi Ujság, Színház És Mozi. (theater and movie)
- (2b) I read as they were published. I also read some Western papers if I could get hold of them.
- (2c) I was interested in those papers;
they were informative.
- (2d) Generally I read through the whole paper.
- (2e) Yes except in the Szabad Nép.
- (2f) I liked especially the political part and also the literary part if it wasn't too ~~strongly~~ ^{strongly} Communistic also the sport part.
- (2g) This depended on the events described, but usually I was mostly interested in the political part.
- (2h) We had a wall newspaper in ~~the~~ school, but it stood empty usually.
- (2i) It was mostly empty. Nothing was on it but if there was something it was just the copy of some newspaper articles.
- (2j) Only copy of the newspaper articles.
- (2k) Yes I ^{saw} ~~thought~~ the Life, Time, Abend, and some French sport

papers.

- (21) I received ~~The~~ Life from a teacher of mine who received it from the United States in a package from his relatives. The other two were on the newstands.
- (2m) The Abend was a bit leftist, but one could usually know more of what was happening than from other Leftist newspapers. From ~~The~~ Life I could see how the West Italian lived. There was an ~~Russian~~ Italian Institute connected with the ~~Russian~~ Italian Embassy and I knew some people who use Italian to go there and to read ~~Russian~~ Italian newspapers. It was not illegal to do so, nevertheless, once the people Italian who were caught there reading ~~Russian~~ Italian newspapers were arrested.
- (3) Yes, I went to the movies depending on the films. I a week. usually went twice. If there was something good I went more.
- (3a) (he does not mean cowboy films) Usually I liked to see Western films, Russian films on I liked only if they were ~~about~~ ballet, opera, or some scientific subject. In general we were compelled from school to go and see Russian movies. pictures
- (3b) I liked mostly Italian and French movies.
- (3c) In those pictures there was no political content, but the Russian films were full of it.
- (3d) This depended on the films.
- (3e) Yes, I did realistic and neo-realistic Italian
- (3f) I liked ~~realistic and neo-realistic~~ realistic and neo-realistic Italian films, ~~Russian~~ Italian and French ones. I liked the Roma, the film ~~before the~~ "Before The"

Deluge" "The Unpleasant Ones" and so on.

- (3-) Yes I did go. There was not too much opportunity in Papa, but as soon as I got to Budapest I ~~was~~ went more, even though at that time it was very difficult to get tickets.
- (3h) In general I went about once a week.
- (3i) It did change. One could see even a few new plays from the West, but usually classic plays were performed. The new Western plays were by ^{Jean} ~~John~~ Paul Sartre, Arthur Miller, Pirandello, and Bernard Shaw.
- (4) Yes.
- (4b) I read about 200 to 250.
would tell
- (4c) I ~~rather~~ ~~read~~ the authors: I read from Remarque, Victor Hugo, Anatole France, Bernard Shaw (I read his complete works), Thomas Mann, Stephan Zweig ^{Ostofsky,} ~~Austofsky,~~ Pushkin, Hemingway.
- (4d) I was interested in these books.
- (4e) Sometimes I read about one book in another book, or I read about a book in the history of literature, or I heard about a good book or I just got it in my hands from a friend's library or from somewhere else.
- (4f) In general, to get hold of Western ^{not Iron Curtain} books was quite difficult. People who ^{possessed} ~~possessed~~ them were very careful not to lose them because it was impossible to buy them again.
- (5) Yes I liked to listen to the radio, especially to music, scientific programs, and also the news.

- (5d) I had one. It was a Staub.
- (5c) I was listening to Budapest 1, Budapest 2, ~~Monte Carlo~~ ^{Monte Carlo}
(there was good jazz music ~~there~~), to the station
Rot,
~~the~~ Weiss Rot, The Voice of America, BBC, Free Europe,
some French stations, and Vienna.
- (5d) I liked mainly to listen to music programs, but also
others,
~~other~~ sport included.
- (5e) I listened about a hour and a half a day.
- (5f) I listened to it at home.
- (5g) I liked the sport programs and scientific programs.
- (6) Yes I listened to BBC, The Voice of America,
radio, Free Europe, the Vienna station, and ~~the~~ ^{Rot}
Weiss Rot.
- (6c) I liked those stations. They were interesting. I
46 listened in the evenings behind closed windows and
^{venetian}
closed ~~venetian~~ blinds. It was dangerous to listen
to the Hungarian broadcasts of foreign stations be-
cause people understood them.
- (6e) The foreign stations in general were usually quite
truthful but sometimes they made mistakes.
- (6f) I trusted the Voice of America, the BBC, and the
Paris stations. I didn't trust Free Europe always.
- (7) No I didn't.
- (7a) I wasn't interested. There were usually political
meetings and not interesting for me.
- (8) Yes, many.
- (8a) I usually was informed this way about political news,
especially internal politics and usually this news

were critically minded and became gossips. This way I received the news about Hungary's economic agreement with the USSR, ~~with~~ which was a very disadvantage to Hungary.

(8b) From my acquaintances.

(8c) I received information this way from ^{all} sorts of secret orders (that the police too had the right to do internal deportation), as a matter of matter we too were deported, thrown out from our home, by the police.

(8d) This news in general ^{was} ~~was~~ less trustworthy than was other news. Most of them were rumors. For example, one rumor was that they are going to distribute identification cards, red or white one for ~~the~~ those who were trusted by the party and black ones for those who were not trusted.

(8f) Yes ^{The} ~~the~~ one I just told.

(8g) I heard it ^{from} ~~at~~ my acquaintances.

(8h) They came together only at card parties and each other's apartments.

(8i) Yes they were.

(8j) Those were discussed usually at the working place.

(8k) Yes definitely, for example, there were many who had relatives who were war prisoners in Russia. I also talked to someone who just came back ^{from} ~~from~~ Siberia. He was a physician, ~~but~~ and only as such could escape. He told us about the inhuman ^{conditions} ~~conditions~~ there.

No Pa 58

- (81) Yes I received some leaflets released from American planes.
- (9) There was nobody to turn to . One could receive some general information about it only from Western broadcasts.
- (9a) I turned on the Western stations behind closed windows and closed doors.
- (9b) I listened to the radio.
- (9c) One could read the economic journal or else information from other newspapers. The radio too informed about such news.
- (10) Sport news could be trusted, but cultural news and political news not.
- (10a) One could feel it and one had to get information from many sources.
- (10b) Before the revolution it was quite reliable.
- (10c) The foreign broadcasts.
- (10d) Gossips, Hungarian newspapers and radio as far as the political news were concerned and some other events .
(For example, the Korean news).
- (10e) Yes I think that the Abend was reliable and in general Western newspapers were more reliable than the Hungarian ones.
- (10f) Yes I read it regularly.
- (10g) I liked its daring criticism.
- (11) Yes they did. They waited impatiently for the freeing of Hungary.

- (11a) Everybody even the party members.
- (11b) Does not apply.
- (12) I received it from foreign and Hungarian radio broadcasts and newspapers.
- (12b) I was in the midst of the happenings.
- (12c) There was nothing very important happening in the country from the point of view of the revolution.
- (13) Yes I did.
- (13a) From war prisoners who returned from Russia.
- (13b) ~~No~~ There was no such things.
- (13c) ~~North~~ North Korea.
- (13d) He wasn't guilty of those charges of which he was accused.
- (13e) I knew that Germany was a member of NATO and as such had the right for rearmament.
- (13f) Hungarian newspapers wrote little about it and all I know, I ^{received} ~~know~~ from Western sources. I know that the goal of the uprising was to put down the Soviet regime, but the Soviet tanks put down the uprising.
- (13g) I didn't know much about ^{it} /in Hungary and I knew only through Free Europe that they existed.

- (1) There should be freedom of election, Hungary's dependence from Russia should cease, the peasants should be free to determine whether they want to stay in the TSCS (collective farms). There should be freedom of press and freedom of religion. Private interest should be allowed and respected.
- (1a) I would keep the health insurance (also the help^{the} worker receives during h's sickness, that is a certain amount of his salary). And also, I would retain ^{the} a very small tuition fee in the university.
- (2) Usually every Party which is organized ^{strives} ~~tries~~ to some goals useful for the state and the well-being of the citizens. Not to allow the freedom of organizing parties would hinder the progress of the state.
- (2b) I think that it would hinder the progress of the state if it wouldn't be allowed.
- (2c) By now I would discriminate. I wouldn't let very extremeist parties to organize (no extreme right or extreme left parties)
- (3) Yes, everybody should be free in giving his opinion about everything.
- (3a) I think everybody should have freedom of speech.
- (3b) This depends of what state we are talking about. One should be allowed to criticize a Communist state, but if the criticism is not for the good of the population, but for example made for the good or advantage of a striving politician, it should not be made.
- (4) Yes.

- (4a) This again depends on what regime we are talking about.
- (4b) It is important to have the opportunity to exchange opinions and at meetings this is possible, such discussions can be very useful for the society and the state.
- (4c) This can have a determining importance from the point of view of the state, if there is not freedom to call meetings, then the progress would be hindered, and people would just get used to the bad within the regime.
- (4d) Yes, I would make exceptions in the case of extreme right and extreme leftist parties.
- (4e) This would be justified in case the government would pursue ^a ~~the~~ policy which would be against the interest of the people.
- (5) Yes, I ^{am.} ~~am.~~
- (5a) Heavy industry is the foundation of the national economy. It is important that the national economy should not be in the hands of individual private interests.
- (5b) In case of state ownership, the state is the only owner and has full right of directing and managing the project or factory. In case the state is only directing the factory or ~~the~~ project, then the state is the one which harmonizes the activities of the mines, projects, and factories.
- (5c) Does not apply.
- (5d) No, ^{it is not} ~~it is not~~.

- (6) I don't think there is ~~such a~~ need for this.
- (6a) This isn't of great importance as far as the state interests are concerned.
- (6b) There is a complete overtaking of direction and management when the state has a right to mix in all the affairs of the project or factory, or else the state only decides in the important matters, or else it only provides the general line of direction.
- (6c) I would recommend that those industries should remain in private hands, competition in those industries is healthy for the state.
- (7) Yes,
- (7a) If certain ^{indispensable} ~~indispensable~~ goods would be in private hands, the private owners could raise the prices without limit.
- (7i) Iron and steel industries should be in the hands of the government. In general heavy industries should be.
- (7c) Light industry monopolies are bad.
- (7 8) Whatever went on in Hungary in ^{Planned} ~~which~~ economy was not ^{planned} ~~worthwhile~~ at all. I didn't see any other ~~type~~ economy.
- (8a) Planned economy in Hungary did not succeed.
- (8b) As far as theory is concerned, one can reach wonderful results with ~~planned~~ economy, but as far as practice is concerned, this is not true.
- (8c) According to the papers, in Russia planned economy succeeded very well. I don't know what the truth is, but ^{industrial situation} ~~restoration~~ I know that the ~~restoration~~ looks very poor, so something

is probably not true. As far as Hungary is concerned, planned economy did not work at all. There were huge investments made in heavy industry, and in the meantime, our quite well-developed light industry went to ruin.

(8e) The plans were determined very minutely, for every factory project or mine. Sometimes the factories or projects were asked to hand in their own plan. These plans were made in the last minute and usually without basis. The whole system was very rigid, if the planners saw that the plan would not succeed, or that the production was behind, instead of changing the plan they pressed the workers to do more than they could.

(9) I approve of the post office being in governmental hands. I don't approve completely that the railroads and the airlines should be in governmental hands.

(9a) It's good for those two to be in competition.

(9b) The post office should be in governmental hands and the railroad and airlines should be in private hands.

(10) I approve of that.

(10a) Everybody has the right to work.

(10b) I don't see any danger in this.

(10c) I wouldn't want to pay any special price but I would be very happy.

(11) Yes, they are

(11a) It is not advantageous that the government should have a say in certain things.

- (11b) The government should not have a hand in the direction of the cultural life of the country, and not in the direction and management of certain factories, heavy industry and war industry are of course exceptions.
- (12) Yes.
- (12c) Yes.
- (12d) Yes.
- (12e) Yes.
- (12f) If the masses are fully satisfied, then yes. with the government,
- (13) Yes, they did
- (13a) When I left Hungary, I thought for example, that nothing should be in governmental ownership. Now, I think, the heavy industry should be in governmental hands. If it isn't in government hands, then certain factories could send arms to unfriendly nations.
- (14) (First he answered yes, then he said that actually he didn't know because he didn't live 20 years ago.)
- (14c) A private doctor is more fundamental in diagnosis and in treatment than the clinic is. But the clinic is less expensive.
- (14d) I think that ~~that~~ this is one of the most ~~possible~~ ^{successful} reforms of this government.
- (14e) None.
- (15) I don't know; I'm only 19 years old. I don't know how it was 20 years ago, but I think yes.
- x(15a-b) Do not apply
- (15c) Yes, those things make life pleasanter.

- (15d) The ones who had a greater income have more opportunities to go to performances.
- (15e) Yes.
- (15f) In general, everybody can afford to go to the movies, but to go to the theater is a question of money.
- (16)(a) I don't remember.
- (16b) I don't remember.
- (16c) I don't remember.
- (16d) This is only a question of money. Higher Party functionaries can afford for example, to eat three four times a week meat, once, while just ~~ardings~~ ordinary workers just ~~amaz~~ Workers could never afford to buy oranges for example. These things were reserved to higher income groups, for example, physicians.
- (16e) The ones with higher incomes are better off.
- (17a)(b)(c) I don't know.
- (18) Yes,
- (18a) Many new factories were built (Baukszit, for example)
- (18b) No, this was not advantageous from the point of view of the country, since the light industry was pushed to the background and this was the best developed in the country.
- (18c) Yes. For example, they shouldn't have pressed so much the heavy industry development in Hungary for the disadvantage of the light industry. Light industry was always the basis of Hungarian industry.

- (19) If the members do not want to stay in the collectives, then the collectives should be dissolved and the land distributed. I think that 96%-97% would not want to stay in the collectives.
- (19a) If the members want to keep the collectives, why not.
- (19b) This would depend on what the members want.
- (19c) The land of the dissolved collectives should be distributed among the members.
- (19d) They should be distributed, too.
- (19e) I do not know what it is.
- (19f) Yes, they should be given back within certain limits.
- What should be the limits?
- I don't know enough about agriculture, so it would be hard for me to tell the limits.
- (19g) Yes.
- (19h) It might be possible.
- (19i) Mainly the government.
- (20) The government should sell those to the farmers.
- (20a) No/
- (20b) I would sell them.
- (20c) I would sell them to the individual peasants.
- (20d) I don't know.
- (20e) Yes.
- (20f) Workers should ^{have} ~~make~~ ^{decisions in} that part only in connection with health conditions, protection against accidents, their salaries, and strikes.

- (21a) The union's part should be to secure the interest of the workers.
- (21b) They should be entirely independent.
- (21c) ~~Not~~ compulsory at all.
- (21d) I don't know.
- (21e) Does not apply.
- (21f) Workers councils are needed only if the government is directing the factory. In this case, the workers' councils is a much more qualified organization to handle the special problems of production, than is a clerk or a bureaucrat sent by the government.
- (21g) I don't know.
- (21h) I don't know.
- (21i) Qualified people should be responsible.
- (22) Everybody should be judged according to his past activities.
- (22a) No.
- (22b) Their part should be investigated.
- (22c) Their activities should be investigated too.
- (22d) They too should be investigate.
- (22e) They also should be investigated.
- (22f) They too should be investigated.
- (22g) The courts, the members of the attorneyship should be responsible for ~~disadvantageous~~ ^{disadvantageous} economic agreements.

- (22h) Punishments were done in general according to the above mentioned ideas. In some rare ^{cases} there was no time for the investigation.
- (23) The Russians put great emphasis on "the right education". Hungarian education was the imitation of Russian education. It was very one sided and it was supposed to educate the youth to like the regime, but they did not succeed.
- (23a) I don't know.
- (23b) Between 1953 and 1954 it was hard to be admitted to high school to a "class stranger". There was no freedom of study, and yet freedom to study is included in the constitution.
- (23c) It was bad.
- (23d) It is important that everybody should go to school and study as much as one is capable.
- (24) They should not be dependent on each other.
- (24a) Yes.
- (24b) No, there should be no differences.
- (24c) No, churches can exist from the help of their own members.
- (24d) Whoever wants to study should have the opportunity to study religion.
- (24e) No.
- (25) The Hungarians hold up the Turks and the Tartars in protection of the Western culture, ~~world~~. In 1848 Hungary gave examples to all the other people who were

under foreign domination. The most important contribution to history was this past revolution. Hungary also contributed many fine writers and artists to Western culture. ⁽²⁵⁾ The governments which were popular in Hungary were those of Matyas, of Rakoczi.

(26a) Life in Hungary was ^{like in a} ~~an inner~~ colony.

(26b) Some people just couldn't make anything in Hungary.

(26b) Yes, it did.

(26d) This was bad. There were immense differences between people.

(26e) I don't know, but I think it wasn't the best.

(26f) Yes, they ^{was much inequality.} ~~were very much~~. The nobility had special privileges.

(26g) Hungary should have fought against the Germans.

(26H) During this period there was a certain deconjunction process. It was better than before '44 and after '47 the regime became extremely leftist.

(27) Yes, I think there is such a thing.

(27a) The difference is in ^{temperament} ~~temperament~~. The German person is more thorough; the Hungarian is more enthusiastic and is not as proud as the German is.

(27b) I am prejudiced against the Russians, therefore I couldn't really compare the two.

(27c) I don't know the Americans yet.

(27d) The change ^{started to keep} ~~was~~ in that people/ to themselves and the communal spirit ceased to exist.

- (27e) Yes. (This is the answer on quest. 27f in the English version questionnaire.)
- (28) IN Western Europe, borderl ines are not that important anymore as ^{they are} ~~it is~~ in Eastern Europe, the people of Western Europe are more related/ to each other than the people of Eastern Europe. In Eastern Europe there are many sorts of people, and therefore, boundary lines are necessary.
- (28a) I couldn't explain. It is just needed.
- (28b) Does not apply.
- (28c) Yes.
- (28d) These territories are in Rumania, in Transylvania. Some are in Slovakia, some of those belong now to the U.S.S.R. There are some such territories in Yugoslavia, ^{this country.} in the northern part of ~~these countries~~. It's hard to see the real justice. There are differences between ^{countries} Hungary and the mentioned/for hundreds of years. I believe that we have a right to have those territories, because ~~I feel that~~ I am Hungarian.
- (28e) No, nobody does.
- (28f) The differences between the Hungarians and other nations are not natural, but they developed throughout the years.
- (28g) This is felt, because of territorial discussions against the neighbors.
- (28h) I don't know.
- (28i) Quite well in both countries.
- (28j) Hungarians did not have full rights in Rumania. For example, there was a territory which had Hungarian autonomy, but even in this territory, if there was one

Rumanian child in a school, the language of the school had to be Rumanian. ^{since} Therefore, the Rumanians managed to send at least one Rumanian child to all the Hungarian schools in the territory, there remained no Hungarian school.

(28k)

There are no differences between them. They like each other well. This good relation could be detected especially after the revolution.

(28l)

In general, Hungarians did not feel any dislike against the Yugoslavs and the ^{serbians,} ~~serbs,~~ I don't know about the Hungarians and the mentioned nations in Yugoslavia.

(28m)

The anti-semitism grew because many of the Communist leaders were Jewish. I think this should not have given any right to the rise of anti-semitism, because those leaders were only from Jewish descent, but were not really Jewish in their religion and beliefs.

(28n)

Yes, they are.

(29)

This would be impossible for a Soviet Communist state. Even though, maybe, it could be done.

(29a)

Such a federation should be based on complete equality between the nations, friendship and equal participation in the economic and political life of the federations.

(29b)

Its purpose should be to secure the highest possible standard of living for its members and to smooth the differences between the members. The federations should have a friendly policy ~~to~~ toward the other European nations.

- (29c) The Hungarian's role should be ^{the same} ~~such~~ as the roles of the other Hungarian nations of the federation.
- (29d) I think of the Danubian federation (according to the plans of Kossuth).
- (30) I have the same opinion about the Russians as I would have from any other race or nation. There is ^{an} ~~extremely~~ extremely intelligent part of the nation and a very unintelligent and dull and stupid ^{part}. The latter is much larger than the former.
- (30a) Yes.
- (30b) Yes.
- (30c) No.
- (30d) No, they are quite closed within themselves.
- (30e) ~~The Hungarians~~ ^{The Hungarians} had mixed feelings. On the one hand, they were happy to be freed from the Germans. On the other hand, however, they heard lots of bad things about the Russians and they were worried.
- Who were the ones who were happy?
- The ones who did not like the Germans and who were persecuted by the Germans were glad to see the Russians.
- (30f) By 1943, they already showed their real faith, toward 1943 it was already very much apparent the hatred to the Russians, and from that time on until today it grew steadily.
- (30g) As I said, they ^{were} ~~hated~~ ~~them~~
- (31) It is a wrong theory and it is impossible to put it into practice.

- (31a) I approve of the fact that it tries to better the living conditions of the workers. Marx' biggest ^{can be applied} theory/~~on~~ the conditions of under-developed countries.
- (31b) The one's which cannot be put into practice.
- (31c) I studied Marxism in school.
- (31d) I studied it in high school, in connection with history. We studied it all through the years when we studied history.
- (31e) Only whatever Stalinism changed upon it.
- (31f) I don't believe in Marxist theories. They cannot be put into practice.
- (31g) Yes, he was.
- (31h) No, he wasn't that good any more.
- (31i) I don't know.
- (31j) No, one ~~xxx~~ cannot be both.
- (31k) The Democratic direction, as far as I am concerned, is the direction followed in the United States.
- (31l) Hungary came ~~is~~ close to Democracy between 1945 and '47.
- (31m) Yes, he is a Marxist, but not as strong as Marxist as the Russians.
- (32) Yes, I know what it means. It means the strive for Communism in every country according to the country's conditions. The final purpose is to achieve Socialism but not to become dependent on the U.S.S.R.
- (32a) Yes.

- (32b) people in the
The/camp of Imre Nagy were National Communists and
they fought for national independence (~~which was not~~)
and breaking away from Russia.
Would he
~~would~~ have succeeded in the latter. Imre Nagy could
have gained the public opinion to his side and become
popular in Hungary.
- (32c) Sooner or later Gromulka will fall. Either he will
become more and more influenced by the Russians, or
the Russians will force their influence ^{by ~~by~~ armed force} ~~the Russians~~.
- (32d) Yes, he is.
- (32e) They were some among the National Communists.
- (33) This would have brought ^{basic improvement to} ~~the situation~~ the
situation.
- (33a) It was ^{not} clear what he wanted to do, but it seems he
wanted to organize a social government.
- (34a) It's bad.
- (34b) It's bad.
- (34c) It's bad.
- (34d) It's bad.
- (34e) It is hard to decide. (The respondent looked puzzled
when I asked this question, then he asked me what
imperialism really was. I asked him what he thought
it was. He said he learned in school that imperialism
was the highest summit of Capitalism) .
- (34f) It is good.
- (34g) It is good.

(34h)

It is good.

Why? What do you mean by it? Again for probe 22

a. I can tell from my experience to what Socialism does develop.

b. This is the exploitation of other people.

c. Class struggle causes the downfall of and oppression of one or more classes.

d. Whatever the Communists call popular front, was something made for their purpose.

e. My answer was based on this definition of imperialism which I studied in school which is that imperialism is the highest grade of Capitalism. I don't know how imperialism is defined here.

f. A peace movement can only be good since everyone wants peace. Whatever the Communists meant under peace movement was only a propagandist movement and served only the purposes of the Communists.

g. Now I see how Capitalism and I can't see the difference between Communism and Capitalism and I see Capitalism is much better.

h. Bourgeoisie belongs to the Capitalism.

(35)

I think most Hungarians would have the same opinion.

(36)(a)

They received less.

(36b)

They received less.

(36c)

They received less.

(36d)

They received less.

- (36e) Some of them received more.
- (36f) With the exception of the physicians, they received less.
- (36g) They received less.
- (36h) They received whatever they deserved.
- (36i) They received more.
- (36j) They received less.
- (36k) They received less.
- (36l) They received less.
- (37a) The part of the workers was about the same and they received less than they deserved before '44, too.
There
- (37b) ~~was~~ was no Tsze.
- (37c) They were better off before '44.
- (37d) They were better off before '44.
- (37e) From the state employers, clerks, some of them were better off.
- (37f) They were better off.
- (37g) Students could move around more. They could travel.
- (37h) They were better off.
- (37i) The Communist Party existed only illegally.
- (37j) They were better off.
- (37k) They were better off.
- (37l) They were better off.
- (38)(a) They coincide.
- (38b) They coincide.
- (38c) They are in conflict.
- (38d) They are in conflict.

- (38e) They are in conflict.
- (38f) They are in conflict.
- (38g) They don't coincide entirely.
- (38h) No, things change all the time.
- (38i) They were in conflict.
- (38j) They were in conflict.
- (38k) They were in conflict.
- (39) Only this very small part of the population which
fought with the regime
~~also~~ also during the revolution would fight for the
regime in such a case.
- (39a) The ones who fought against it during the revolution.

- (1a) Some questions are very much undetailed, while others are detailed too much.
- (1b) I think you will gather much interesting material; ^{many} ~~lots~~ of things will come to the surface.
- (1c) I believe that whoever comes here will tell the truth.
- (1d) Yes.
- (1e) I think most of the important things were asked.
- (2a) No.
- (3)(a,b,c) No.
- (3d) Yes, I will ask the people whom I think might want to be interviewed and they will get in touch with you.