

(1) The west knows the entire situation well enough. We must emphasize that the Hungarian revolt was definitely not to reinstitute Fascism, even if a few fascists got into the limelight for a few days. I understand they tried to play a role in Parliament, but as soon as they were found out they were eliminated. Hungary wanted to be a true People's Republic. They wanted an entirely free country without any Soviet interference; re-established our contacts with the west on cultural and other matters.

(2) The University Professors. This Professors was expected to gradually break the power of Diaz. They also started organizing Professors in Budapest, where it was decided to go to Parliament and present their thirteen points. The most important of these were: demand for the withdrawal of the Soviet army from Hungary, free elections, more parties which could participate in the campaigns freely, a general franchise, amnesty for political prisoners, return of Imre Nagy to the government, abolish Russian instruction in schools.

(a) A visitor in 1956 would have found the people in Hungary apparently satisfied. The shops filled with goods and conditions generally satisfactory, but there was not much joy. Only a match was needed to start a revolution. This apparent well-being and satisfaction only proves the size of the terror. Nobody in Hungary, not even the hundred percent Communists were satisfied with conditions but the terror proved the efficiency of the system. Later

during the revolt, a moral disgust overtook us ^{that} ~~as~~ the Avio who were actually our own brothers were our greatest enemies. This group of security police above sergeant was made up of primarily of peasant boys. It is interesting to note how they got in this organization. The majority of the peasants in Hungary was historically exploited. The youth didn't see their future on the farms assured so many went to town, moved away from the land. A large number settled in town and made good, took jobs in factories, but others went into the army and some in the green army, that is the volunteer Avio. They were bedeviled with freedom, money, glitter and they often were selected on the basis of their stupidity. A naive and stupid boy could be impressed and accept the idea of the AVO. The real leaders, however, were a different lot. They were either absolute Communists, dogmatic or else simply Russian civilians living in Hungary. Most of the AVO lived at extremely high standards. They had a wealthy life and they had large pay. They were provided with everything.

(b) Stalin's death was the first thing that shook the Kremlin. It was the starting point at which the government machinery cracked and the satellite people looked around freer.

(c) Imre Nagy tended to the right. He had some good economic ideas and he instituted some good reforms. In fact he almost stepped ~~toppled~~ ~~the~~ power. When it became

apparent that he meant what he said, he was set aside at Moscow's order. One could say that the Leninist theories are in themselves fine if they are followed and it seems that Nagy was an idealistic Leninist, a socialist.

(d) Yes, Tito was the Chinese dog, so called by Rakosi and others. Such devotions impressed people and helped them to think.

(e) The newspaper Szabad Nep wrote editorials on the Party Congress for weeks. While formerly one had to believe much of Soviet propaganda, now we say that if the Kremlin truly wanted they could build idealistic Communism and that they should start doing it. The Twentieth Congress showed that there was no leadership, no idealism present, and the views of true ideas was officially admitted. On the whole the Twentieth Congress was not kept secret and at first one thought that now the Communists are honest about their own mistakes.

(f) Yes, they had a great impact and meant another step forward.

(g) It was presented as a matter of health. To many it showed the complete lack of principles of Moscow when they kicked him out ungratefully from a job he spent a life time to fight and work for. He was nothing but a tool of Moscow. He was helpless without them. His removal proved that no one can truly and sincerely serve Moscow. Not even a Rakosi. I understand he now serves as a concentration camp commander in Siberia.

(h) There was no such specific point. Warsaw meant a lot and the 3 Kiefes movement. The youth apparently could not take it any longer.

(i) Since Stalin's death, terror grew ever stronger. All knew then that something will happen. ~~However~~ However they did not expect to do things themselves but the thought of aid and the solution to come from the West. Before Stalin's death people felt weaker as the terror grew stronger. The events never caught up with people. They were in a fog, they didn't see the truth. He actually fooled people. The Communists, however, felt their growing weakness, particularly after the Twentieth Congress. That they knew what the developments were leading to is obvious from the fact that AVO pay was raised on several occasions, that AVO recruited military draftees for its ranks and this last group during the revolt realized their own role and many sided with the revolt.

(j) Take the average worker. The basic decisive factor was whether he was a party member. If he was not a Communist, he got the worst job. At the University his son was not accepted. Unless he was a party member, he had few chances to earn over, say, 1,000 a month. A gradual and cordial hatred of the regime developed. His son was sometimes recruited to the AVO. He went into passive resistance against the regime. Almost everyone was exposed to terror and although the economic factors were not decisive, they had an important role toward the

development of the revolt. Frequently people who were compromised with the regime, say joined the AVO or another organization, were socially discriminated against. Now economically he had enough money either to buy clothes or else to eat but for his hard work the worker was not remunerated sufficiently. A party member would have a little better income but he still did not have high enough income to compensate for the ideological slavery he was subjected to. The terror itself was unbelievable. Everyone depended in some way on somebody else. When one army division was demobilized after the Geneva Conference the money was used to form a new secret police division. Many were installed as spies and informers in plants. Many of these were shifted ~~xxxx~~ monthly from job to job. The Communists could smell their fate in the air. The lightning struck in Warsaw, but they also had inner enemies. S was one of these first centers of resistance in spite of the fact that it was a major AVO center.

(4) (a) The professors and many outstanding students who led the demonstrations originally wanted to see Russian troops withdrawn from the country. They first wanted freedom and then elections. They also opposed Fascism in any of its form, as much as they west is against it, too.

(c) There is little doubt that students leaders would be Fascists real Communists or wanted free elections and no Soviet power or interference in Hungary.

(d) Everyone had the same goals. Although outside of youth somehow people did not have the same enthusiasm as youth had. Ten years of terror were very suppressive. There was not much leadership from the older generation. There was no central organization, no leadership, no coordination. Everybody wanted to form a free Parliament, a national free army, but there was no propaganda or news distribution and as a result rural areas were not very cooperative in the revolt. This was due mainly that the peasants weren't very enterprising and they were completely controlled by a handful of AVO in each community or village.

(e) The cup was filled. There was no way out. One either had to win or die.

(f) Freedom.

(g) A free independent Hungary. Free elections. Perish the Russians. We are shaking off the prison chains. The name of K was used and first of all Malpra Magyar, the poem by Tetofi.

(h) We hoped to think of freedom from Soviet influence. This meant many things, including the nine wagon loads of dressed pork that were sent to Moscow daily and three wagons of cheese that went off every day. Also we wanted to keep in touch with the West as well as keep in touch with the East in a peaceful way. We would have abolished AVO and created the ideal Socialist state.

(i) One Hundred percent.

(j) It's proof that the regime was far from ideal. It was not a system worth fighting for and true convinced Communists could not even trust themselves entirely either. This was well known overall since by controlling and checking each other they proved that the party members and the party leadership does not trust their own ideas and ideology and they do not trust each other.

(l) We knew that they would intervene, but we trusted in the West to help us. Ten years of propaganda have convinced us of this. Had they not intervened, there would have been no revolution and peaceful readjustment with Moscow would have been possible. This of course would not have meant a hundred percent independent Hungary, as the Russians would have stacked the cards in their favor as you see it in Poland.

(m) No.

(n) The fight was so fierce, no single ideas came out. There was one unified feeling for freedom. Only free elections would have presented different party views.

(o) Yes. The director of one of the Diaz had offices, a man called [REDACTED]. He was an old Moscow Communist whom we kept under guard, asking him throughout the revolt what he thought. He then admitted that he opposed the excesses of the regime. After the revolt, of course, he was back in power.

(5) (a) Yes.

(6) I was on my way to school when in front of the National Theater I received a handbill. This listed thirteen demands which the students would read in a demonstration at the statue of General Bem. We were warned not to sing but be quiet, read the famous poem of Tetofi, and watch that no AVO man hears you. On our way back from the statue some started shouting, "Tear the Red Stars and flags down." The majority of the students turned on those and demanded a quiet demonstration. When the group arrived on Parliament Square, the gymnasium students were there shouting for the return of Imre Nagy. Afraid of any possible difficulties, the students marched on, went passed the square to the Tetofi statue. They again marched over the bridge and then finally returned later in the evening to Parliament Square. At this time shouting was heard to put the star out. This referred to the large Red Star on top of Parliament building, which demand was finally fulfilled at eleven p.m. Nagy finally showed up and he promised to meet with Parliament. Soon people began thinking of the radio station. The writers demanded a free radio. If, at this point, immediate and effective action would have taken, perhaps the revolt could have been avoided. The group now marched to the radio, and while the AVO permitted a delegation to enter the building, soon one man threw some small bomb or hand grenade into the crowd. Apparently someone started machine gunning into the crowd. The next thing was that the corner traffic cop found that they took his pistol from him.

A disguised AVO Red Cross truck was also captured and weapons were taken away. Soon there were enough hand weapons for a group to take on a police station and loot their arms store. The movement now snowballed. Soon we controlled traffic coming this way and we went to the major traffic circles in town. Three of us with one pistol, one rifle and one sub-machine gun went up to the Keleti Eastern Railroad Station and went there to the police station. The strongest one of us knocked down a cop at the entrance, a ticket-taker inside and we were finally ready to burst in. The civil police was having a good time, either celebrating the revolution or else just drinking. There were eight policemen in there also some women. We were scared but then we ordered them against the wall. The police sergeant in charge asked us what we were after. When we told them we wanted arms, he quieted us and told us where his supplies were. He trained us and the boys who came soon after us in the use of the weapons, gave us the ammunition, and sent us forth in peace. He even showed us safety practice. We started checking traffic in front of the Keleti Railroad Station. We found many trucks with young people going into town. We found a few suspicious looking private cars. One of these was a BMW. Two men, a woman and a child were in it. The driver eagerly inquired from us whether we could give him a white flag or some permit so they could rush their sick child to the hospital. The child was apparently in gravest danger. We told them if

they got out for a second, we would look through the car and they could continue their trip without delay. The two men then rose with pistols flashing. One of the boys kicked one in his ankle so hard that he dropped his pistol. They both then lost their heads and raised their arms. We ordered all three out of the car and lined them up against a wall. I got into the car with a flashlight and I saw the baby. It looked very strange. It had a blue face and its eyes were turned out. I have never seen a baby the like of it. I started to investigate closer and I found that the baby's upper half was only there, cut through at the breast instead of its abdomen and legs. I found bottles of nitroglycerin carefully wrapped in cotton. The rest of the car was full with arms and ammunition. I went almost crazy and I cried seeing this outrage. A doctor a little while later told us that the child was cut in half not more than an hour ago. We riddled the two men and the woman with bullets. We stayed on this traffic circle for three days and nights. We took shifts and slept in neighboring apartment houses and ~~we~~ built little embankments for protection. It became a routine job as eighty percent of the private cars were carrying ammunition. For some days victory seemed apparent. There were no tanks in sight during the first five days. Later during the revolt they came and often a column filled a street. If this happened we tried to knock out the first and the last tank, which blocked in the rest in between. Frequently

women and kids fired at the Russians getting out of their tanks while students knocked them out. Later, on Republic Square, we took the Communist Party headquarters of the district. This was located behind the city theater. The AVO escaped here taking lots of food with it. A mission trying to get ⁱⁿ disappeared in the building and that made us realize what was going on. We simply telephoned into the building, but somebody hung up the phone. When someone wanted to enter, they fired on us. In no time the city was alarmed and we got even tanks and guns to conquer the building. People were very upset when they finally took the building and they killed all those inside. I myself went into it and saw many documents, including kader sheets. These were exact personal descriptions of people. It may have been a list of the city districts inhabitants. Exact notes were shown who received foreign mail, or who sent it and where. I was intrigued by finding that many entries were very stupid. Spelling and grammar were often faulty. These comments covered everything: John Smith called Rakosi assheaded; John Pat is under two months supervision and he may not continue to the advanced party course. Another one would be remarked: went to church, but was irregular in attending the study group meetings. There were many torture chambers next to offices. Torture techniques were, of course, highly developed. After November 4th the Communists got more courage. They often spotted and tried to recognize freedom fighters, threatening

them with persecution.

(b) I am a Hungarian.

(c) Difficulty to communicate with other groups was our greatest shortcoming. This was exploited by the Communists and the Russians. They often misled a group by false rumors. Poor communications were one of our major difficulties.

(d) All knew that one's life was risked by participation. Even so many of us did not leave in fear, but to convince the West and especially the United States of our fight on behalf of all the free world. The alternative to Communist rule is that the United States leads the world's liberation, and something must be found to fight them with.

(e) Where one not to participate, one was considered hundred percent communist. No one else would have not participated. Those who did not participate can now earn their reward.

(7) (a) The Hungarian Army fought the Russians after Berlin. There were no AVO in that fighting. Of course, I saw many Russians fight both Hungarian revolutionists and army personnel.

(b) I once saw three Soviet tanks surrounded by eight others and led away towards the East. Some AVO also fought with the revolution, but these were many enlisted men who were drafted into the regular army and then into the AVO. The police themselves were friendly and they helped the revolution as much as they could without committing themselves. They did not fight on either side and behaved

completely passively after they gave their arms to the Freedom Fighters and showed them how to use them. Many from the Hungarian Army came over to fight with the revolution, but they came independently and not in units. Actually the Russians instantly disbanded the troops so the men who came over asked for arms from us.

(c) Certainly. I saw AVO men hung and of course I shot the group, myself, which tried to smuggle in arms. Actually the whole revolution was a people's court. The revolutionary leaders were against execution, but often there was no time and the Russians and the AVO men were frequently instantly shot.

(8) (a) We were often shooting and going ahead without a unit. Some officers who came over from the army tried to unify and organize these groups, but there were only small independent centers without relation with others. There were no large units and even the little units did not last over one or two days, at times only hours. These were mainly groups banded together for one job, for one purpose. We knocked out some tanks or took a building, then we went on our way home to check on our families. Did we return, the units were gone and disbanded so one joined another one. Aside from the Worker's Councils, there were no armed groups with a specific name or identity. Some schools or agencies may have had their units in the beginning but these were again soon disbanded after their specific local tasks were fulfilled and then joined other groups. We tried

to check as well as we could where new members came from.

(d) Some stayed on and some fled.

(e) We had mainly Russian-made sub-machine guns, also two different size pistols and rifles. We also had at times some heavy and some light machine guns taken from Russians, often dismantled from trucks or tanks. At one point we even took two field guns. These were used very carefully since we only had about sixty shells. The boys who have never seen one before used these guns precisely, checking their hits, improving their accuracy and when in the end the ammunition ran out, we blew up the guns with hand grenades.

(f) As a rule, if an army officer joined a group, he attracted the youth to a house. He gave out instructions on what to do next, showed how to use arms, and all jobs were mapped out for this undertaking. Groups were started for just a few hours. There was strong discipline and the groups accepted military directions of an experienced officer. Of course these were people originally trusted by the Communists.

(g) The youth just gave way to military experience and gladly submitted to intelligent planning.

(h) The very same ones.

(i) The commander who would bring his troop in a courtyard would line everyone up. He suggested a plan of action and asked the opinions of all. Actually all could contribute and the smallest boys' questions and suggestions were listened to. Then the leader would work out the plan which

was adopted.

(j) This was of grave importance. We had some motorcycles, but there was no phone in the center of the city working and even if we did have messengers, one couldn't trust them because one didn't know whether they were reliable. No one knew or trusted anybody. Of course, if someone came and asked us to help because a unit or a person was in danger, we would go to help with arms, ammunition and first aid equipment, or else send what we can.

(l) News of American troops intervention spread in no time at all. Much of this apparently originated through the radio. The radio was only free for two or three days during the revolt. The rest of the time it was Communistic.

(n) There was no time for this. Had we had more time, we could have won the revolt.

(o) There were some characters who were unreliable, but these were often stopped, else we all had the same goals.

(p) Very well. The workers were more heavy and perhaps clumsy, the youth were more daring. We all realized the age and temperamental differences and this also fired us on.

(q) There was no single group, although later on there would have developed cooperation and group identity.

- (9) (a) This was good to let off steam with between fighting.
- (10) (a) Papers like Nepszabadasag and Socialis Munkaspart were burned on the spot because these were obvious Communist propaganda efforts. There were some more reliable papers like the Monday newspaper Hatfői Hírlap. To some extent Nepsport and the writers and young peoples papers.
- (b) All had one direction: thought of the outcome of the revolution and all recalled 1848. Even Nepszabadasag propagated ideal Communism. In some instances, newspapers including improper articles were burned.
- (c) Most news, primarily that the United Nations were sending troops to aid us. This as it turned out was a Soviet news trap. The reaction to which was the sadder. We were very unhappy that the other areas of the country were not one hundred percent behind the events in Budapest.
- (d) We heard it all the time. We heard the United Nations meeting reports and broadcasts and we heard Radio Free Europe. None of these were jammed.
- (e) Family news. Mainly in the outlying districts because the downtown area had no phone connections. Later on the outlying phones were also disconnected.
- (f) Radio Free Europe.
- (g) Certainly. We found that the news out of Budapest were controlled by the Russians. They had two main plans, which they put into effect by surrounding the city.

One to starve out the city and two, to stop all exchange of news between the country and the city.

- (11) (a) The party centers were destroyed, those who were present and fighting were killed. Most of them, however, hid.
- (b) They were friendly but passive.
- (c) They either fought or else they fled in disguise.
- (e) The army was disarmed by the Russians and many came over to the revolution.
- (d, f) They did not function.
- (g) The AVO took control and established curfews all over the country.
- (h) They were temporary government agencies, but most of them were still too pro-Red for most people.
- (i) I don't know. They encouraged the people.
- (j) There was no time to re-organize the agencies of government and the Workers Councils took over temporarily.
- (k) Two groups: the Workers Councils and Nemzetorseg or Minute Men. This latter tried to include all people fighting into a common organization and identify them as such. However, there were many differences and two groups were formed. The papers of the first of which were not recognized by the second group. Those people often argued and fought with each other who is and who is not entitled to arms.
- (m) These started in the factories, ~~started~~ elected members openly after a quick review of the delegates past. They did pick excellent people. They aimed to discuss workers matters in Parliament. They was no central agency till November 4th which had its own aims in front.

- (1) All started new parties: the Social Democrats, Workers, etc. They were all aiming for victory and free elections.
- (n) In the height of the battle we turned away from national Communism and wanted full freedom.
- (12) (a) Yes.
- (b) Many of those living in Hungary like the country. This the Russian Army soon realized and replaced them with wild Mongolian types/
- (c) Yes.
- (d) I had a Russian teacher who was a Russian who lived in Hungary since 1944. He also was the party secretary in our school. He changed sides during the revolution, though he is now again secretary of the school. We saw eighty truckloads of civilians moved out of town accompanied by tanks, but these are now all back in their jobs. One heard of others who sided emotionally with the revolt, but probably mainly to protect themselves for the time being. This seems like good common sense.
- (e) Most likely. They were probably instructed to save their skins as they could and to disunite the revolt.
- (g) This is rather complicated. They were all true Communists and often top administrative people were not Russians only, but Chinese, Albanian, Bulgarians. This tended for them to eliminate any dangers of patriotism.
- (h) This proves that their machinery cannot be maintained with terror alone.

- (13) (a) The failure of the United Nations General Assembly to act, lack of ammunition and arms, and lost hope. We tried to save ourselves and fight for our freedoms.
- (b) Five of us got together, we all participated in the revolt, but after many tribulations ~~ix~~ four returned, for they were scared. I went on and came out.
- (c) Yes. We had ~~ix~~ exact plans and complete details.
- (d) To go to school and to help Hungary as much as I can with my art if there are no other means. Finally I want to return to Hungary.
- (e) To go to the West, get arms and return to fight. We thought that they may be willing to arm us, but soon as we reached the West, we saw the political situation and had to give up this plan. We just were not sure at all what the West was willing to do.
- (14) Yes, continually.
- (a) Yes.
- (b) Yes. A free Hungary. We knew the hopelessness of our our fight against Soviet masses, but we wanted to show to the West, we wanted to start the avalanche rolling and get support. The ten years of suffering were not lost.
- (c) I would do it again, but do it more thoroughly, although, of course, Hungary is unable to defeat Russia without the help of the world.
- (d) It's an age old proof that the Hungarians are the most revolutionary and have been ever since 1848, among the

Balkan, Polish and Czech peoples. This time it was the same situation although Warsaw started this one. There is a great desire for freedom in this little people.

- (e) He had some good ideas and he expected to start the ideal socialism. ^A ~~The~~ Communist government of his type would have been the first step. He was unable to do much and he was suppressed and exiled.
- (f) Malter was a good leader. Respondent did not understand the role of Tildy.
- (g) Youth.
- (h) First, students, second, intellectuals, third, soldiers, fourth, workers, fifth, women, sixth, officials, seven, peasants. The last group, poor things, did not help much.
- (i) At first when I grabbed my first pistol, I only trusted myself and Hungary's youth.
- (j) The students realized the phoniness of the books and theories.
- (k) It was revolutionary, that is, it helped the revolt. It encouraged it. We were glad about it.
- (l) They did not see clearly. The revolt came so suddenly that their slow mentality did not decide and grasp the events and their relation to it although they hated the ten years of terror and the brutal delivery system. When one asked their opinion during the revolt, the peasant usually shed tears, but did not reply. All peasants helped people escaping.

Add to question 13:

I thought of escaping often before I did, especially since I was interned once. Somebody grabbed me by the arm and pulled me into a building on the street. I found myself on a truck and jumped off near Debritson heading East. Fortunately I was on the last, the ninth, of the trucks going East.

- (1) (a) Music student concert artist.
- (b) Trumpet player, an outstanding trumpet player.
- (2) I acted as assisting artist at the State National Theater in S and with other smaller musical organizations. I did this for two years.
- (c) None.
- (d) I was not a union member. I could only assist, although I was member of the Budapest Dicz Ensemble which gave me an opportunity to live ~~in~~ in their dormitories.
- (3) From eight in the morning till noon, I was in gymnasium. In the afternoon till eight I was in music school. Three times a week we had rehearsals in the Dicz orchestra from eight to ten p.m. and three times a week when I had an opportunity I played in dance bands from eleven p.m. to three a.m. We did our home work during intermissions and classes. I paid twenty-five florins fee a month in school and fifty florins a month rent. I did not get paid for the work in Dicz. I made all my money during my evening performances in dance orchestras. The highest I ever made was one-hundred and twenty florins one night. The minimum was twenty florins per man, per night. So I had to play six times a week to provide for myself. Any scholarship aid was only for Communist ~~and~~ and secondary schools. Respondent had nothing.
- (i) Professionals made good money.
- (5) (a) See above.
- (b) Seven days a week.
- (c) I did not get any.

- (d) See above.
 - (e) Does not apply.
 - (f) Very seriously in our evening jobs, because we could not come back if we were once late.
 - (g) No.
 - (h) In school it was better not to go than to be late. If the number of latenesses exceeded a limit, one was expelled.
 - (i) This was a stupid system to push people.
 - (j) There must have been several occasions on which the norms were steadily raised.
 - (k) Contests.
- (6) Dad and unhealthy. We had the simplest instruments always borrowed.
- (e) At times we had to take a cab in emergencies in order to make a job deadline after our Disz rehearsals. We usually walked to school and it was a long way. It was close to half an hour walk from Disz where I lived to school. The same distance back for lunch and back to the other school and back for rehearsal and then often an hours walk to the job at night.
- (7) (a) They were all poor students.
- (b) They were good. They emphasized this comparing it with earlier bad practices.
 - (c) Yes, though we were a bit afraid of each other.
 - (d) We kept at least forty per cent of our opinions to ourselves.

- (e) Yes.
- (f) Yes.
- (g) Yes. But we were afraid and tried to avoid it. It made good sense.
- (h) Yes.
- (i) Yes. Entirely especially in admissions procedure.
- (j) If a worker was not a member, he was under constant pressure. This pressure disappeared once he entered. Then they had to go to seminars for indoctrination. These were activated after Stalin's death.
- (k) Many called it the Five Foreign Stamp Club for this is how much monthly membership cost.
- (l-0) I don't know.
- (p) Yes, but not for long. One Stahanovite lath operator became very famous, disappeared after he refused to join the party.
- (.) He was watched.
- (r) This was the basis of the system. It was a great mistake, but they did as they pleased.
- (s) The left freedom's spread which became finally disaster for them.
- (t) Yes. These were very active, changed jobs all the times either when dangered or when mission was accomplished.
- (8) (a) Only few chances for in music there are no such difficulties but if one is not a party member they ask questions.
- (b) Same.
- (d) ~~Thks~~ One this was preferred if possible. Two, most were

afraid of it, but some Communist fathers wanted to push their children. Three, nothing paid well but one wanted a job from which one could live. Four, one was afraid of such a job. Five, an education involved a lot of struggle so one wanted improvements. Six, one was most afraid of a responsible job. Seven, because the big unreasonable requirements could ruin a man in no time if he didn't meet them. One preferred the minimum of responsibility.

- (e) Does not apply.
- (f) My greatest hope could have been membership in the opera orchestra. This was the biggest thing.
- (g) One leads to the other. Ultimately one was afraid of both.
- (i) To travel and see the world, specially since we were cut off from Western music.
- (j) They are still the same.
- (k) I would have liked that.
- 9) (a) To live in fairly satisfactory conditions, each member in the family had to work. All had to provide for themselves. To live with one wage earner providing for all has become impossible.
- (b) I often heard the good old days mentioned, which were before the war.
- (c) Food. This was meager, but at least I could carry on a hard schedule. There was no time for movies or other entertainment. As far as clothing is concerned, one could squeeze it out, but one had to reduce one's other needs

including food, etc. I had an official uniform for my Disz performances which I used for all my performances.

- (d) One. I needed a minimum of a hundred florins per week to live. Two. No other income. Three. No deductions. I wasn't there legally. Four. Same.
- (e) I spend florin a month rent, but we were twelve in a room living in double decker room. It was a large room. The house was very primitive. The heating system was completely out of date. It was sometimes out and they did not let up the heat from the kitchen except if they had excess heat. We slept usually with six blankets and an overcoat. Doors didn't work and the broken window usually took three, four months to fix. In this, Central Head quarters of the Budapest Disz.
- (g) We tried to use about ten florins for food but sometimes we only had a few florins left and at times we lived on two rolls a day - One in the morning and one at night. This situation was especially hard on lone boys like myself. People no longer stood in line, although they still did it for meat. Even this was cut down when prices were raised.
- (h) I had one suit in two years, two pairs of pants and three shirts. I can not pay more than fifteen florins a month for clothes. One could usually buy used clothes a little cheaper.
- (i) Both for new things and used items one used the State store
- (j-k) Does not apply.

- (l) I spent twelve florins for a filling at a dentist. I needed this done for it ~~didn't~~ affected my playing.
- (m) I was honored. After all I was member of the Disz Budapest Artists Ensemble, and I lived in the Disz Central Headquarters.
- (n) I only bought some school books. We could never spend on entertainment.
- (o) I tried to repay loans.
- (10) No, I just covered the crisis of every day but not even a party secretary could really splurge.
 - (a) Yes.
 - (b) Yes.
 - (c) Moscow.
 - (d) I don't know. In the end the mechanization of the human mind and human person drove them largely to revolt.
 - (e) They were not alone. They were never repaid. When they first appeared, they were repaid with interest on time, but on subsequent occasions~~st~~ this did not hold true. First they lengthened the repayment date from five to ten-fifteen and twenty twenty-five years. Everyone knew this was humbug. This was actually compulsory though not on paper. The Communists had to compete with each other how much each of them signed up for. It was their part of the propaganda to contribute each time a new loan came out. The first time it was fair. The later times this whole thing became phony.
 - (f) Any damages due were extracted ten times over. The value

Must have been enormous, for I have often seen train-loads of food directed for Moscow. Usually the stickers on the railroad cars indicated that an Eastern Hungarian border station. Underneath if one tore this off Moscow addresses became obvious, including the exact district to which those were channeled. I know for sure that from Bekescsaba three carloads of pork were sent to Moscow every day. The tails and the feet were sent to Budapest.

(g) Participated in Disz meetings on youth life. About a half of these was always on politics. These were all compulsory.

(11) (a) No. It followed a bad direction and supplied Moscow's needs, whatever they wanted.

(a) Respondent stated that he knew his impressions were wrong, but this is what he knew and this is what he was taught. He did not know the correct answer. The Hungarian Economic Five was not on a high level before 1944. The workers were dissatisfied ever since the early 1930's and industry developed but not as fast as in the West. He thought that there were three million Hungarian unemployed during the thirties. This proved that the capitalistic system could not help assure the security of the workers.

(e) This was improved with the development after 1945 of the Three Year Plan and reconstruction was accomplished. Ninety percent of the task of reconstruction was accomplished as

it was supported by the population of Hungary. Most of the war destruction was eliminated. The Five Year Plan was a different thing. The Russians put tight screws on us and the details of this plan were worked out by Parliament and the engineers and experts in coordination with the Soviet Five Year Plan. Much of this first Five Year Plan was very useful. Adjusted to local conditions..water regulation plans, factory construction, etc. and actually much development did take place. The first plan was finished before schedule. By the time the second plan was to be executed, cheap work and shoddy construction substituted for accomplishment in order to meet deadlines. This plan failed completely and the government itself admitted this failure.

- (h) He had good general directions to reduce heavy industry and turn to agriculture. Apparently soon Moscow began to dislike this and told Rakosi to remove Nagy.
 - (i) They often admitted corrections of mistakes, etc.
 - (j) The situation got gradually worse, but respondent was not too clear on this. There were signs of general decay, however.
- (12) (a) Lack of money and the lack of assurance to provide for the family's needs started the growing disfavor with the Communist regime.
- (b) The terror and the political pressure were worse than the economic factors.

- (c) Workers, first of all. The students secondly. The students saw their parents role and realized their own situation.
- (d) All had the feeling that something must happen, but there was nothing explicit.
- (e) They disliked meetings, seminars, and quite free opinions were ventured of general disapproval. The grave opinions of the writers were a great help.
- (f) In the first heat of it they were not completely with it. They couldn't quite believe it, but later they all came around and they fought heroically.

- (1) I attended eight elementary classes in Segst and Buda-
pest, two years of gymnasium, I started on the third
last fall, and three years of music art school. I was
in the last year of that, last fall.
- (2) Yes.
- (a) See above.
- (b) No.
- (c) Yes, the music school.
- (d) No.
- (e) No.
- (f) I wanted to be a musician.
- (3) (a) I wanted to graduate from the Academy of Music.
(b)(c) Do not apply.
- (4) Yes.
- (c) I needed it for good training and for a job.
- (5) Same
- (6) In music excellent, in grade school excellent, in gymna-
sium medium. I had no time to study.
- (7) Yes.
- (b) Party differences of parents or of student determined his
acceptance.
- (8) All were compulsory.
- (b) Yes.
- (c) Disliked it. It wasn't useful, except for those who were

interest in it.

(d) we didn't have any.

(e) we didn't have any.

(f) This was very useful, although it was not compulsory. It was known as LHK and one could ~~acquire~~ acquire first, second or third degrees of proficiency. One had to be proficient and reach third standards in five out of ten branches of sports. This LHK also had a junior division with similar aims. It was part of the physical education classes. They also had them in factories. You practiced running, swimming, grenade throwing, small ball aiming, high and broad jump, gymnastics, etc. Respondent thought this the best part of his education as it prepared the revolutionary youth exactly as the Communists planned it.

(g) It didn't change youth by introducing Communist ideas into the educational process and ten years of buloney had no effect. This was in oppositeto the official plan. For the minister of education has often made speeches on how well youth adjusts to the new era, but the main center of poisoning youth was in Disz and in the compulsory Uttero. This latter covered children from third to eighth grade, although there were also programs ~~from~~ for the lower grades. In the first year of gymnasium you were automatically accepted in Disz. This was actually compulsory though on paper it was a voluntary membership, but one was a member

before one realized it.

- (b) No such luck.
 - (c) We had to accept their information though we knew that this was at variance with truth. They did not succeed, however, in their objectives.
 - (d) One indication was that during the demonstrations in the first few hours, people were afraid and tried to hush those who were more courageous.
 - (e) During the first eight grades. Though parents often helped the children in their quest for truth.
- (10) Middle class. My father is a fine musician, playing in top orchestras.
- (a) My grandfather was a headwaiter in a fancy restaurant.
- (11) Father in some position, mother's family died.
- (12) He was a musician, played in Budapest, then in ... and later in Legat. He has been in Legat since 1944.
- (c) It is a good job.
 - (d) He went to the music academy but he did not finish.
 - (e) He started me off in music.
- (13) We lived better.
- (a) During the Communist regime, this changed to the worse.
- (14) Poor
- (a) They got divorced in 1948.
 - (b) No.
 - (c) They could not support me.
- (15) (a) Respondent's mother worked as a nursery worker. She headed

a nursery and day care center. Her job wasn't bad but she had a very low salary.. eight hundred florins a month.

(b) Respondent didn't know father's parents at all nor did father. Mother's family was dead.

(16) It had no effect on advancement.

(17) No.

(22) Not in good relationship. Respondent felt he was a burden on them.

(23) (a) Discussions were always in a strained atmosphere for the father had to join the Communist Party, but he was not a convinced Communist. However, he wanted to take no chances with trusting his son's opinions or discretion. Mother was a reactionary like myself, said respondent.

(24) There were no difficulties except as outlined above.

(25) Difficult to answer.

(26) (a) There were no close family ties. Respondent didn't live with family.

(b) In as much as the economic problems create the family problems to a large extent, this was general.

(c) I slept.

(d) I had supper with my mother every night. Then I ran for rehearsals, etc.

(e) Very little time. Sometimes we went for an outing on a Sunday or for a picnic.

(f) I would have enjoyed fresh air and greenery. This is an

important part of freedom.

(27) They weakened.

(a) The economic interferences on the family life generally were responsible. Ten years of socialism did not provide for a quiet and safe family life.

(b) This was a big question, at times yes, but as a result of ten years of Communist rule, I did not even believe my father.

(c) Yes, but only economically.

(d) There was much difference in opinion. Conflict of Communism against the parental education. The Communists tried to develop free thinking minds. They assured youth that everything belongs to it. So many children considered themselves as the treasure and parents job to support and provide for them and serve them.

(e) Yes, it is about the same.

(28) Yes, there must have been some changes.

(b) I understand boys were about 26 and girls 22 before they were permitted to marry. Now they marry at 18 or 20 without parental permission and also without any class distinction.

(c) Yes, all relationships became freer and faster. Before the average courtship took probably twelve to eighteen months, now problems are easier solved by two, so they marry quickly.

(d) Many of the losses one had to suffer in social life, people

tried to recoup in family life.

- (e) Yes, there was much and it was very popular.
- (f) I understand they were stricter, for now it is prohibited. Also women accusing a man could easily win alimony.
- (29)(a) I met him in 1955 at the Wisz and at the Music School. He was a composer.
- (b) He was seventeen years old, of peasant stock although his father was a music school principle in a small town.
- (c) We argued and discussed, especially over day life.
- (d) We had little time for that. We both knew what caused the hardships in our lives, but we had no solution.
- (e) No, although we often fought.
- (f) Yes.
- (g) We respected each other's talents.
- (h) Yes, probably. His busy political occupation and position would have created differences ^{politically} and also economically. He would have led a different better life. He would have become estranged to the common difficulties though not necessarily blind to them.
- (30) Catholics.
- (a) No there were no differences.
- (b) I believe in God though object to certain moves of the clergy.
- (31) Yes to One hundred percent.
- (a) By establishing peace priests and everything under their control lost their independence.

- (b) I don't know.
- (c) I don't know.
- (d) To use it as a weapon for their own policy.
- (e) They wanted to use it for their own ends. They did not prohibit religious functions. They just wanted to channel them.
- (f) Generally against the priesthood and they started with the top.
- (g) Not party members. All were watched and their ledger sheets were accordingly marked.
- (h) Every Sunday. People turned to the church and found satisfaction and peace and relief and compensation after their hard life during the week.
- (i) Youth under fourteen went much less than before 1945, I understand. Students in their teens went in the least numbers. University students went a little more often and older people went more frequently. The youth as a whole did not absorb religion and left religion aside. The older people went in desperation. They had this spiritual satisfaction.
- (j) They tried to put in peace priests everywhere. They had a spy in every church and these were in charge to make sure that the Communist spirit is put into all circulars, masses, letters, whatever they met the public with. Opposition to mass could be shown at times by organizing disorders in the

churches.

- (k) I don't know.
- (l) It means much less.
- (32) I don't like to talk about it.
 - (a) They adjusted quite readily.
 - (b) They did not adjust to the revolt. I have frankly never seen one fighting. Instead they made all efforts to leave the country. Apparently 30,000 came out in the very first days of the revolt.
 - (c) Respondent dislikes them. They should go to Israel voluntarily.
- (33) One most favorable: Communists. Least favorable anti-Communists. In between those of opportunists who have changed their views from time to time. The best circumstances are enjoyed by party chiefs, then by opportunists who serve the propaganda of the regime, then managers of plants and organizations and intellectuals, but these are underpaid in relation to their responsibility. Then come students and artists.
- (34) This depends on one's talent. It is not for someone else to decide. It was common knowledge that if someone wanted make money, he could go to the mine or join the party as a functionary. No one could interfere with one's plans, for it involved a tremendous responsibility. All people were discreet in such matters and took very few chances.

- (b) To ask for responsibility, but this again is the young man's own problem, for responsibility is a two-edged sword.
- (c) No one has been advised.

- (1) Yes, it interests me very much but always secretly.
- (a) From a national standpoint and from a personal point of view.
 - (b) As an outsider.
 - (c) About twenty percent of all my interests were with politics.
 - (d) I had to participate in these activities to live there.
 - (e) Perhaps more interested being member of this exclusive body. Respondent saw his responsibilities, had he not participated, he would have had no chance to continue his studies.
 - (f) Does not apply.
- (2) Everything was a problem.
- (a) These ranged from the individual to the general problem. One cannot pick the order of importance.
 - (b) Of the listed twelve problems the intellectuals would be the hardest hit by numbers 4, 6, 7, and 9.
 - (c) The peasants would be hardest hit by 1, 2, 3, 5, 6.
 - (d) The workers would be hardest hit by 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11.
 - (e) Students would be hardest hit by 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11.
 - (f) Those active in Communist life were greatly disappointed by the false promises of the regime, but actually not many left the party. That was well nigh impossible.
 - (g) One's free time was completely taken up with these problems.
 - (h) At times one didn't even tell one's best friend one's honest opinion. Fear was a status which was pretty automatic and

instilled in all.

- (i) One could only improve a tiny bit and thus one was subject to extreme tensions and frustrations by not being able to do anything out of one's own strength.
- (3) Unknown.
- (b) Not that I know of.
 - (c) Three.
 - (d) Increasing dislike.
 - (e) Many, some tried to orient towards the party. They tried to improve their lot.
 - (f) Only seemingly for actually all were against it as proved by the revolution.
- (4) The real power is in the hand of the AVO. seemingly Rakosi controls the government and the party, but actually the AVO is directly controlled from Moscow. The AVO, the Party and the Government are all serving Moscow's interests.
- (5)(a) To serve the will of Moscow.
- (b) It had no role. Parliament may have tried to improve conditions before the elections, but this was of no use.
 - (c) Their position, again, was based on fear. They scared the peasants and depended on the AVO for action.
 - (d) Rakosi was apparently huge before 1944 but now it is even larger. The government has often openly tried to cut down, though it is continually increasing.
 - (e) Yes. There must be such things in a system of this kind

based on personal rule.

- (f) Those serving the party.
 - (g) Primarily peasants youth. They had a higher ranking job and better pay.
- (6) In some cases one could continue one's studies.
- (a) It took a lot of time.
 - (b) It was compulsory.
 - (c) Yes. Almost impossible to avoid.
 - (d) No one tried to. Only those could who had anti-social family background.
 - (e) It was time wasted. Some thought of later eventual results.
 - (f) Yes.
 - (g) When I entered gymnasium.
 - (h) None.
 - (i) No advantage of membership.
 - (j) Time lost.
 - (k) Hard to say. There were ~~constant~~ continuous demands.
- (7) No one had to enter.
- (b) Those in ~~desperation~~ desperation who hoped to ~~improve~~ ^{improve} their lot by orientating toward the party.
 - (c) I don't know.
 - (d) I don't know.
 - (e) To improve their condition.
 - (f) Some who wanted to improve their conditions but where refused for their past.

- (o) Yes this was obvious either artificially or sincerely.
- (p) M Rakosi, a Russian citizen.
- (q) Decisive.
- (r) Yes strong in spite of their attitudes during the revolt.
- (s) Same.
- (t) Not so much.
- (u) Not so much.
- (8) (a) None.
- (c) All organizations were in the service of the Party.
- (d) Their opinion varied with the organization.
- (e) None.
- (9) The leadership of ~~zhukov~~ ^{the Disz} did not become a center of resistance, but the students themselves have always opposed the Disz leadership and its ideas.
- (10) Frequently peasant boys were mob characters and brutal people.
- (a) This went on in secret with trying to impress people with money or benefits or a higher standard of living or power.
- (b) They were often stupid and as said above of peasant stock, except for the very top leaders all were very young.
- (c) Yes, they were afraid of each other and to get ahead, they denounced each other. They were also afraid of being recognized by the public.
- (d) They were different groups. It was dangerous to be an informer. Their position was even worse than the regular AVI. They started on the bottom.
- (11) Yes, quite a good maintenance.
- (a) This young man was dragged in every other week and received a

good beating, then they sent him home. He was a musician.

- (b) To this day I don't know for what he was called in and tortured. Today he is dead. He never said why he was beaten up. He may have made some remark, but this became never clear. He came home bloody and I often found him lying on the floor in a pool of blood. Once ~~respondent~~ respondent went down to look him up, but the superintendant informed him that he moved away. In the previous several weeks, he could not speak straight any more and sounded drunk. In fact he drank a lot, switching from wine to brandy and hard liquor. He has always refused to give out any details of what happened to him or why. Respondent is sure man is now dead.
- (f) Anyone who generally became suspect.
- (g) Earlier there waves of deportations of those who had relatives in the west or any other such reason. Respondent point blank refused to give any estimate at all of how many personal cases he knows.
- (12) Be careful and try to orient yourself towards the Party.
- (a) No such thing exists.
- (b) Very active and up to date with Party policy changes, that helps, but nothing is really safe.
- (c) This is good help, use it.
- (d) This is no secret and on the other hand it is no advantage either except on paper.
- (e) Possibly on a personal basis.

- (f) This is important in part but it assures nothing.
 - (g) People are ranked according to dissent based on gradual suspicion.
- (13)(a) The police and the courts are about equal. The AVH is the extreme agency.
- (b) There was no difference between them. They were completely coordinated.
 - (c) Possible. Sometimes respondent heard that family members had to investigate and beat up their own relatives. This was of course disgusting.
- (14) Yes, methods were modernized. There were improvements in specialized machinery for torture.
- (b) After Imre Nagy government in 1953, there was a strong upsurge in terror. For his role changed things quite a bit.
- (15) Tremendous influence.
- (a) All central issues decided in Moscow, minor ones in Budapest. Budapest primarily specialized in assorted facets of different issues.
 - (b) From friend in the AVH.
 - (c) The government followed the Soviet pattern officially, but actually they took orders straight from Moscow.
 - (d) These changed their views with the political changes from day to day, but even these had temporary relapses when they escaped^a/discussion or debate, and when they were unable to face the logic of an argument.

- (e) It was strongest in ~~the~~ heavy industry. Probably because of conflict~~xxxxxxxx~~ between Imre Nagy and Moscow.
 - (f) All important organizations and plants had these. If they had not, they would have sent one every where.
- (16) No they don't.
- (a) They are afraid.
 - (b) My whole life is an example.
 - (c) One's very closest friends. One can be honest with them, but one cannot be fully frank in politics even with those.
 - (d) Certainly not politics.
 - (e) Fear was increasing up to summer 1956.
- (17)(a) All had some results and from the smallest to the gravest consequences.
- (b) No.
 - (c) Impossible.
 - (d) I don't know.
 - (e) If he could achieve to be ~~dismissed~~ dismissed with recommendation, yes. If, no, or if his specialty's scarce, impossible
 - (f) I don't know.
- (18) Communists and those orienting toward the Communist Party.
- (19)(a) I don't know.
- (b) The students, the peasants and the workers and the socially degraded class.
 - (c) None. Some artists may not have been very antagonistic, but again they tried to fight the regime in their own way.

through their art.

- (d) It grew since '53.
- (e) There were no groups.
- (f) It was ~~very~~ everywhere and they tried to quiet it, but instead it increased.
- (g) In feelings.
- (h) There were a great number of these and they showed the real views of the population.
- (i) There must have been some opposition and even some sabotage, but this was kept very secret.
- (j) Of course, within Moscow itself at the Twentieth Congress. The discharge of human rights and the return of Bukosi and his subsequent discharge all showed internal differences.
- (k) No.
- (l) Not by itself. Respondent doesn't know this personally too well, although he read the literary journal. He is not too familiar with the activities of the Petofi Circle.

- (1) Radio Free Europe at home, the London BBC and the Voice of America in this order. These broadcasts were listened to at home.
- (2) (a) Saw the paper daily, primarily sports news, saw them all. Szabad nap, Hopszborg, Tuda, etc. this last was a magazine of the Soviet Hungarian Society. By reading the paper daily respondent saw primarily sports news and on some days he started editorials. Respondent always saw magazines.
 - (c) One had to read something. One got the news vaguely and tried to analyze the anti-western statements.
 - (d) Sports and quick world news.
 - (e) Started them sometimes, but they were often involved and dull. Never finished.
 - (f) Can't think of any.
 - (g) Nothing in particular.
 - (h) Yes.
 - (i) Not much importance, they always had stale news.
 - (j) They covered news on major trends, ideas and opinions of leaders.
 - (k) Some German papers, picture and sports magazines, some French fashion magazines., also French and Italian movie and sports magazines.
 - (l) These were sold at the newsstands.
 - (m) They were objects of great interest.

- (3) We always saw at least two French or Italian films a month. These we saw in the first run movie houses. This was a refuge. We saw all the foreign films, French, Italian, Swedish, whatever they let in.
- (c) Nothing in foreign films, this was all cut out, but the domestic ones were filled with politics.
- (d) This was refreshing and an escape.
- (e) I was perhaps ten times in ten years. Saw some classics. Moliere, Shakespeare. Respondent particularly interested in reading scripts of plays.
- (h) The National Theater.
- (i) Hard to say.
- (4) No time for books.
- (b) We all read about a thousand a year. One read one during each class. You had to pay one florin to read it. They were prohibited and students and teachers connived for them equally - especially westerns. These were read with greatest avidity. Once when our strictest professor was sick, we visited him in the hospital and by accident noticed a bunch of books right under his pillow. Reading these was illegal, but we had tremendous passion for them. They told us about the West in a foolish way and they meant wonderful escape. Serious books I read included: ~~OLIVER TWIST~~ ~~THE~~ ~~BOOK~~ ~~OF~~ ~~THE~~ ~~BLOODY~~ ~~HAND~~ ~~?~~ etc. At one time one could buy a mimeo-

graph western story in which Communist Party functionaries played a foolish role. One of them, The Party Secretary in New York, was a riot, but those were soon suppressed completely and disappeared. One could never trace them down again.

- (d) These meant complete disassociation with the present.
 - (e) In the library you pick what you find. Most of the good books were never available. I did read much of Jules Verne, though, but these were very hard to find.
 - (f) Yes, serious books were most difficult to locate. One had to wait for months in the library.
- (5) Yes.
- (b) No.
 - (c) Local, else western stations.
 - (d) Musical programs and scholarly informative programs.
 - (e) Only minutes a day.
 - (f) At home, at my mother's, evenings. Then also at the Disc Center. There we had compulsory attendance of Rakosi's speeches, etc. Once we sabotaged it by taking away the tubes from the radio. ^{At} that time people dared to joke by making anonymous remarks out of the crowd about the situation.
 - (g) The Saturday end of week music program. Thanks to the ^{directors} ~~managers~~ of the station in the last period, we received these programs free of politics.
- (6) Yes.

- (b) Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, Belgrade for their music programs. Belgrade's news changed tremendously ~~xxxx~~ with political changes taking place. Generally for news we listened to western stations to find out real developments. Curiously not many heard or admitted hearing Free Europe broadcasts.
- (f) One hundred per cent depended on them and trusted them, but in the revolution we were disappointed. One very much hopes that the radio which has the country's faith in its hands for a few weeks, must not again resign this responsibility in the gravest peril. For if they are not for a free Europe, why is it their name?
- (7) Yes. Preceding our music we always had long lectures to attend. These were on economic and political matters. Actually everybody slept through the meetings, including the orchestra, in an absurd way.
- (c) We had to go to perform.
- (d) About three times a week, but with special dispensation, we often skipped the program preceding the music.
- (e) Politics and economics, but they were very dull.
- (f) Usually factory and office management.
- (g) These were painfully long, respondent insisted, indeed they took several hours to listen to a complete production meeting.
- (h) Everyone was bored, but there was a roll call and everyone went.
- (i) Yes, they did. In fact it was so organized in advance that

people got slips of paper telling them who they followed in asking when and what question. He had to read his script on time. Respondent himself refused to read once and when called to talk afterward, noted he wasn't sure in what order he was to give his comments. His number was smudged on the slip.

- (8) Scare rumors very often. During the revolt that the Americans were coming.
- (b) From fixum friends or acquaintances. At times one overheard a conversation on the street. Usually one heard it from boys.
 - (f) Yes, there were many scare rumors.
 - (h) There was no place to meet. Friends met in a room where sometimes we talked before concerts, but there was very little politics discussed there, mainly non-political questions were talked about.
 - (i) People more interested in news had better sources, often more time and better equipment.
 - (j) See above.
 - (k) One tried to find out from these the internal workings of the AVH, etc.
 - (l) Mainly detective stories.
- (9) Through the local official newspapers.
- (a) Radio, foreign news
 - (b) Radio or newspaper.
 - (c) Papers, magazines.

- (10)(a) One always had to read between the lines.
- (b) The press became somewhat more reliable.
- (c) Sports news. Even here, though, they lied about the reasons for suspension of players.
- (d) Don't know. In the last months the H H was quite good.
- (e) Yes, there were such.
- (f) Yes, it was getting more and more realistic and honest.
- (11) Under much suppression, the people's minds were dulled.
- (a) Those position deteriorated or improved with the development of the regime, those people tried to find out news unfavorable to the regime.
- (b) Those blinded or afraid of a change, safeguarding their own favorite positions.
- (12) Through the radio primarily Radio Free Europe.
- (a) This was the most reliable.
- (b) One found out for himself. The radio itself in Hungary was hated.
- (c) Only through personal contacts.
- (13) (a) Yes. These were operating for war and political prisoners. One knew of them through the West and also from escaped or discharged inmates.
- (b) Yes, I believed it.
- (c) We never had much news on that, but I heard that the U.S. did, because they wanted to extend their bases in Asia.
- (d) I don't know.

- (e) They tried to re-arm with American aid to start World War III. We believed this in the past.
- (f) We knew faintly that some disorders took place.
- (g) Not much good. They were not very productive and could not help Hungary, although we counted on them, they failed largely.
- (f) (Why did the Americans actually place explosives in those ~~missile~~ balloons, why did they send those balloons? Respondent ~~xxx~~ saw them with his own eyes and heard stories of peasants maimed and children killed. This was murder-
caused
ous and irresponsible. Also they ~~xxxxx~~ several plane accidents.)

- (1) Complete reforms are needed. We must have a free Hungary. Not one single individual ~~has~~ must head the country, but Parliament fully responsible and fully representative. Each minister must have his own area of responsibility in the social life of the country. Free elections should pick a free parliament. Communists would still be admitted in Hungary, but one should watch that those with any role in the past Communist regime should not have any say whatsoever in the new government, not even one percent of those who have compromised themselves should be in positions of power. One would think that those who are living in the West should be the most reliable.
- (b) Nothing at all.
- (2) Naturally.
- (a) So that all feelings and wills can be expressed to form a harmonic whole.
- (b) All feel their freedom and should be able to express themselves.
- (c) No.
- (3) Yes. For any limits must be due to a weakness of the government.
- (b) No. The State should defend itself against all action on its own grounds.
- (4) Yes. If an ideal government is attacked, the government must be able to defend itself. The State should be able to defend itself against Communism.

- (b) Because it is a good government.
 - (c) To stop the further development of the Communists, the government must do everything to control them.
 - (e) Respondent cannot image conditions under which violence would be justified.
- (5)(a) It is good to have central direction and if industry is not based on exploitation. This is good inasmuch as in a new state construction preferences can be given to most important things and unnecessary developments or investments can be avoided. A central planning and a central budget can be better carried out by the state. One can better decide what is possible and where to get the resources from, where to give it to. The economy must be balanced.
- (b) Respondent doesn't know.
 - (c) Respondent approves.
 - (d) As respondent learned it, yes. He disapproves of it hundred percent, for it sooner or later exploits the workers. Of course he doesn't disapprove of it as he sees it developing in the United States. All should get the fruits of their labor be it from ownership, which in turn was the fruit of their labor.
- (6) Respondent emphasized this is what he learned although this may not be accurate.
- (a) Yes. Although question is a little above his head. The government can work on a statistical basis not under a competitive system under which one gets excessive production at

times.

- (b) The different branches and fields of industry and the economy like food, etc. depend on the ministries capacity/^{in detail}and specialization.
- (7) It is good to have it, it means extra income and it was historically good especially boxite and things of this sort.
- (b) Boxite. These questions depend on the natural conditions and resources of the state.
- (c) Those which are covering up some secret private profit.
- (8) One couldn't see out to watch the West, but one saw the East and this wasn't bad, it was useful. Reforestation, etc., were very useful projects. Water control also. The trouble was that~~there~~ there were no changes made in Moscow's ideological policies. No new additions or subtractions made.
- (b) An altogether narrow theory was established and then it was attempted to put it into practice without respect for local conditions and one couldn't express opinions toward changes recommended.
- (c) The attempts to transplant Soviet patterns of planning to Hungary proved unsuccessful.
- (d) It did have dangers.
- (e) It was too rigid and blindly followed a pattern. It disregarded local conditions and as it becomes visible in the second Five Year Plan, it failed.
- (9) (a) Yes. These agencies belong to state direction and ownership.

- (b) There should be no difference.
- (10)(a) Of course, I approve.
- (b) There is danger if job is not ~~given~~ guaranteed. There is no danger if it is guaranteed.
- (c) Anyone could take any job they wanted, but if a worker turns to the government for help, he should accept whatever job they find for him.
- (11) There must be such, but which? Perhaps press, literature, the arts, free speech and personal freedoms should not be interfered with.
- (a) These are the most important factors and the State is obliged to respect these.
- (12)(b) Yes.
- (c,d,e) Yes.
- (f) Yes, if complete harmony exists between the population and the popularly elected government.
- (13) Generally yes. Especially about things from which the Communists tried to shut us out. We know everything wasn't good and many things were bad, but now we know what is good and what is bad.
- (14)(a) Yes, but this was ridiculously slow. Only now I realize ~~that~~ ^{said} respondent how backward medicine is in Hungary since medicines sent to the father recently unavailable there as too now are here already outdated drugs. The unified health insurance organization is quite good and all can get their medical treat-

ment who are covered. This is not too expensive for the whole family. Now that they unified it nationwide, it is cheaper and reorganized, there are no special class distinctions in medical treatment.

- (c) The average worker cannot afford a private doctor. Ninety percent of the people have to go to the health centers.
- (d) It's not very efficient. A worker may not get his compensation until he is half dead, even then he has to put up a hard fight for this money.

- (15)(a) There is a general development of culture, primarily because people try to escape from the terror and the darkness.
- (b) The oldsters didn't take well to the new propaganda arts. They see propaganda in everything and indeed there is much. The Soviets flood the country with Soviet artists, arts, and trying to hide their own inferior quality. All entertainment is propagandized, making it dull. The few French and Italian films one can see are a great relief.
- (d) Workers, non-Party members don't have the money. Most people have taken to sports and outdoor activities.

- (16)(a) As one's elders say 'the good old days' were better.
- (b) 1946 was not very bad. The florin had its good value and people had a fair income. Life must have been better then. With the Communist take over, however, standard of living gradually declined.
- (c) This period saw the deterioration of money, and most workers

lost interest in their work and the quality of their workmanship. This showed everywhere. Both monetary inflation and the deteriorating of goods showed in everything.

- (d) Naturally if one worked in a store and could take care of one's own family a little better, that was possible, but this again hurt the rest of the population.
 - (e) Party members had ^{it} the easiest, non-members/^{the}hardest. The passives were also among the hardest hit.
- (17)(a) There was a gradual improvement in fashion styles. New trends were introduced but the quality suffered from poor work as the workers were interested in meeting quotas not create good quality.
- (b) By that time Moscow fashions were successfully rejected I understand. Hungarian shoes are outstanding and they are surprisingly good in quality still.
 - (c) Party members could get dressed better. Some people didn't eat much, but they preferred to spend their income on money. One's first impression of these people is that they must be Communist, for they are so well dressed.
- (18) Yes, we ~~liked~~ find there ~~was~~ were inevitable improvements in technology though development was behind the West. Yes, this is favorable though central direction of the economic growth favored Moscow. We must discount some benefits of the development in Moscow's interest.
- (c) Certainly, this is clear also from the frequent changes in the ministries. They attempted reforms. Nagy complained

that agriculture was neglected at the expense of heavy industry, but Moscow stepped in and stopped his plans at reform.

- (19)(a) This meant the complete exploitation of the peasantry. Peasants in _____ were about twenty percent better off than those on state farms.
- (b) They should all be destroyed for this system will never gain the approval of the peasants if the state controls it. The peasant wants a free hand to work on his own and for his own property. Some cooperation is fine, but this must be worked out to the mutual benefit of the members of this cooperative. If the peasant could work for the free market, improve in competition and his production would be improved and this in turn would abolish the state's main worry.
- (c) Land should be distributed justly without selfishness. A state agency should decide on the distribution and for this they should use competent peasants to advise.
- (d) The same.
- (f) No, this would not be right in Hungary. The peasant wants to own his land.
- (g) One should check who had what. Must see what was taken away. There should be realistic restitution to provide general satisfaction and a new distribution of land should take place.
- (h) Yes, this is possible. Ideally it would increase output and has the advantage of rationalised production, but still the

land should first be completely distributed and if then whoever wants to join a co-op, they should, fine.

- (1) Only the state. They exploit these.
- (20) It is possible to see them in either state or private ownership. It's ideal if they can be utilized cheaply for plowing and other chores.
 - (a) Yes, they had norm contests. These didn't mean good work and the results were poor crops. They never plowed, they just scratched the surface.
 - (e) Yes.
- (21)(a) To push the ideas of the workers and to represent their welfare.
 - (b) It is not bad if they had cooperated with the state.
 - (c) Yes, all workers.
 - (d) Follow all regulations provisions of membership.
 - (e) This was completely political and it did not mean any protection of the workers interests.
 - (f) To represent the workers in the revolution temporarily. They may have been preserved in a subordinate position to the unions.
 - (g) They developed by themselves, quickly representing the workers in the revolt.
 - (h) Probably. Historically the workers were the most revolutionary. They are politically conscious and they could

have forced results even under the Communist regime though it tried to kill them.

- (i) The directors, to direct but not to command.
- (22)(a) People's courts would have to clear up their past ten years, their role, their functions, how they joined, this all must be clarified and the court must condemn those responsible for crimes.
- (b,c,d) It should be noted in every case why they joined, how they entered and it must be explained how they acted. The lack of faith in the Communist party ideas is obvious everywhere, thus they only joined for personal advantage, if they had done much harm they should be punished, however, those who proved themselves in the revolt should be cleared.
- (e) All in school had to join, this must be taken into account.
- (f) Must replace the police and in ure singly into their activities, but the AVH must be judged more strictly. This was not child's play especially with volunteers. There is no room for leniency.
- (23) This is very important, for the older people could not be changed in their patterns, but the youth could be brought up in the new ideas. Therefore, the youth was strongly favored. Why then did they fail to convince youth? Because Hungary's youth did not study with shut eyes and visors. The youth saw deeper than the Communists wanted them to see. They cherished the old Hungarian spirit, lit-

erature and looked deeper into the social facts. The Communists thought to win Hungary's youth with free shows, free vacations, but this did not change their views and they knew that the Red system fed them with nonsense.

- (a) Respondent cannot compare ~~not~~ not knowing the former.
 - (b) On paper, yes, but people are so poor and practically, no. Education is a major calvary for the youth today.
 - (c) This is bad.
 - (d) Yes, it is best to imagine, it's also best for the state.
- (24)(a) No, there should not be full independence but the state must give full freedom over religious observances. There should be contact between the Pope, etc.
- (b) They should all be under the same system.
 - (c) Certainly, the Church and the State should work hand in hand.
 - (d) Yes, certainly it should be in general use.
 - (e) The church should contribute in good measure to the general curriculum.
- (25) 1848 was the year of a great Hungarian revolution, it is the outstanding fact in 1956 revolt. Not only Europe but the whole world shook in excitement. It showed to the world that the Communist idea is not worthy of existence in the world. It should be abolished. It also showed what it would be like in the world with Communism spread everywhere.
- (26)(a) Undesirable. Better than a prison system though, but all

know that they fully suppressed Hungary. It was not as bad though in spite of this as it is now.

- (b) Possibly because they did not find proper ~~livelihood~~ ^{livelihood.}
They could not provide for their families.
- (c) Yes. Some had it good. The small landowners had it good. The rest had it bad. The peasants were suppressed.
- (e) The situation was not satisfactory for the worker and the peasant. Yet it was still better than it was under the Communist regime. The old system had many bad aspects.
- (f) Yes.
- (g) Should not have participated in the war with the Axis.
- (h) There was great progress in contrast with the previous system and the peasants and workers were fooled with the development of an ideal socialism. The results of the Three Year Plan were very good and the land started to flourish.
- (27) (a) It does not have much leadership. If a sensitive foreigner wanted to intervene, they usually could. They did it usually by ruse and force, but the Hungarians do have Hungarian courage. Translate Virtus, and they don't have much willingness to put up with foreign rule. They always lacked leadership to coordinate the wishes of all. The Hungarian character is different from the other ones. He usually stops at the wrong time. Either too early or too late in his activities.
- (d) No, it developed and his Virtus, courage, became stronger.

- (e) Quite so. They are different colorations of the same thing.
- (18) The borders should be wiped out, for they do not assure safety and they reflect a prison of each country for itself. Ideally these borders are not important, especially since one can never find a mutual agreement where they should be.
- (c) Yes, century old borders for which the Hungarians fought and conquered and they enclosed these lands into their brotherly bosom. Peoples would generally prefer to be back in Hungary if their freedoms are guaranteed. The Hungarians took these lands with their blood and sweat and they should have them. There is no feeling of submission in the Croats. There should be a union, not a colony.
- (e) No.
- (f) Some differences.
- (g) Not real, but they were fostered by leading nations trying to have fights ^{between Slavs,} ~~between Slavs,~~ Hungarians, etc. There are a few enmities now with the Serbs. The Austrians and the Hungarians have buried the old hatchet since this revolt, with the Czechs there is strong opposition, there is less with the Rumanians, but there is no real oppositions between Serbs, Croats and Hungarians. These were artificially created in the past.
- (m) Not well. They did not help in any way in the development of a free Hungarian national life.

- (n) No.
- (29) This could have good results. East central Europe security factor would transfer these areas into a great power if they were united.
- (b) This could aim to ~~political~~ ^{political} mutual aid, improved relations between the countries and later between this union and the West. It would benefit all.
- (c) None of the countries should have any predominate voice. They should have representatives meet, select joint executives, and rotate the top jobs.
- (d) A Danube federation would have fine results.
- (30)(a) There are different ones. There are sixteen republics. The intelligensia in Russia is not pro-Moscow. If this view could be strong and hard, they could be able to subdue a big state. The youth is the great hope of Russia, but they will be changing the Russian system. There were serious demonstrations at Moscow and Leningrad Universities. The new generation is different. It may, one day, turn to ideal Leninism. This would be beneficial.
- (c) The main thing is, they all support the government. There is no time to combat all forces which would change the system from within.
- (d) Yes, before the revolution he represented entirely the Moscow line, now he admits that the Moscow policy will not have good results. This our Russian teacher often ran out of class if he felt he was losing an argument. He

couldn't take a debate or logic, else he changed the topic or used his authority.

- (e) Friendly. They brought liberation. There were differing views before '46, but since 1948 they have spoiled it all.
- (31)(a) Fine idea. Its ~~xxxx~~ realization is beautiful on paper, but after Lenin's death the paper was torn up and the country and the program was Stalinized. Thus, it became a military force state ready to conquer the world.
- (b) Much of it is vague and it's been abused by Stalin.
 - (c) I learned it in school.
 - (d) It was part of the history class. There were no specific ~~xxxxxx~~ courses in Marxism in secondary schools. We covered the main aspects, the lives and works of the main proponents of Marxism and Communism. All this, of course, was pre-digested for our use in secondary school.
 - (e) Nothing, they had received it ready made from Moscow.
 - (g) Yes.
 - (h) No.
 - (i) Don't know.
 - (j) Perhaps.
 - (k) It's hard to answer.
 - (l) Don't know.
 - (m) He changes around as the wind blows.
- (32) Last year's events started out with this in mind.
- (b) They thought that freedom from Moscow could be achieved.

- (c) Had he avoided voting last spring, Russians would have conquered Poland. He proves that it's possible to oppose Russia alone without the West.
- (d) Yes.
- (e) There is no such thing.
- (33) Yes, similarly like Tito, he would have tried to be independent of Moscow. Relations would have been open with Moscow ~~MEMBER~~ not secret commands received from there, but Hungary changed its mind on this in the middle of the revolt and saw now no solution in this.
- (34)(a) Good. Ideally, good that is.
- (b) Bad. Entirely bad.
- (c) Neither good nor bad. It could have good or bad results. It could also end in cooperation.
- (d) ~~Bad~~ Bad something is covered up.
- (e) ~~Bad~~ Bad.
- (f) Good. To use atomic energy for peace and decrease international tensions.
- (g) Bad.
- (h) Bad. Wherever not the workers are in charge it is bad.
- (35) Greatly different.
- (36)(a) Got too little
- (b) Got too little.
- (c) Got too little.
- (d) Got even less.
- (e) Got what they deserve.

- (f) Got less than deserved.
 - (g) Less than ^{what they} deserved.
 - (h) A group of the artists got much more than they deserved,
others less than they deserved.
 - (i) Got more than they deserved.
 - (j) Got less than what they deserved.
 - (k) Didn't get enough.
 - (l) Got very little.
- (37)
- (a) Were better off than now.
 - (b) Were better off than now.
 - (c) Were better off than now.
 - (d) Were better off than now.
 - (e) Were better off than now.
 - (f) Were better off than now.
 - (g) Were generally better off than now.
 - (h) Are better off than now in part.
 - (i) Are better off now.
 - (j) Are worse off today.
 - (k) Are worse off.
 - (l) Are worse off.
- (38)
- (a) Harmonized.
 - (b) Harmonized.
 - (c) Opposed.
 - (d) Opposed.
 - (e) Harmonized.

- (f) Opposed.
 - (g) Harmonized.
 - (h) This is continually changing.
 - (i) They were together.
 - (j) They were against each other.
 - (k) They were against each other.
- (39) All except spies and AVH men would fight, even the biggest Communists would turn around.

- (1) How to get ahold of this material to see what the other Hungarians opinions are. Would it be possible to print and distribute this information to further Hungarian unity and to see all sides clearly.
 - (a) Very useful.
 - (b) I know it can have great results and it will influence world opinion on the true nature of Communism over the scars of Hungary.
 - (c) In some problems differences appear. Leave these difference, don't try to synthesize them.
 - (d) Beware of misled Communist directed people.
- (2) I certainly expect to go back, if Hungary is free.
- (3) (c) Not necessarily.