

- (1) It was a general revolution. This national revolution was against Russia, against Communism, and it was especially motivated by the feeling of a Slavic suppressor.
~~suppressor.~~
- (2) Thinks that the whole thing started with the twentieth congress in Moscow.
- (2a) After the twentieth congress.
- (2b) After Stalin's death doubts have developed and a revolution has begun.
The position of Rakosi was shaken.
- (2c) Imre Nagy got into it by chance.
- (2d) Yes. The strict party discipline started to loosen and grave doubts developed in the different elements of the party membership.
- (2e) Positively the twentieth congress had greatly effected the development of the Hungarian revolution. He got the news through the American and British radio broadcasting. The authority of Stalin was torn into pieces, and his god-like position in the ka hierarchy ended. We learned that in Russia this process brought forth the liberation of some elements and then their views in the party, and certain persecutions ended.
- (2f) Poznan had not directly effected Hungarians, yet it was received with general joy and nothing else.
- (2g) With Rakosi's replacement he ~~mean~~ thought that a new era will commence. It was looked upon as the first signs of party disintegration which will be followed by a general trend of easing the strict party discipline.
- (2h) At the outbreak of the Korean war he meant a change is at hand. He believed that the United Nations and Russia will be involved in a war and the United Nations will be the victors.
- (2i) He did not believe in a big political change but in a progressive revolution like in Poland. The press brought some minor criticism of local issues. For instance, there was discussion in the press why didn't the government send ~~some~~ one of the Delacroix paintings to Italy where a Delacroix exhibition took place. They charged the authorities of great negligence, and similar

criticism had appeared but not on party issues.

- (3a) The major factors leading to the revolt were the suppression of the Hungarian national feeling and the need for the general spiritual relief from suppression. Economic reasons were not primary reasons rather secondary.
- (3b) People doubted that the situation of 1848 and 1849 will be repeated. Nobody went hungry in Hungary and ^{these} ~~their~~ specific conditions in economic matters did not prove sufficient for the revolution.
- (3c) People thought that the Petöfi Circle's action played an important role in formulating the requirements of public opinion. They were the first who came out requesting freedom. Their clearly formulated demands such as the withdrawal of the Russian army and that Imre Nagy should be prime minister, that the uranium mines should be restored to Hungary's property, and the Kossuth emblem should again be the symbol of Hungarian sovereignty, started the process. They wanted a free and independent paper to be published without censorship, and at this point the feeling of an oppressed people came into motion.
- (4a) People had no definitive goals in mind but the termination of the system.
- (4b) The revolution was like a thunderstorm in the air. The suppressed feeling of the people had to revolt and find an outlet.
- ^c
(4c) It was unplanned and instantaneous in which people in different walks of life participated.
- (4d) It would be hard to say that different people had different goals because the one common goal was: the termination of Russian rule. Everybody was against the Russians and mostly everybody was against the system... Generally People people were for democratic rule with free voting, free press, freedom of worship, and neutralism in international affairs. Independence meant neutralism, and the exclusion of all foreign influences from the internal affairs of Hungary.

- (4e) The revolt was anti-Communist and in his opinion about eighty percent of the members of the Communist Party were non-Communists. Members who seemed to be regular members of the party joined the revolution. If the Russian troops had not intervened/^a new election would have taken place and the preparation of a democratic government, consisting of several parties would have paved the way for a new political system in Hungary. This would not have been satisfied with a development like that in Poland because there the transition did not go far^e enough in democratizing national life.
- (4a) He does not believe that people had personal purposes in mind by participating in the revolution. It grew to a mighty national movement.
- (4g) To his knowledge nobody opposed the revolution.
- (5) Respondent had part in the revolution in so far that he participated in the march to the statue of Petöfi and then to Ban Square. On October 31, he helped to build the barricades in the street and spoke to the strike breakers who didn't want to stop their work for the Communist government.
- (5a) Respondent was involved in the organization of the Petöfi party that tried to organize all the free parties independent of the Communist Party.
- (5b) Then he had to spend much of his time for standing in line for bread. He did it for having the most necessary food and he participated in the organization of the Petöfi party because he identified himself with the ideas of the Revolution.
- (5c) He found out about the different ways of his participation through friends.
- (5d) He expected the result will be the full success of the revolution.
- (7a) I have seen the Russian cannon shooting down at the city and at the royal castle from the hills of Buda. I have seen Russian soldiers laying on the pavements in large numbers whom the Russians left behind dead. I saw as they carried off their dead, and burned-out tanks, too.
- (7b) I saw Hungarian soldiers deserting their units, and workers explaining to the Russian soldiers the situation. The Russians didn't quite understand what it's all about because they got instructions

(continued on next page)

from their commands that there is a fascist revolution in the Suez Canal, ^{Before they come to Budapest} ~~because~~ ^{made} they were to believe they will be bound for Egypt. ^(a) I did not witness any mob violence though the disorder was wide already. Nobody knew what is going to happen

(8) Respondent was not an actual fighter.

(9) Respondent took part in demonstrations, strikes, not in helping fighters, in removing Red emblems, and Russian symbols, and leaflets. He described what he did and he did ^{that} because ~~see~~ he found that ^{the} the best he could do.

(j) He was in Budapest and not in the country.

(10) Through handbills, newspapers, and radio.

(a10) There were new newspapers never heard of before, and people didn't know who published them. Respondent read several of these papers, but did not give too much credit to their news.

(10b) These unknown papers appeared between October 23 and November 4 and were generally received as highly questionable.

(10c) From people in the street and they passed on news about demonstrations in various sections of the city, ^(d) at the parliament, on the boulevards of the city, and at the barracks. Respondent did listen to domestic and foreign radio stations. He was particularly interested in ^(a) reaction of foreign countries, yet had learned only that they have very good coverage of Hungarian news but ^{was} ~~was~~ disappointed ^{with} at the passive role of foreign nations. He had listened to the Voice of America, Free Europe, and the British Broadcasting. The reception of the Voice of America was very poor. In his apartment he couldn't hear it at all, but when they were in the cellar the reception was ~~very~~ a little better but still very unsatisfactory. Free Europe and ^{the} British station could be well received.

He was particularly eager to find out what position the United Nations has to take and will take.

(10e) He spoke over the telephone with some of his friends and they told him that troubles are in ~~these~~ ^{different} sections ^{of the town.} They should not visit ~~them.~~ ^{each other.}

(10f) They considered the British Broadcasting the most reliable during the Revolution. They knew that the Hungarian radio was manipulated, the news content ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~but~~ ^{was} during the revolution they were convinced that they lie. They had the most confidence in the British Broadcastings, and considered them important.

(10g) National news came over the radio stations and the local news through word of mouth and through personal experience related by other people. There was no way of checking each other only the later ~~the~~ ^{information,} communications offered the opportunity to find out what was true and what ~~was~~ ^{was} untrue.

(11) They disintegrated and ~~out-~~ ^{heard that Kadar} established ^a new party.

(11a) They were silenced. The personnel walked out and the offices were occupied by people who wanted apartments. Some very few returned to their offices but most of them were afraid to do that.

(11b) Did not function at all.

(11c) It disappeared and its members deserted.

(11d) Were not in session.

(11e) The soldiers joined the revolutionaries and all deserted.

(11f) Members wanted to reform them.

(11g) Its members were changed.

(11h) The personnel changed ^{there.}

(11i) They stayed as they were.

(11j) The AVH collapsed completely because there members were ~~deport~~ ^{deport} ~~affair~~ ^{deport} of the people's ~~rage.~~ ^{rage.} But ^{even} the AVH was restored under a

different ~~was~~ name as well as the other institutions of Communism.

- (11k) Magyar Írók Szövetsége and the Petöfi Kör, the Hungarian Writers Association and the Petöfi Circle.
- (11 l) New political parties came into being and quite ~~many~~ many of them.
- (11m) The background of the worker's council was the removal of the old party leaders from the organization of the workers and to select the delegates from their own ranks whose function should be discussing the various working conditions and all that in which the workers are interested.
- (11n) A democratic government based on the will of the people.
- (12a) Yes.
- (12b) Differences were obvious. Some fraternized, others believed that this will effect the Soviet system in Russia and others again had views that in self-defense they should shoot blindly in every direction they could.
- ^c
(12d) His answer is no.
- (12d) They were removed with their families from October 23, and after November 4th they were not visible in Budapest. Civilian officers were not there while the Russian army waged a shooting war against Budapest.
- (12e) Does not know about that.
- (12f) Does not believe they had because there wasn't sufficient time to give and to receive instructions: everything came so suddenly.
- (12g) The Russians exerted their influence through the Hungarian Communist Party and they got everything they wanted. The leaders of the Communist party stood under Russian direction before October 23. During the revolution only the military orders were executed and after November 4th again the Russian masters ruled through the Communist party in Budapest.

- (12h) The Communist control was efficient but not convincing enough to make fighters of Hungarians, convinced fighters for Communism. The system collapsed because people just don't believe in the Communist doctrine.
- (13) Many years before I left, but there wasn't any possibility to leave Hungary.
- (13a) The fall of the revolution.
- (13b) With my wife, my family and my sisters and brother.
- (13c) Respondent studied the map and had a compass while he passed the border. He expected to meet the guards but avoided them as far as luck helped him to do it.
- (13d) Wanted to lead a life which he liked and not being compelled to live the way it was dictated or forced upon him.
- (13e) To stay there and live in resignation and hopeless without having any possibility to improve his life.
- (14) His thoughts are still with Hungary, all the time.
- (14a) Yes because it called attention to the problems.
- (14b) It could have succeeded if the United Nations had taken an active and aggressive position.
- (14c) Respondent would avoid political speeches by people who belonged to the old regime like Cardinal Mindszenti. By the reappearance of old politicians ^{the} many people stood under/impression that representatives of old regimes will return. This was ammunition for the Communists.
- (14d) Because Hungary is a non-Slavic nation. Except Rumania which is culturally not so close to the West, the other satellites do more easily accept the Pan-Slavic rule. Of all the satellites Hungary had the most and the closest ties

with the West.

- (14e) Imre Nagy was received with great expectation. He wanted to have a socialist ~~an~~ state organized on democratic fundamentals. He appeared to be a man of character and knowledge.
- (14f) Maléter was at first unknown. He was a partisan against the Nazis. He is a graduate of the Ludovica Military Academy and became a national figure by leading the army to the side of the revolutionaries. Kovacs was one of the leaders of the small landowners party and he figured as an adversary against the Communists when they wanted to take over the government after the war. He was exiled to Russia, but returned later and did not take active part in the ~~pk~~ political events, seemingly because he thought his time will come again. Tildy, the president of the Hungarian republic was a quiet retiring figure who did not participate in everyday politics and discussions. He as well as the second president of the Hungarian republic, István Dobi, both were figure heads.
- (14g) The students, the workers and all who were on the barricades. As individuals Maléter and Imre Nagy were real heroes of the revolt.
- (14h) Respondent believes that all as well as the workers take the first credit.
- (14i) No.
- (14j) No.
- (14k) The Petöfi Circle opened the way to public criticism. This was a very daring undertaking. Respondent was surprised very much because there was no free criticism at all, but nonetheless, the Petöfi Circle took the courage to do it.
- (14l) The peasantry was against Communism from the very beginning, but respondent ~~has~~ has no positive information on the details of participation in the revolt.

- (1) Respondent was in civil service for the city of Budapest from 1935-49. Father was ministry counsellor in the Department of Internal Affairs. He retired in 1933.
- (2a) From 1935-1945 respondent was with the Department of Cultural Affairs of the City of Budapest.
- (2b) First he was an administrative judge in minor local affairs, something like a New York municipal judge, then he was transferred to the engineering department, and then the department of cultural affairs.
- (2c) Then he was in charge as head of the department for the hot healing baths of Budapest. His last title was tanács jegyző. In English this would mean something like Council Secretary.
- (2d) For 14 years.
- (2e) The municipal government was a large organization and an efficient one.
- (2f) Respondent had his own room at the office and a secretary.
- (3) From 1949 after respondent was discharged from his municipal job, until the time he left Budapest, he had several jobs during the Communist regime. The longest job he held was from 1949-1953 as an employee of the State Building Trust in Budapest. His job was group chief at the department for Social Security. From September, 1953 to May, 1955 he was employed at the Institute for Visual Aid for Schools where he worked in the production of instructional models for natural sciences and medicine. On account of rationalisation at this institute he was dismissed. From May, 1955 to December, 1955 he had no regular job but did occasional work. From January, 1956 to the date he left, he was employed by the Council for Industrial Arts and Crafts, as a bookkeeper at the accounting department.
- (3a) Respondent liked the job he held from September 1953 to May 1955 where he did

- modeling of visual aids which appealed very much to his interests. It was creative production for educational purposes. This he liked very much.
- (3b) He did not like the fact that the job was repetitious. All the time the same work and similar models to do.
- (3c) The other jobs were imposed on him. He had no way of getting another job.
- (4a) Nine to ten thousand forint a year.
- (4b) The same amount.
- (4c) 14,400 dollars a year. This was at the Institute of Visual Aid for Schools.
- (4d) 14,400 dollars a year.
- (4e) Income tax forgot the amount.
- | | |
|-------------------|-----|
| Compulsory loans | 10% |
| Old age insurance | 3% |
| Childless tax | 4% |
- (4f,g) None at this time.
- (4h) His income was somewhat higher.
- (4i) It was similar.
- (5a) From 8-4:30
- (5b) Six days, 48 hours a week.
- (5c) Very seldom.
- (5d) Seven to eight holidays a year, and paid vacations.
- (5e) They were similar if not identical.
- (5f) It was very strict and everybody had to check the clock when he entered and left. Everyone had a card and when someone was late he was called to the supervisor. Or if he was later than 15 or 20 minutes, a half an hour was deducted from his wage.
- (5h) Lateness and absenteeism was punished by firing.
- (5i) The norm system was one of the most unpopular and hated institutions the Communists introduced.
- (5j) The speed-up system changed several times in a year. It was disliked because everybody knew it was a fraud.

- (5k,1) Has no experience with them.
- (6) Generally they tried to improve the working conditions.
- (6a) The technical conditions showed a slow improvement.
- (6b) The hygienic conditions were tolerable.
- (6c) The equipment was satisfactory.
- (6d) Very low.
- (6e) 20 minutes by street car.
- (7a) From 17-65 with different backgrounds and mixed social status.
- (7b) It was good, only there was a general fear of the superior who was a Communist Party member.
- (7c) No private and intimate friendships developed.
- (7d) Only when 2 people stood eye to eye. People were very careful in talking with each other.
- (7e) It depended on the person.
- (7f) No.
- (7g) Only with certain people in whom he had confidence.
- (7h) Yes, the party organization was in charge of control of the shop and the whole business, the personal observation of the workers and Party education.
- (7i) Yes.
- (7j) The Communist Party did not rely on the working masses. The Party member would not be fired. Those with insufficient accomplishments in their jobs were kept in their jobs. All the members of the Party had control over the workers and the management of business.
- (7k) No.
- (7l) Functioned like the Party wanted it.
- (7m) There were changes in the course of time, but generally all the time the will of the Party was getting into the trade unions.
- (7n) Their function was ^{as mediators} ~~to merge~~ between the workers and the shop and they had to decide on complaints of the workers.

- (7o) They consisted of the managers of the shops, the unions and the party leaders and their function was the management of the business from the point of view of better production.
- (7p) Very infrequently.
- (7q) The politically neutrals were condemned as ^{being} passive.
- (7r) Yes, ^s
- (7s) It became gradually worse.
- (7t) Informers were in every shop and office. They were KVO people or their relatives. They worked the same as ^{other} the ~~other~~ people worked at the place, without ^{discussing} ~~the feeling~~ that they are informers. However, one example will illuminate the situation. For instance, at my office was employed the wife of a police man and she revealed it to her co-worker, another woman, that she was assigned to observing her. The informers supplied the information for the personal record of each worker and they were the most detailed informations about the personal life of the workers.
- (7u) In effect they were ~~essentially~~ nominal and the whole institution was a great bluff.
- (7v) At the beginning, they were useful. ^{it} These aims were appreciated, but later they watered down especially in the Kadar regime because they sent back the orthodox Communist members ^{into the councils}.
- (8) Respondent had to change positions by compulsion. If he could ^{get} positions according to his free will he would have tried to get a job more appropriate to his education and background.
- (8a) Nobody could leave voluntarily a job. He had to take the job which was assigned to him. Respondent was interested in scientific research work in the field of history, philosophy, and literature, and would have liked to have a job related to these fields.

- (8c) He is interested in them and attracted to them.
- (8d) Today the origin of young people are factors in *choosing a career*. Family tradition, status, and prestige are no factors. Neither are convenience and the acceptance of responsibility. Only material regards count.
- (8e) Respondent was in civil service before the revolution. He trained himself for this career at college. His aim was to get a public service job and to dedicate his free time to literary work. ⁽⁸⁴⁾ Yes, before 1941 but not after that time.
- (8g) Not all people.
- (8h) Many people feel that they are unable to take responsibilities.
- (8i) Would like to lead a cultural life, traveling, reading, collecting art.
- (8j) ^{for} He feels now that he is much closer to these goals. Such ambitions could not be achieved in Hungary. There were only two possibilities--to accept the conditions or to leave the country.
- (8k) Respondent is childless, but if he had children, to give a ~~better~~ start in life, *as a class-ahew, he could not, and* because their life would ~~would~~ be as dread as his own.
- (9) Respondent feels that they were badly off. His family consisted of his wife and his mother-in-law whom both supported.
- (9a) Two members were working. Respondent as well as his wife, but they could not make a living with their combined salary.
- (9b) They got very much worse.
- (9c) They could buy only ~~base~~ ^{cheap} food; very little meat, no clothing, no furniture, and no household articles.
- (9d) 1. Their combined salaries--his and that of his wife--2550 forint a month.
2. No other sources of income.
3. 433 forint a month deductions.
4. Take home pay--\$2117 dollars a month.
- (9e) Rented apartment--115 forint a month.

- (9f) Crowded and sharing apartment. Plumbing and appliances were acceptable.
- (9g) 1200 forint a month. Before the revolution there were no waiting lines for food.
- (h) Almost nothing. What clothing he had he received ~~from~~ⁱⁿ packages from abroad.
- (9i) Everything from state stores.
- (9j) Fuel--about 3000 forint a year.
- Electricity and gas--160 forint a month.
- (9k) Fuel was a very great worry. Gas and electricity no worry.
- (9l) Medical and dental care was free.
- (9m) They received all the benefits as told above.
- (9n) All together between 50 and 60 forint a month.
- (9o) Only for coffee espresso's for him it
Was a luxury and a relief for the heart. Respondent drank every day one or two cups.
- (10) Neither his family nor his wife got a fare income.
- (10a) Yes.
- (10b) Very much so.
- (10c) ~~By~~ The Russians, All the products sold to the Russians and sold to Russia were sold at a price below the production costs and to his knowledge no cash payments were made for these products. Instead of paying for the exported materials and industrial products, the Russians paid with restituting the values of the corporations they ~~requested~~^{appropriated} from the Hungarians when they occupied the country after the war.
- (10d) Their standard of living went lower and lower.
- (10e) The peace loans were in effect a reduction of wages.
- (10f) Reparation payments to Russia were partly justified, but not to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.
- (10g) Yes, ~~political~~^{political} seminars.

- (11) The general attitude was skeptical.
- (11 a) It was not growing.
- {11 b}
{11 c) The industrial development had no basis on account of the lacking raw material. The forced development was based on Russian raw products and therefore it was completely dependent on the Russians. The forced development of the heavy industry brought great changes to the whole economy. The products of the heavy industry were designed for export and the other sections of ~~XXXXXX~~ industry as well as agriculture remained inefficient.
- (11 d) It was wrong. Hungary was even then in economic difficulties.
- (11 e) There was no improvement whatever.
- (11 f) People were hopeful that it may contribute to the economic progress of the country, but it did not materialize. The set goal was reached to about 60 to 70 percent.
- (11 g) It was irrational and utopistic in view of the overdevelopment of the heavy industry.
- (11 h) It was more realistic because the aim was to produce more consumer goods and to regulate the heavy industry more in favor of agriculture and light industry.
- (11 i) As far as the papers printed about it.
- (11 j) There were signs of a crisis and ~~the~~ general shortage of coal and energy; ~~and~~ even consumer goods got less and less on the market. Before the Revolt it was worse than two or three years ago.
- (12) For most of the people material conditions are of basic importance.
- (12 a) Personally for respondent the material conditions were strong ^{for some} but

~~NOT~~

not exclusively the reason for his general satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

- (12 b) The absence of freedom was more important.
- (12 c) To everybody, but especially to the intelligentsia.
- (12 d) No concrete plans.
- (12 e) In ever louder criticism and lack of interest in work.
- (12 f) The large majority was for it.

- (1 a) From 1917 to 1934.
- (1 b) } Earned the doctorate of political science, 1934, Pazmany Peter
 (1 c) } University of Science, Budapest.
- (2) No formal schooling after 1944.
- (2 a) At my job I had to take part in political seminars. There we were taught the basic theory of politics and of the Communist doctrine. It was the indoctrination of communism and of the daily political problems in internal and external affairs. The level of instruction was very low, and its main purpose was the awakening and maintaining of hate, hate against capitalism and its class representatives. The teachers were not educated instructors, but political propagandists.
- (2 b) These courses and seminars had taken place in the evenings.
- (2 c) In 1954 attended for one year a private technical course in retouching and ^{air}brushing.
- (2 d) No.
- (2 e) See above.
- (2 f) } There was no choice in courses. They were compulsory.
 (2 g) } There was no choice, however, my technical course in retouching and airbrushing was a private course; *wanted to learn that to get a job in the trade.*
- (3, 4, 5) Not applicable to respondent.
- (6) Considers himself a mediocre student.
- (7) His formal schooling was completed before the second World War. He had the same opportunity as anyone else, even better opportunities.
- (7 a) Respondent's parents were well situated and could give him easily a college education.

- (7 b) Anyone could have an education who had money to finance it.
- (8) Since respondent did not go to school after the establishment of the Communist regime, these views he volunteers as to his own knowledge and impressions, he gained from his observations.
- (8 a) The Russian language was compulsory ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ the regular curriculum in each school.
- (8 b) The children had to go to school, however, the subjects and the way they were taught appeared many times ridiculous.
- (8 c) The teaching of Russian appeared very much forced upon the children and had a bad psychological effect. The principals tried to give a great buildup to the Russian language and convinced the youth that it is important.
- (8 d) ^{They were} ~~It was~~ taught on a low level, in a propagandistic way closely related to the daily events and explained ^{in relation to} ~~as~~ them. The doctrine of the dialectical materialism was a very cloudy idea to everybody. Even intelligent and educated people had no proper view of it. To the youth and in mass propaganda ^{as well,} not the principle itself in its scientific and sociological context was explained, but rather the application of it to the class struggle and for hating the democracies.
- (8 e) It was not liked at all.
- (8 f) Sport was compulsory to the youth and to adults too, to a smaller extent and in a different form. There was the movement ~~EM~~ MHK, "Munkára, Harca Kész." This was the name of the movement. In translation it would mean "For Work, for Struggle to be Ready." The adults were organized at their working places and were invited

and slightly pressured into participation in the sport activities of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ this organization. There were, however, compulsory meetings like air defense, throwing hand grenades, etc. All workers and employees had to take part in these kind of activities.

(9) The Communist education proved to be inefficient and ineffective because the school got into conflict with the home, and the much propaganda given to the pupils appeared even before them as unserious. The children were caught between two contradicting ^{views,} ~~calls,~~ the school and the home.

(9 a) The children were unconvinced on most of the subjects they learned in the school and they did not believe what in the textbooks was printed. Children generally displayed great insecurity as to authority and respect they have to pay. They saw what the schools taught was not accepted by their parents at home. This had an unfavorable effect on growing children.

(9 b,c) Absolutely not.

(9 d) Respondent had the opportunity to observe two of his nephews and one of his nieces. They amused themselves learning at the school that all great inventors were Russians, that all scientific discoveries came from Russia. They found it ridiculous that the old classical poems were reinterpreted as to their meaning and symbolism. Though written a hundred years ago, the poems ^{of Petöfi} referred to actual conditions in Hungary, ~~and~~ ^{it was} explained that the poet himself foresaw the coming Communist regime and was for it.

(9 e) The most effective between 8 and 10 and least effective in teen-age, between 15 and 18.

- (9 f) Teenagers begin to be thinking about themselves and the world surrounding them. They are able to reflect, yet they are not feeling their responsibility yet.
- (10) The middle class.
- (10 a) Middle class. Her father was a Justice.
- (10 b) Middle class. Her father was a painter of pictures.
- (11) The unreliable and declassified group.
- (12) Counsellor at the Department of Interior (miniszteri tanácsos).
Translated this means ~~SECRETARY~~ Counsellor to the Secretary of Interior.
- (12 a) He retired at 1934 and died 1945.
- (12 b) In his job at the Ministry of Interior he worked for 30 years.
- (12 c) Respondent respected the job of his father.
- (12 d) He held a doctorate of political science.
- (12 e) He was pleased with respondent's career in public service at the time of his death in 1945.
- (13) They lived very well and better than most of ~~these~~^{other} people.
- (13 a) After the first World War economic conditions in Hungary changed for the worse. The inflation brought special hardships to employed people and later the economic crisis resulted in a progressive material breakdown for the civil servants.
- (14) Respondent's family consisted of three people.
- (14 a) Since his marriage in 1949 he lived with them.
- (14 b) Lived with wife and mother-in-law.
- (14 c) His mother-in-law lived with them because she was destitute and she was engaged in homemaking while his wife went to work.
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- (15) In his family he and his wife were working.
- (16) It hurt.
- (16 a) Respondent belonged to the intelligentsia and was considered unreliable on account of his origin.
- (17) Yes.
- (17 a) His wife was a stenographer and typist.
- (17 b) Since July 1949.
- (17 c,d) They were childless.
- (18, 19, 20, 21) Not applicable.
- (22) Very well.
- (23) Yes. With his mother, who is living.
- (23 a) Had visited his mother twice a week and spoke with her frankly about everything, including political matters.
- (24 and 25) are not applicable.
- (26 a) Were very close.
- (26 b) In his age group it was rather typical.
- (26 c) Had very little spare time. Liked to read and make trips into the surrounding mountains of Budapest.
- (26 d) Went to short trips, and if they could afford it went to the movies and concerts.
- (26 e) Only in the evening when they came home from work.
- (26 f) Respondent is a yacht enthusiast and liked to go out^{to} the lakes and sailing on the Danube.
- (27) Speaking from his own experience he says that in his age groups the ties have tightened very strongly.

- (27 a) They were materially dependent on each other. There was practically no opportunity to any social life. People were ungroomed, these ⁱⁿ clothes were poor and there was little reason to appear in society or in other social gatherings.
- (27 b) In his age group and social strata, yes.
- (27 c) Yes.
- (27 d) Yes, because parents lost influence over their children and they have no time to supervise and guide them.
- (27 e) Has no information on it.
- (28) They have.
- (28 a) They are more informal.
- (28 b) They marry in a younger age, but has no actual information on the age.
- (28 c) It had, insofar that the courtship takes place out of the home of the parents. Young people meet somewhere else because they have no room where they can speak alone. In planning marriage they set the date when they will get a room. The furnishing of an apartment or the security of the young couple is not the decisive element. The furnishing of an apartment is a lifetime goal. Usually the young couple gets some furniture, mostly a bed, from the parents and relatives.
- (28 d) ^{to communist regime} as before, ^{was} the economic conditions of the couple was decisive in setting the date for the wedding. Today the fact that they will get a room is basically influencing them.
- (28 e) Officially no, but in secret there are women who make a living of it.

- (28 f) They are more strict about sexual matters than ~~before~~ authorities before the Communist regime. Love and female beauty culture is frowned upon. There ~~is~~ ^{are} no cosmetic trade and fashion trends in Hungary. No love stories, ^{and} girl pictures are published in magazines. Love novels are unknown. Feminine beauty and ideals are never praised.
- (28 g) Birth control was strictly prohibited. It went so far that doctors had to turn over their instruments for abortive operations to the authorities, unless they were gynecologists. A year ago or so a change came. Abortions were permitted if the lady appeared before the commission which decided on it. Not only health reasons, but the material condition of the woman was taken in consideration. Birth prevention lectures and information were unknown.
- (28 h) There are many illegitimate children in Hungary. The social attitude to them had changed. They can carry the name of their fathers. An illegitimate child and his or her mother are accepted and is not an infrequent view. Respondent knew 14-year old girls who bore children. Many girls became pregnant at the boy scout camp. He has seen in a community room a poster proclaiming in fat letters: "It is the duty of married women to bear children. To be an unmarried mother is glorious." Pre-marital sexual relations are accepted and extra-marital relations are less frequent than before the Communist regime. Respondent volunteered his personal observations, but he has no statistical support for ~~them~~. He never had seen any statistical publications on these subjects.

- (29) It was my schoolfriend since the twelfth year of age.
- (29 a) He was in the banking business.
- (29 b) ⁴⁶~~25~~ years old. Belonged to the middle class. His father was a bank employee.
- (29 c) We had discussions on all kinds of matters, played bridge and made trips together.
- (29 d) Yes, we discussed politics.
- (29 e) It did not change.
- (29 f) Yes, we are.
- (29 g) His understanding and his reliability, his closeness to my problems.
- (29 h) I would have been very much disappointed because I did not suspect of him that I could lose my confidence in him.
- (30) Roman Catholics.
- (30 a) The same attitude, with no differences.
- (30 b, c) Were practicing Catholics, churchgoers and believers.
- (31) To a large extent.
- (31 a) The religious activities were suppressed through legal and police methods.
- (31 b) All faiths were hit, but the Catholics especially, because the Communists believed that ^{through} ~~to~~ the Roman Catholic Church the Western influence is very strong.
- (31 c) The other denominations were persecuted, too.
- (31 d) Respondent says he could never understand the interference with religious life.
- (31 e) They wanted to stamp out religious feelings. The denial of the existence of God was a ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ principal propaganda item of the Communists.

- (31 f) It was against believers. Respondent knows cases when the father of a child who was inscribed to be sent to religious school was called ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ into the personnel office of his shop. He was asked there why he wants to send his child to religious school. Under pressure he withdrew his child from the religious school. As to the clergy, respondent knows that it was controlled and the priests had to wear civilian clothing in the street.
- (31 g) Yes.
- (31 h) Every Sunday.
- (31 i) There was a religious revival and many people went to church. They were overcrowded so much that evening masses had to be instituted. People went to churches not only for religious reasons, but they saw in it a means of resistance to Communism. As to age, there were all ages represented. Young people included. He has even seen soldiers at the church. As ~~to~~ social groups, they were mixed. The people's need for worship was so great that even on weekdays evening masses were held. As to the reasons why people went to church in particularly large numbers, respondent believes that it was their yearning to commune with God and face Him in His own house.
- (31 ^j/~~g~~) They probably wanted to compromise to maintain of the Church as much as possible.
- (31 k) There was very little difference.
- (31 l) Religion meant much less to young people because the education had no religious fundamentals at all, in contrast to the parents' education, which was strongly religious when they were children. The

education today is anti-religious. Respondent had known a great many members of the Communist Party who went to church regularly and wanted to send their children to religious school, but did not send them. Instead they took them with them to church.

- (32) After World War II, when the inhumanity and extermination perpetrated against the Jews, they regained their complete freedom and equality. It was hard for them to forget the sufferings and as an understandable reaction the Jews were complying and conciliating.
- (32 a) He knew a great many Jews who were ~~not~~ anti-Communists and some others who were Party members. They were very much divided in this respect, but the majority of the Party leaders were of Jewish descent.
- (32 b) Those in minor positions were decent and in favor of the Revolt. The leaders, however, remained as much Communist as they were before.
- (32 c) That what it ought to be in a democratic society. Complete freedom and equality.
- (33) The best off were the high officials of the Party and the State: The officers of the AVH, people in high positions at the shops and artists as well. The high functionaries have their own shops where they could buy everything. These were ~~not~~ places where only a few could buy food and clothing. Their income was relatively much higher than that of other people, so they could afford things other people could not. The worst off were the former free professions, businessmen, manufacturers, and the former state employees who were in higher positions. Respondent had known ~~the~~ ^a former manufacturer, 70 years of age, who had to take a job as an office worker at the

- (1) Yes. Especially in the last ten years. But before that in a much lesser degree.
- (1 a) Because at the present he feels much more his dependence from the political conditions.
- (1 b) He was much more of an onlooker. As a man who likes to think for himself, he found it offending to associate with a party whose slogan was as follows: "The Party is our *h.r.a.i.v.*, our honor, our glorious present, and our happy future."
- (1 c) Since six or seven years all the time.
- (1 d) Not before the Revolution.
- (1 e) He was more interested than other people, because he approached the events with a searching mind and wanted to find out the background of the events.
- (1 f) It increased very much all the time ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ between 46 and 56.
- (2) First of all he missed freedom and the possibility to make a decent living.
- (2 a) His main grievance was the missing of the freedom of the press and speech. Then numbers (ii), (iv), and (vii). The least he would complain of are numbers (i), (iii) and (v).
- (2 b) That he mentioned ^{or} before, and the inadequate opportunity to get ahead.
- (2 c) The forced requisitions.
- (2 d) The missing protection of the trade unions and the right to strike.

- (2 e) The national feeling and free education.
- (2 f) Inhuman and forcible methods applied by the Party. The deportation of people, and then the constant changes from day to day in the program of the Party.
- (2 g) They were felt permanently. The individuals could not emancipate themselves from them because they lived in it and with it. Many Communist Party members were actually ashamed of the prevailing conditions.
- (2 h) Yes. In the family and with friends. Sometimes at public places, at the streetcar, for instance. But this was dangerous because there were detectives and informers everywhere. Respondent made it to his habit not to talk at public places or at the office.
- (2 i) Not without being prepared for fatal consequences. Respondent tried to speak up and express his thoughts at "the half-hour meetings of free people." This was the organization which functioned at the shops and offices. People had to meet half an hour before the work started once or more times a week to discuss political and social questions. There respondent tried to participate in discussions and to be mildly critical.
- (3 a) Yes. With the Smallholders' Party. Its program appealed to him as the best at that time. He voted for it because the party which he appreciated the most, had discontinued. He was an inscribed member of the Democratic Party, but could not vote for it because it was not on the ticket.

- (3 b) He was no party member.
- (3 c) Was always against the Communist regime. (///)
- (3d) Did never change. He was opposed to it all the time.
- (3 e) A great many other people thought the same way, especially the middle class and the peasants. Generally the intelligentsia refused to identify itself with the Communists and were against the Party. Those who did not fear national suppression and the terror, the proletarians and the uneducated people, they tolerated the regime.
- (3 f) The population was never loyal to the regime. It couldn't undertake any action because the slightest resistance and organization was impossible on account of the effectiveness of the police and the total control of individuals as well as members of social groups. The only resistance people could exercise was the complete indifference to their jobs and to the production results of shops where they worked. The fact that stealing became a national virtue and thus to damage the state was a honor, illuminate the whole situation as to the loyalty of the Hungarian people, though they *also* needed to supplement their low incomes. The employees felt better if they could carry away from the shops or the offices anything what could be carried out of their working places, just to damage the Communist state.
- (4) The Party and the AVH.
- (4 a) Because the legislative and the executive branches of the Government were the same.
- (4 b) The leading functionaries were instructed and advised by Moscow

and the real power was ~~invested~~ invested in them.

- (4 d) The members of the Government were the functionaries of the Party, so both were identical and only nominally independent. The police itself was the executive organ of the Party and the Government as well.
- (5) In the last analysis, the Hungarian Government was the local agency of the Kremlin and it could not make a policy of its own.
- (5 a) Although it was called the Parliament, it did not exercise its prerogatives. The Parliament was ~~called~~ called into sessions and made law of the governmental ordinances which were already published. The Parliament approved these ordinances. It never refused any one of them and had never introduced proposals or motions of its own.
- (5 b) The Communist elections in Hungary were ridiculous. We had to vote for the official list of the People's Front. This was a Communist organization which had selected the candidates. It had operated this way: The voting districts had to send their representatives to the nominating committees and there they voted for the candidates. They had to vote for three candidates and then the Council of the People's Front selected one candidate of the three. So, for instance, it could happen that one candidate for whom the representatives of the districts gave 48 votes and he had a clear majority, was not nominated on the list, but another candidate, who got only one vote, became the official candidate ^{to be} put to election ~~in~~ before the electorate. Not the majority vote decided, ~~but~~ but the arbitrary selection by the committee of the People's Front, thus, of course, only the best Communists became nominated and were put on the list. This was then

the official list and the people had to vote for it. There wasn't any other list and it wasn't any other possibility to vote for someone else who was not on the list. The voting procedure was very curious. People who voted for the whole list did not enter the booth but left their ticket at the front of the booth. Only those entered the booth who wanted to make some marks on the ticket. If he wanted to vote against the ticket, he had to cancel it with two parallel lines running the horizontal way. There was no pencil at the booth to do that. The majority of course was afraid to enter the booth because they were then known as adversaries. The votes were counted by the voting committee of the People's Front, without having any supervisory control of the counting. They tabulated anything they wanted and so there was always fantastic unanimity in favor of all the candidates presented by the People's Front, that is the Communist Party.

- (5 e) They had. They made their own decisions in local matters of an administrative nature, like for instance of issuing birth certificates or marriage licences, apartment regulations, and so forth. Their jurisdiction was identical with that of the district administration before the Communist regime.
- (5 d) It positively was, and annoying too.
- (5 e) Bribery was common because the employees were badly paid. Respondent could leave the country by paying 4000 forints for himself and his wife. ^{The conductor} He took them to Austria in his locomotive booth. A friend of his bribed the customs officials with 20,000 forints. He had exported from Hungary artistic bronze statues of the

XIIIth century. This was strictly prohibited, but the custom agents accepted the declaration as decorative items for the office desk, though they knew that the artistic bronze statues were valuable exhibition objects. ^N

- (5 f) To a large part ^{of} the former office holders of the lower ranks and individuals of proletarian descent in whom the Party had confidence.
- (5 g) People who originated from the working and peasant classes and had graduated from the military academy. Those who belonged to the ~~XXX~~ higher military ranks, from colonel up, came partly from the groups which were less national in their feelings, from the intelligentsia and some from the Jewish middle class. They all enjoyed certain advantages. They got apartments, could nourish themselves sufficiently, got vacations, but were not able to indulge in luxuries.
- (6) Respondent was over age and had no information on the Communist Youth League. He doesn't want to give any information of which he has no first-hand knowledge.
- (7) It proved to be a burden, because the members had special obligations.
- (7 a) Those who were in higher positions or were put under pressure or who wanted to advance into better jobs.
- (7 b) The frightened people. The opportunists and those very few who were convinced Communists.
- (7 c) They had no special rights, but they had advantages. Thus for instance if the staff were reduced on account of rationalization, Party members were not fired.

- (7 d) They had to ^{attend} regularly ~~to~~ the meetings and participate in discussions. They were compelled to be informers, to observe people at the shops and how successful the production is.
- (7 e) Respondent had known some people, so, for instance, a professor of the College for Industrial Art. He had joined the Party in 1951 in order to keep his job, because he had three children. This professor was quite of a clerical upbringing and was religious. Respondent had known a frustrated spinster. She was the secretary of the building concern where respondent was employed. This lady joined in 1950 to find for herself some interesting occupation. Furthermore, he has known the editor of the ladies' fashion journal, who joined in 1949 not to be removed from her job.
- (7 f) Yes, there were some people, but they were not admitted because of their class origin.
- (7 g) His answer was a resounding no.
- (7 l) In 1948 he could have joined, but later probably not, on account of his origin.
- (7 m) It did. He could not advance because he was not a member of the Party.
- (7 n) Voluntarily people joined who had personal grievances, who were embittered, who had physical or mental defects.
- (7 o) Those of his acquaintanceship were rather apologetic and ashamed of it.
- (7 p) At the local level the leaders were Hungarians, members of the Hungarian Communist Party.
- (7 q) Thorough and complete.
- (7 r),s,t) Thorough and unlimited.

- (7 u) They were controlled through the Államgyházi Hivatal, the State Office for Religious Affairs, and it was hardly possible that they were infiltrated by Communist Party members.
- (8) To the trade union.
- (8 a) The free union of art workers. In Hungarian: Művészeti Dolgozók Szabad Szakszervezete.
- (8 b) It was compulsory.
- (8 c) He knew by name the following: ~~SENE~~ SZOT, Szakszervezetek Országos Tanácsa (the National Council of Trade Unions). He furthermore knows the MSZT, Magyar-Szovjet Társaság (Hungarian-Soviet Society). The purpose of this society was to praise the Soviet Union. They had a great many lectures, issued books, and made propaganda for the Soviet. The next organization respondent named was DISZ, Demokrata Ifjúság Szövetsége (Democratic Youth Association). The next organization he mentioned was MNDSZ, Magyar Nők Demokratikus Szövetsége (Democratic Association of Hungarian Women). The function of this organization was to make women interested in public affairs and in the Communist cause.
- (8 d) They all were considered branches of the Communist Party.
- (8 e) Only ~~to~~ the trade union.
- (8 f) All employees. The size of ~~EXENE~~ it was unknown to respondent.
- (8 g) It was compulsory, because as soon as one got a job and started working, he had to join the union.
- (8 h) Paid membership fees. Had to attend the meetings. But they were very seldom. Otherwise there was nothing else going on.
- (8 i) To defend the interest of the workers.
- (8 j) No closeness at all.

- (8 k) They were Communists, but respondent did not know them because he had no direct connection with them.
- (8 l) Respondent has no information on that because he took very little part in the trade union's activities.
- (8 m) He does not believe so.
- (8 n) People were indifferent about it.
- (8 o) They were not substantial at all and members remained uninterested.
- (8 p) All trade organizations and so-called cultural societies were by the majority disapproved because they didn't offer anything and it was commonly known that they are led by the Communist Party. People had known that they are pointless and senseless because neither did they offer anything, nor did they give any kind of protection to the membership.
- (9) They were not convinced individuals, but were compelled to join the organization and the Party could not win them over to the Communist doctrine.
- (9 a) It was a failure and the main reason for it was the misjudgment of the nature of the youth. It did not take into consideration the aspirations of young people, namely, that they have other ideals than only the glorification of work and to work all the time for the benefit of the State. The propaganda, the education, and the training of the youth was in ^{dire} ~~sharp~~ contrast with the influence of the parents, ^{with} the impressions young people gained at their homes, and it was detrimental to the views and expressed opinions of the parents.
- (10) It was rather a mixture of ~~the~~ people.

- (10 a) Many of them were recruited ^{for} ~~from~~ the Army. The political officers selected and proposed them for the AVH units. There were volunteers too, who were admitted after careful checking as to background and fitness for the job.
- (10 b) There were workers, peasants, and for the officers' corps some intellectuals. Their age was 20-21, and since they were younger, they had hardly any political background.
- (10 c) They were, ~~not~~, because they were under observation and surveillance and were afraid from one another.
- (10 d) Yes, there was a distinction. The ordinary members of lower rank were forcefully recruited and served like soldiers, and the secret informers did not belong into these ~~KEEN~~ regular units. They were placed in shops and offices for observation of employees on behalf of the Communist Party.
- (11) The home of respondent was searched in 1951 and he was taken to the police because some guns for hunting were found in the courtyard where he lived. He was thoroughly questioned for a whole night, but succeeded well in lying about the situation. The guns were his, but he denied it and consequently was released. Several of his friends and relatives were arrested.
- (11 a) A cousin of his was arrested in 1951 and six months after the arrest he was hanged. No charges were made known and when the son of his cousin went to the prison to get some information about his father, he was told that his father was executed three weeks ago. In the official death register the death was registered as caused

by a heart attack.

- (11 c) Respondent is acquainted with several cases of good KKK friends. One was sentenced to seven years of prison in 1948. He was charged with sabotage at his working place, where his job was the purchase of building material for airplanes. In 1947 another friend of respondent was taken in custody by the Russians in the street of Sopron, without giving any reason for the arrest. The Soviet military tribunal sentenced him to ten years for no reasons whatever. He was deported to Siberia and was kept there for eight years in various labor camps. He returned to Budapest with lung tuberculosis. His release was officially marked as a prisoner of war, although he was deported three years after the war. He was sent to a sanatorium in Hungary and when the Revolution broke out he was still there. Another friend of his was sentenced to four months in labor camp in Kistarcsa. He was taken into custody at the occasion he left the British Consulate where British films were shown, having left the door of the Consulate. The people who came out from it were surrounded by police, put on a truck and carried away.
- (11 d) All these cases produced great impression on respondent.
- (11 e) He heard the stories from the people themselves who were released. They were beaten, exposed to cold and hunger, kept in dark chambers, bound into positions that are hard on the human body, they were bound for the whole night or for the whole day. Atrocities were committed particularly against the intelligentsia and the higher bourgeoisie and many of them perished ^{because} ~~because~~ of physical abuse.

- (11 f) The wealthy people of the cities and the peasants of good standing were arrested without reason for culpability. They did not commit crimes, they were politically dangerous, *so the communists thought.*
- (11 g) Purges were undertaken in the Party itself and the unreliaables were excluded. Employees in public service were purged and fired. The most tragic was the expulsion of elderly people from Budapest and they were carried on trainloads and trucks to distant villages to work.
- (12) To be very careful when making any kind of statement.
- (12 a) By no means. All are equal in this respect.
- (12 b) It helps in getting certain positions.
- (12 c) It is helpful to have connections to high state officials and leading Party members.
- (12 d) It speaks in favor to a person, but it cannot be concealed that someone has an unfavorable background.
- (12 e) It helps very much. He can buy much more than those people who have no money. Very few people have more money than they need for their bare existence, only artists and some doctor specialists have the opportunity to earn more money than they need.
- (12 f) He can avoid a great deal of trouble, but he cannot do it if his origin is unaccepted.
- (12 g) As members of a group, lawyers and other free professions, the former officers, landholders, and manufacturers, as well as clergymen are more likely to court trouble.
- (13) They can be compared insofar as their procedures are not strictly followed procedures. They ^{*or authority is limitless.*} ~~are~~ free, unorganized, and arbitrary.

- (13 a) At the courts there is the most possibility to get justice, because there is still a trace of contradictory procedures in which charges and counterproofs can be placed each against the other, but even so generally the justice and the courts are class-conscious and their judgments are greatly affected by that. It is in the jurisdiction of the police to sentence people and they do it without giving any reasons of arrest and at the same time they can deal out sentences. Respondent knows a girl who was sentenced ^{by the police} to four years of prison and was brought to a concentration camp for forced labor.
- (13 b,c) Respondent does not know about that.
- (14) Yes there were.
- (14 a) After Stalin's death there was a milder form of terror. Its strength decreased. Then the people who were deported could return to Budapest from the villages where they lived.
- (14 b) Yes, after Stalin's death.
- (15) It was decisive.
In Moscow with a rule
- (15 a) (all decisions on foreign policy, in economic programs, in doctrinal questions; in Hungary the decisions were made how to carry out the decisions of the Kremlin. Only minor affairs of local significance were decided in Hungary.
- (15 b) Respondent learned it from people who are employed at the places wherefrom decisions come.
- (15 c) First of all, ^{by} the fact that the Russian Army is permanently located in Hungary and the Soviet propoganda is endless. There are Soviet experts in the ministries in Budapest, and ^{there} they are ^{Russian} directors of large corporations. They are Russian citizens delegated to

work in Hungary and to supervise life and activities there.

- (15 d) He had no direct contact with them, but had seen some of them. They can be recognized from their appearance and their clothing. As a rule they are very reserved.
- (15 e) In the heavy industry, in oil, bauxite, uranium production; the Russians have concessions on Hungarian shipping and air transportation. The Russians are the real managers in these fields. The least Russian influence could be seen in the fabrication of consumer goods.
- (15 f) This was quite a secret. It was not publicly known that the above mentioned fields are saturated by Russians. They were more than advisers, they were the executive arm of the Kremlin. Some of them could be seen in the ministries, especially in the Ministry of Defense, where they were not in uniforms but in civilian dress.
- (16) Not at all. They conceal their true feelings.
- (16f
a-g) Already answered.
- (17) Yes, it was. It depended who did it. And it depended on the occasion too.
- (17 a) Yes, if they were not discovered. However, there was one basic reason why many laws could be dodged and disrespected. Generally speaking the laws were superficially written and edited and they needed all the time corrections and these corrections appeared after a short time, but sometimes it took quite a time. The unprecise formulations gave opportunities to circumvent the law.
- (17 b) Respondent did it himself in connection with the housing regulations. In accordance with the law, he had to give up one room of his

apartment, but he declared that the room is smaller than the size that is ~~the~~ subject to requisition. He gave not up his books which were put on index and neither did he the maps, but instead he burnt them.

- (17 c) He does not know about it.
- (17 d) With proper connections.
- (17 e) Before 1953 it was conceivable, but only through the permission of the management. Unless there is needed a highly specialized workers, nobody can be transferred to Budapest because a permit of residence is needed from the police and this is very very hard to get.
- (17 f) This is impossible. Respondent does not know a single instance when this happened. There is a numerus clausus for students whose social background is not acceptable. A very small number of children of intellectuals is admitted within the numerus clausus.
- (18) Those who take an active part in Party affairs.
- (19) The principal opposition to the regime resulted from the inclination of people to sabotage. It was motivated by the belief that everything is state property and to damage the state is one of the effective ways to oppose the whole regime. There was a silent movement and an accepted principle which found expression in the following words: "Steal every day a tool from the shop."
- (19 a) The masses engaged in various forms of passive resistance and its main outlet was stealing.
- (19 b) The self-conscious intelligentsia. Many of them resisted openly and were engaged in espionage. Respondent believes to know from authoritative sources that altogether 34,000 people were executed during the Communist regime.

- (19 c) At the beginning a small part of the working people, because they expected the realization of their dreams to be able to live a more decent life. They believed in the Bolshevik promises.
- (19 d) It increased.
- (19 e) The opposition was largely personal, but there must have been organized groups, ^{but} and nothing of this sort was ever publicized. People knew that a large number of executions were carried out, but they never heard of their backgrounds.
- (19 f) No information was available about the Party and the Army. Only the writers' criticism received publicity.
- (19 g) See above.
- (19 h) Tremendous number of jokes were in circulation. Their targets were Rakosi, Khrushchev, the Communist system itself, but especially the Communist leaders.
- (19 i) Sabotage was everywhere, because nobody felt responsibility and the failure of the Five-Year Plan has to be contributed to a large part to the sabotage of the workers. The Russian ^{language} ~~was~~ was taught in the schools and it was hard to sabotage the learning of the Russian language because the teachers had to teach it and the students to learn it.
- (19 j) There were in connection with national Communism and Titoism, but very little or nothing was publicized on these matters.
- (19 k) No opposition could be organized, because the supervision and terror was too strong. People were afraid and did not come out openly with their dissatisfaction.

- (19 1) They were in the wake of the Twentieth Congress and the relaxation in Party discipline gave way to criticism, because people got courage and again started to speak up.

- (1) From the Western radio stations.
- (1 a) The English station, B.B.C.
- (1 b) Free Europe and the Voice of America, but unfortunately the Voice of America couldn't be heard well.
- (2) Respondent read every day the newspapers and magazines occasionally at the barber shop.
- (2 a) Szabad Nép, (Free People). Then he read Magyar Nemzet (Hungarian Nation). Of the magazines respondent read the following: Vigilia (Vigil), this is a Catholic monthly and he was subscribed to it. He read the French Communist magazine Lettres Françaises. Another magazine, Művelt Nép (Educated People), this is a weekly bringing articles and news on the theater, literature, and arts. At his office respondent had to read two official publications that announced the new laws and executive orders. The first was Magyar Közlöny (Hungarian Gazette). The other magazine's name was Pénzügyi Közlöny (Financial Gazette).
- (2 b) Regularly, as soon as they appeared.
- (2 c) To get information, but there were no others to read.
- (2 d) First of all, the sections on foreign affairs, then about building.
- (2 e) Yes, because he could draw conclusions of things to come and they revealed the intentions of the Party leaders.
- (2 f) In general, he didn't like it at all.
- (2 g) The foreign news reports, though he knew that they were censored.
- (2 h) Yes.
- (2 i) They were unorganized, hotchpotch products without permanency and brought minor uninteresting local communications.

- (2 j) The communications and news items were edited by an editor. In the apartment house where respondent lived was such a wall newspaper. Any tenant or a member of his family could write for this paper on any subject he wanted. There were personal news items, but also articles which praised the regime. At the office of respondent was a wall newspaper and there were also news ^{items} ~~papers~~ concerning the office and factory.
- (2 k) Yes, but only Communist papers and some trade papers or magazines of special interest. There was, for instance, House and Garden, which was received by an office which was in charge of house building. A similar magazine came from Italy, called Domus, then from Switzerland one, called Das Ideale Haus (The Ideal House). Respondent's wife received from relatives in London some fashion magazines.
- (2 l) Foreign papers were on sale on the street, at news stands and in stores, but they were exclusively Communist papers from France, Italy, Germany and the Iron Curtain countries.
- (2 m) Those which he could read had a refreshing effect on him. These were the trade magazines above mentioned, the other papers ~~and~~ and magazines were Communist and they didn't interest respondent.
- (3) Yes. Twice a month.
- (3 a) He selected a movie all over town because he was anxious to see certain films in which he was, or believed to be, interested. Italian, French, and English pictures. From the free countries only these were permitted to be imported.
- (3 c) The Hungarian-made pictures were exclusively political and propagandistic. The foreign films had a social slant, many of them were

produced by the Communist Party of that country. Being foreign-language films, some of them were synchronized in Hungarian and the dialogues were changed to the liking of the Government. Other foreign films were shown with subtitles and the text was so freely translated that very little remained of the original dialogue text. Foreign films were politically edited, what amounted to a thorough censorship.

- (3 d) Respondent liked some of the films, but never the Russian and Hungarian films, they were actually very unpopular.
- (3 e) Yes, almost only foreign films, except Russian films.
- (3 f) He saw the English film Oliver Twist, the French film Ali Baba, the Italian film Rome at Eleven, and he remembers one Hungarian film, whose title was A Glass of Light Beer (Piccolo, világes). There was never shown an entertaining film, if there was a comedy or at least called a comedy, there was very little to laugh.
- (3 g) Yes.
- (3 h) In Budapest there were 18 permanent theaters and respondent went once a month to see one of the classics like Shakespeare, Molière, Rostand, or something similar.
- (3 i) They changed to the worse, because they were selected for their propagandistic value, except some of the classics. There are no modern plays at all dealing with love or being erotically suggestive.
- (4) Yes.
- (4 b) About twenty.
- (4 c) The Old Man and the Sea by Hemingway, Strong People by Lennox, an American Tragedy by Theodore Dreiser, then a large number of biographies, including that of Abraham Lincoln by Emil Ludwig.

Since he liked to read biographies, he read those of Mozart, Liszt, and other musicians. Then a number of books by Hungarian authors, especially the classical authors who are not in vogue today.

- (4 d) Was interested to read them as he was interested to read books all the time.
- (4 e) In accordance with their literary and cultural values.
- (4 f) It was not easy to get books by non-Communist authors. The Government did not allot paper for printing authors of the Western world, so, for instance, a book of Hemingway was printed in a very small edition and only a few people could get ^{at} them. The older, though important books, were not re-issued, they could be found occasionally in an antiquarium shop. In public libraries only the modern Communist authors and, to a large extent, the Russian authors were available. At public libraries there still were some copies of the old and famous Hungarian and foreign authors, some of the classics of the Western world, unless they were not on the index and been removed from the libraries.
- (5) Yes, but only musical programs.
- (5 a) Because had no interest in the rest.
- (5 b) A Siemens Universal radio, shortwave for Hungarian and foreign stations.
- (5 c) In Hungary the stations Kossuth and Petöfi. These were the only two stations in Hungary. Of the foreign stations ^{see} ~~see~~ statements before.
- (5 d) Had listened only to classical music and operatic music, because ^{only} they interested him, ~~only~~ ^{as} far as the Hungarian stations were concerned.

- (5 e) Hours changed, but he listened mostly in the evening.
- (5 f) At home.
- (5 g) The performances of the symphonic orchestra.
- (6) Yes.
- (6 b) The B.B.C., Free Europe, sometimes the musical programs of the German and Italian stations.
- (6 c) In the news broadcast of B.B.C. and Free Europe.
- (6 d) Every day very carefully, in the evening.
- (6 e) The B.B.C. was objective, Free Europe was less objective and its propaganda appeared obvious. The Italian music was excellent and it was possible to hear it well.
- (6 f) Some of their news items proved to be correct and others proved to be untrue.

(7 contd.) He did not go, only to those which were compulsory.

(7a) ~~He~~ He was not interested in them.

(7b) To the trade union meetings, and to the production conferences.

(7c) He had to.

(7d) Every second week.

(7e) On political subjects and on those of the office.

(7f) The office or the shop committee.

(7g) Two to three hours.

(7h) ~~He~~ He was indifferent and passive.

(7i) Yes there were, but not critical questions, rather on unrelated and uninteresting topics.

(7j) The chairman opened the meeting and invited the speaker to make his speech. After that the chairman asked the audience to participate in discussions. ~~He~~ A long silence followed because nobody wanted to talk. After having waited for a time, the chairman gave loud encouragement to people to speak up. Eventually, somebody ~~was~~ stood up and said that the lecture was interesting and the speaker is right. After that some other people volunteered and spoke without any intention ~~or~~ willingness to utter a critical word. Those people who spoke up, did it because they didn't want to create the impression that they are passive. It happened very frequently that before the meeting the Party functionaries had assigned people to speak. People in whom they had confidence. The discussions were not colored by some controversial views, yet they became really animated and extended for long periods,--if they dealt with petty personal controversies.

- (8) ~~§~~ Yes.
- (8a) On political and economic questions.
- (8b) From colleagues at ^{his} ~~my~~ office.
- (8c) He heard a few days before the Revolution that the students had made up a ~~number~~ list of their grievances and are bound to submit their ~~number~~ demands to the government. He heard in advance about the price regulations which were due a couple of weeks later.
- (8d,e) Not all rumors were reliable, a large number of false rumors circulated.
- (8f) He heard rumors about the evaluation of money, about the introduction of ~~number~~ food cards, about the ~~number~~ shooting at the sessions of the Cabinet.
- (8g) In company and at his office.
- (8h) At homes and at offices.
- (8i) Yes, ^{the word,} ~~they heard,~~ those who had connections to foreign diplomatic representations, who knew employees of these diplomatic offices, those who had read ~~the~~ the papers and magazines published in the Western democratic countries, and first of all he had a very good friend who had an opportunity to read one of the most reliable newspapers of the world,--The Neue Züricher Zeitung,-- published in Zurich, Switzerland.
- (8j) At home, elsewhere it was quite dangerous, it did not depend on the ~~place~~, but on the person with whom one talked.
- (8k) The victims and sufferers of the regime were not too talkative, and if they talked they talked only to the closest people they had. Respondent had experience in his immediate family, ~~with~~ with people of this kind. He had some friends and relatives who had

tragic experiences and he heard from them something of the horrors of the regime, but he had no acquaintanceship with people who had special information.

- (81) He had seen leaflets which were illegal. One was very well printed on good paper and it probably came from the West. There was no signed name on it, neither the name of the responsible organization. It was addressed to the workers telling them that they are exploited. It was instigating in tone and highly critical of the Communist regime.

(9) Through ~~him~~ a Communist of lower rank who heard something of the Communists in higher positions.

(9a) ^{listened to} The foreign radio stations.

(9b) He was not interested in sports.

(9c) It was impossible to receive truthful information because there were no statistical data available and those which were ~~published~~ published were utterly unreliable on account of falsifications. Respondent mentions the case of the Budapest office of International Business Machines of New York. To this office was assigned the tabulation of official statistical material collected by the government. Forty-five Hungarians were employed at this office and they saw how statistical material was handled. The material was screened in advance, before it was turned over for tabulation and counting.

(10) A very small percentage of it ^{was true} and these were factual reports, as, for instance, that Eisenhower went to Bermuda to meet with the British Prime Minister.

This was a true event, but the commentary to it was pure propaganda.

- (10a) Through his own judgment.
- (10b) It did not change.
- (10c) Information on sports.
- (10d) On foreign and domestic policy and economic conditions.
- (10e) All were equally untrustworthy.
- (10f) ~~He~~ He did. People stood in long lines to buy a copy of it, but it was impossible to get one because it was printed in a very small number. Very few people could read it regularly because it was not available regularly.
- (10g) Its critical position and objective tone.
- (11) Very much because they were eager to learn the truth.
- (11a) The more intelligent people who wanted to ~~immediately~~ learn about the background of events, even those who were members of the Communist Party and lower functionaries. There were many fellow travelers among ~~them~~ them, intelligent enough to see what is going on. Even the peasants had listened to the foreign radios to get news through them.
- (11b) The less cultured and intelligent people and those Communists who were convinced of the regime's policy.
- (12) Through the foreign radio.
- (12a) Because it was in easy reach and the only source available to the average man.
- (12b) From experiences in the street, from the spontaneously printed handbills and leaflets, and from foreign radios.
- (12c) Very little.
- (13) Yes.

(13a)

From friends who returned from Russia. They all testified to it that many ~~was~~ people lost their lives there. Before Stalin's death the Russians were extremely inhuman, but these softened somewhat after his death. In labor camps people had to work very hard, every step was strictly controlled and the watchmen and sentries could shoot anyone for some minor reason. They shot many people for alleged desertion or flight. They received rewards for shooting deserters and they frequently provoked situations which seemed to be desertions and then shot the people. So, for instance, it could happen that someone left for the washroom and was shot, or someone overstepped just one foot the line within which he had to work. Such instances were not exceptions, but the rule and ~~same~~ this system prevailed in most of the Russian labor camps.

(13b)

The papers gave wide publicity to it and brought even photographs of it.

(13c)

The Hungarian papers reported that the South Koreans started it on American instigation and with American military experts.

(13d)

He certainly was, he did the same with other people what eventually happened to him.

(13e)

Respondent knows that it was planned, but it is not realized. The Hungarian press scored it to the utmost.

(13f)

It was ~~was~~ one of the first hopes for ~~was~~ a change. The Hungarian press wrote about it, saying that it was instigated by the Western capitalists and imperialists.

(13g)

Respondent knows about that very little, almost nothing because there was no news available ^{through} to the Hungarian press prior to his leaving Hungary.

In questioning Respondent he made the following remarks: the Communist Party, the Hungarian government and their propagandists including the press, represented the Western world as the enemies of the people. The only aim of Western democracy is the exploitation of the working classes for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. The Western Democracies and their functioning is governed by money interests and in foreign policy their only goal is to enslave foreign people. They do that through wars and they are ready any time to attack the real democracies of the peoples led by Russia. But they will have a hard time to achieve that because the mighty Russian Communist regime will prevent it. Russia is the only country which respects human rights and has abolished the exploitation of man by man. Russia does and will help all the people of the world to abolish the exploitation and Russia is the only preserver and protector of peace. Russia has the power and the knowledge to check the Western imperialists and to keep peace all over the world.

This is the image the Communists try to create to justify themselves and their policies. Respondent, well-informed, was immune to it.

- (1) Fundamental changes will be needed concerning human rights. The ~~suppression~~ ^{must cease.} of free speech, ~~the~~ ^{sense in} ~~the~~ establishment of political parties, free elections, a free press, and the expression of free opinions ^{take place.} must ~~be changed~~. Their maintenance is ^{essential to the} ~~essential to the~~ free democratic process, which means progress and improvements. ~~The denial of~~ human rights, personal freedom, and equality are ideals which must be maintained in a free society, because everybody has these rights, without privileges of birth, religion, or social standing.
- (1 a) The control of coal, iron, and the sources of electric power should be controlled in the interest of a sound national economy. The several branches of sport^sing (K) should be maintained and made available to the whole population, because they contribute to health and to a happier life. Learning and higher education should be made available to all social groups, so that talented young people should offer their best to the nation. The health service and old-age pension should be compulsory and all old people, without exception, should enjoy it, because this is a human obligation.
- (2) Yes.
- (2 a) It is a basic requirement of the democratic process to enable people to express their opinions through a party and to vote accordingly.
- (2 b) It is of basic importance. ~~XXXXXX~~
- (2 c) There should be no exception whatever.
- (3) There should be free criticism with one limitation; the armed and forceful instigation ^{to violence.}
- (3 a) Everybody has the right to express his opinion and to influence the government, otherwise the government would not be the representative

of the people.

- (3 b) No. Because this would be the violation of free speech and free opinion.
- (4) Yes.
- (4 a) Even so.
- (4 b & c) Because criticism is the key to progress.'
- (4 d) No exception whatever.
- (4 e) Against a totalitarian government, because this does not represent the will of the majority.
- (5) Yes, because they are the key industries, basic to all other branches of industry.
- (5 a) They ^{if} control is needed for national security and for a balanced industry, which can be achieved only by a central management.
- (5 b) In Hungary there was no distinction. Either it is controlled or not.
- (5 d) Profit is good *and needed.*
- (6) No.
- (6 a) Because it excludes free competition and in this case the quality and the quantity of produced goods suffer.
- (6 b) State control can start with the establishment and limitation of new enterprises. Some will have to be supported and others not. Subventioning some of the enterprises is a form of control. (This is a personal remark of ^{interviewer:} ~~mine~~. On the Continent the theory and practice of state controls are different of our American forms.)
- (6 c) Free production and trade.
- (7) Yes, there should be some in specific cases.
- (7 a) Because of intelligent planning.

- (7 b) The electric energy and public transportation like the railroad, shipping, and the airways.
- (7 c) Those of consumer goods, like clothing and food.
- (8) Government planning is only possible if all enterprises are in the possession of the government. Respondent does not approve that.
- (8 a) Because the working people are not interested in the ^{management of the} production and then there is no one to takes the responsibility in the last instance. It is hard to do planning in minute details. There must be free competition in order to control the quality and the prices, and people who are able to produce better are entitled to the profit.
- (8 b) The practice proved it abundantly that in the economic life the human factors must be taken into consideration. A system which excludes the human element cannot offer better results than we have seen in the Communist system, though they have ideals, but the results ~~are~~ fall far short of their ideals and the difference between ideals and results is tremendous.
- (8 c) The~~n~~ experience in both is the same. It is characterized by the great waste of material and poor products.
- (8 d,e) According to the theory of respondent, he is not in favor of government planning.
- (9) In favor.
- (9 a) In the interest of smooth operation and coordinated development of new plans.
- (9 b) No differences.
- (10) In favor.
- (10 a) Because everybody is entitled to make a living and unemployment

must be abolished.

- (10 b) There might be a danger to it. Some people may lose their individual ambitions because they believe the state will take care of them.
- (10 c) The paying of appropriate taxes.
- (11) Yes, there are.
- (11 a) Because government interference through controls are irrational. There are spheres which are strictly personal.
- (11 b) Family life, religion, dressing and grooming, personal taste, literature and arts, the publishing of books and writing them.
- (12) Yes.
- (12 b) Taxpaying, military service, and obeying orders and laws.
- (12 f) Yes.
- (13) Not to the slightest degree.
- (14) It had improved.
- (14 a) The quality did not improve because too many people had to go to one doctor and his treatment must necessarily be mechanical.
- (14 b) Medical treatment is easier available, especially for the low income groups.
- (14 c) The clinics are very well equipped, much better than a private physician. But first, people had to go to the district doctor. This was the physician assigned to a few blocks and all tenants belonged to this doctor. Then there was a doctor for each shop, assigned to treat the workers and employees. If the case had required further investigation or treatment, these doctors sent the patient to the clinics.
- (14 d) Insurance is necessary for all the people, with no exceptions. It was extended to elderly people, too. These were people who did

not earn their livelihood and had to be supported.

- (15) Yes.
- (15 a) They are much cheaper today.
- (15 b,c) No.
- (15 d) Workers have more opportunity, ~~than~~ ^{but} those people who went before the Communist regime, have less opportunity.
- (15 e) They do, but are very selective with regard to good performances, and good programs. Generally the Russian programs are avoided.
- (15 f) People can afford to visit movies and theaters and they are available; in every shop and office there is a so-called "visitors' organizer" whose function is to secure tickets for the staff. This visitors' organizer is a permanent fixture at every shop and he buys ~~in~~ in advance and distributes tickets.
- (16 a) No.
- (16 b,c) Yes.
- (16 d) Those who earn more money can buy more food.
- (16 e) The high ~~rank~~ Army and Government officials, privileged artists and their families are able to secure in specially reserved stores, established for them, all the foods they want, including foreign products like sardines, oranges, bananas, cocoa, coffee, rice, and other rare domestic articles.
- (17, a,b,c,) No.
- (17 d) Has his personal experience and that of his family and friends. Respondent had to wear his suit for 14 years because could not afford to buy a new suit.

- (17 e) There is no difference, except for people with very high income.
- (18) Yes.
- (18 a) There were new factories established.
- (18 b) It is good.
- (18 c) Yes, very differently. Many of the new establishments worked with a deficit and must be subventioned because their production costs are much higher than they receive from the sold products.
- (19, 19a) Yes.
- (19 b) Not all should be abolished, but placed on voluntary basis and be allowed to function as private enterprises. This ^{should depend} ~~is based~~ on self-determination *of the interested peasants.*
- (19 c) Those which should be abolished should be returned into private property. The very large landholdings, called in Hungary the latifundiums, if they are over 500 holds, must be parcelled. A few model farms must remain in state property because they serve a very good purpose in an agricultural state. (Here interviewer wishes to give an explanation of the Hungarian measure of land. In Hungary the land unit is called hold. One hold is 1,42 acres and therefore a 500-hold estate would be 710 acres.) There is an agency in Hungary, called Állami Földbirtokrendező Bizottság (State Commission for the Regulation of Landholdings). Respondent believes the function of this commission should be to decide in all affairs concerning agricultural property.
- (19 d) The cattle should be distributed as well as part of the inventory, except the tractors, which are to be taken into state property. The tractors should be turned over to the villages for common use on a rental basis.

- (19 e) If the strip system means small landholdings, the answer is yes. However, if it means less than two holds, the answer is no.
- (19 f) If they were less than 500 holds, this means ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ 710 acres, they should be restored, but if they are larger, they must be distributed and reduced to not more than 500 holds.
- (19 g) They must be restored. There was ~~the~~^a quite confused idea of the definition of a kulak. Theoretically the kulak was who had more than 20 or 30 holds, but practically sometimes he was a smallholder with not more than 5 holds. If he had an enemy, he was stigmatized and subjected to all disadvantages.
- (19 h) They can, if they are intelligently managed.
- (19 i) If they are not in state property, but private management, the members of the collective farm and the whole national economy can benefit from them.
- (20) To keep them in communal property, under the management of villages and small agricultural towns.
- (20 a) Not in government, but in communal^{al} ownership, as said above.
- (20 b) No.
- (20 c) No.
- (20 d) Has no exact information on that.
- (20 e) It is.
- (21) While in production problems they should not be consulted, they should have self-determination rights concerning working conditions. This means they should be free and able to discuss wages, working hours, and other welfare provisions.

- (21 a) They should unite laborers and represent them and their interests.
- (21 b) Completely independent.
- (21 c) No compulsory membership at all.
- (21 d) Union membership should mean the payment of union fees, the holding of regular meetings, the free expression of opinions at the meetings and the free election of union leaders. The unions should have the right to represent the workers and to make use of strikes.
- (21 e) It was exactly the contrary.
- (21 f) To step in into controversial questions and represent the workers against the employees, insisting on their interests and remedies for their grievances. This all should be made subject to discussion and the workers councils' purpose is just that.
- (21 g) He doesn't know *it*.
- (21 h) If they are independent ^{and} ~~are~~ operate/democratically, they can be very successful.
- (21 i) They should be experts in their fields and responsible to the owners.
- (22) They must be dealt with differently, in accordance with their deeds during the communism.
- (22 a) No.
- (22 b) If they ~~have~~ have not already left, they should be expatriated to Russia.
- (22 c) They should be investigated as to their records, whether they engaged in arbitrary acts beyond their official positions.
- (22 d) They should be more thoroughly investigated and carefully watched as to their attitude in the democratic system.

- (22 e) To leave them free and unmolested.
- (22 f) The leaders should be taken into custody and investigated as to criminal acts, they had committed. The rank and file membership should be investigated too, but leave them the opportunity to find their place in the democratic society.
- (22 g) The Hungarian-Soviet Society as well as the Hungarian Women's Democratic Association.
- (22 h) The wrath of the people was directed only against the AVH, because this agency and its members were the most hated people in Hungary.
- (23) It was an extremely forced undertaking. The methods and the aims failed completely. The system wanted to gain the favor and the enthusiasm of the children, but the subjects and the way how they taught them did not leave lasting marks in the youthful souls. The reason for it was that they ~~taught~~ taught ideological propaganda ⁿ instead of objective knowledge.
- (23 a) Before 1944, there was some ideological prejudice in Hungarian education, but it was not so significant. It had patriotic and religious foundations. Today it is anti-religious and Russian-oriented, with the complete disregard of national traditions. To ~~my~~ ^{the respondent's} question to be more specific and give some concrete examples, respondent cited George Dózsa, the leader of the Hungarian peasants at the time when they fought for their freedom against the Hungarian landowners. George Dózsa is considered today as the first Communist, though he lived at a time when communism and marxism was to come ^{four} ~~two~~ centuries later. Another example is that of Sándor Petőfi, the greatest Hungarian poet. He was the leader of the Revolution

in 1848 and the Communists made of him a pioneer of communism.

- (23 b) ~~NEEK~~ Before 1944, higher education was possible only for people who had the means for it. During communism, the class origin was decisive and the candidates for higher education were admitted in accordance with their origin.
- (23 c) Both were bad.
- (23 d) It is very important, because only through education can culture be extended and only through knowledge can people become cultured.
- (24) They should be independent from each other. The Church should have all the rights and not more than any other community which is formed by membership.
- (24 a) Completely.
- (24 b) All should be equal, with no preference to anyone.
- (24 c) They should not, but they should have one privilege. The state should ^{collect} ~~ask~~ for them the taxes which every Hungarian has to pay to his religious denomination. (Interviewer's remark for the understanding of this statement: in Hungary there was the so-called kultusz-taxation. Each citizen had to pay to the federal income tax office, or rather to the state income tax office, the tax due to the religious denomination to which the taxpayer belonged. The amount of the tax was determined by and based on his regular income tax he had to pay to the state. The collected kultusz-tax was then transferred from the tax office through the Department of Finance to the denominations.) ^{Respondent thinks: if that would not be so, the denominations could not carry on at all.}
- (24 d) They should, because there is a moral education needed. Respondent ^{is} believes that the ethical teachings of all churches, such as love

of the fellow-man, are identical with all denominations.

(24 e) ^{no, education} They should not be dependent, because they ^{public schools} need their own freedom and independence to be self-governing bodies.

(25) Interviewer reviewed with respondent Hungarian history and elicited the following highlights of the past. The interpretation of the events is that of respondent. The founding in Hungary took place in AD 896. The fact that the Hungarians have occupied the low country at the Danube was a great historic event insofar as they divided the Northern and Southern Slavs and prevented the establishment of a large Slavic empire. ~~Bohemia~~ ^{PATASKY,} the famous Czech historian, said that it was the greatest tragedy for the Slavic peoples that the Hungarians appeared in Europe. ¶ In the year 1222 the Golden Bull was issued in Hungary. It was similar to the Magna Charta in England. It gave the rights to the large landholders to exercise their jus resistendi (their right to resist the wishes of the king, who could not make decisions any more without the consent of the large landholders.) ¶ There was the invasion of the Tartars in the year 1240. The Hungarians had stopped them to reach Western Europe. ¶ In the XIVth Century the Hungarian King Sigismund was the German-Roman emperor of the Empire and Buda was the capital of this great German-Roman Empire, with a great influence over almost all Europe. ¶ The next ~~important~~ historic event of world importance was the invasion by the Turks. They set out to conquer all of Europe and Hungary halted them through their resistance from the year 1456 to 1686 when Buda was reoccupied by the Hungarians and eventually the Turks were driven out of Hungary. ¶ The Hungarian Revolution of 1848 was one well known over the Western world. Its leader ^{Louis} ~~Bartholy~~ Kossuth

found refuge in America. It was a Revolution for freedom and national independence against ^{the} Hapsburg dynasty. This Revolution ended tragically for Hungary because of the Russian intervention. Hungary aligned itself with the Western world when the mid-century revolutions had taken place. ¶ In 1914 the Hungarian Prime Minister Count Stephen ^{TISZA} ~~Pusk~~ was the first and only one who took a position against World War I. ¶ The 1956 Revolution against Communism was as much an acceptance of Western civilization and its protection as the above mentioned historical events were in the past. ¶ Among the individual contributions to Western culture, Respondent cites the following names: Albrecht ^{DURER} ~~Durer~~ in the 15th Century, although he was known as a German he was actually Hungarian. ^{ANYOS JEDLIK} ~~János Jedlik~~ was the inventor of ~~missing~~ the electric dynamo two years before Siemens invented it. Janos ^{IRINYI} ~~Irinyi~~ invented matches in the 19th Century. In the 20th Century there were and are very great number of scientists, musicians, playwrights and writers, mathematicians and physicists, doctors and artists who gained world reputations. He mentions Liszt, Bartok, ^{KODÁLY} ~~Kodály~~, Molnar, Semmelweis, just to name a few.

- (26)(a) The Hapsburg rule over Hungary was ~~was~~ a constant struggle against absolutism. Through an effective economic policy Hungary was kept in agricultural conditions and the development of industry was prevented.
- (26b) Because of the unfortunate distribution of land property.
- (26c) It did have a partly feudal society.
- (26d) It was bad because it was against modern developments.

- (26a) Politically it was neither a democracy nor ~~totalitarianism~~ ^{a totalitarianism} system. It was a limited democracy with Fascistic tendencies but it was not totalitarian, rather a nationalistic democracy. Materially during the Horthy system there was a constant depression with a low living standard because of the Trianon Peace Treaty in 1920.
- (26f) Yes, it was, but since 1938 they decreased compared with the years before 1938.
- (26g) This question is very hard to answer because Hungary was throughout her history in a geographical location which was very difficult to defend. Hungary should not have fought in World War II. The leaders wanted to prevent it to extremes, but if Hungary had not entered the War against the Russians in 1941, the Germans would have occupied it the way they occupied Czechoslovakia. The Germans occupied Hungary three years later in 1944. ^{This} ~~Germany~~ had the advantage that the Germans did not govern the Hungarian people and they were unable to send Hungarian Jews to concentration camps for liquidation. It is an ~~important~~ historical fact that Hungary resisted to the utmost the political demands of the Nazi government, which was neither controlled nor advised by the Germans. From the viewpoint of military strategy Hungary is and was unable to resist because her borders cannot be defended. This is a tragic fact, and knowing it, makes it impossible to stay neutral in a war between two great powers.
- (26h) During that period, at first, there was prosperity and hopeful signs of rebuilding of the country. There was democratic freedom, a free press and many parties could function. There were free elections and based on the election result, ^a coalition cabinet governed the land.

In the spirit of the democratic principles, though few representatives they had in Parliament, the Communists were admitted into the Cabinet. They insisted ^{on} the filling the position of Secretary of Interior, and László Rajk became Secretary of the Interior. The Secretariat of the Interior in Hungary is a key position from which the internal policy of the country can be greatly influenced. László Rajk used this position to abolish the democratic institutions one after the other. First of all, the election law and the election system. The Communist Secretary of Interior introduced an election law which made it possible that people could vote several times at several places. The Communists used this loophole in a way that one man voted at several voting districts. They carried the voters in trucks from one voting booth to another and so they got a much larger number of votes than ~~there~~ ^{there} really were Communist voters. Then again the Communist Secretary of Interior prevented the functioning of other parties with the most unusual police methods. So the Communists gradually slipped into the institutions and eventually abolished them.

(27) Respondent hesitates to make generalizations because there are different characters within one nation. He would say that the Hungarian national character is conservative, individualistic, industrious, and inventive.

(27 a) It does insofar as the Germans are more disciplined because they are more of average mass characters. For the sake of extreme comparison, respondent believes that the Hungarian people has nothing of the superiority complex the German nation has.

- (27 b) He does not know it.
- (27 c) While in Hungary, his image of the American was that they are cold, materialistic, and lacking any human feelings. This picture of Americans was created by Communist propaganda, yet his experience with Americans changed completely. He finds that they are friendly, understanding, and above all, eager to be helpful to people who live in disadvantageous conditions.
- (27 d) It did not change, it may be effected in intensity, but not in basic quality.
- (27 f) In cultured people the national character is less pronounced, it takes a more refined form in the sense of internationalism. The common people, not too well educated and refined, makes up the bulk of the typically national character and this is the case in Hungary too.
- (28) They are not important.
- (28 b) Because respondent's ideal is the United States of Europe and the time has come for this stage of advancement.
- (28 c) Yes.
- (28 d) The claim to the territories of neighboring countries where Hungarians live. They are and always will be Hungarians because they had maintained relations with the ancient Hungarian culture and wish to live together with the Hungarian people.
- (28 e) No.
- (28 f) Yes, it is, in view of the Slavic and Germanic expansionism.
- (28 g) The Czech and the German imperialist policy tends to swallow up

Hungary, or at least to use Hungary for their own purposes.

- (28 i) Very well, though in 1945 the Czechoslovak Government deported 50,000 Hungarian families to Hungary. They were put in railroad cars and simply brought over the border.
- (28 j) In Hungary as well as in Rumania very well.
- (28 k) Very well. There is no mutual animosity among them.
- (28 l) Very well within the Hungarian and the Yugoslavian borders.
- (28 m) Very well. There is no anti-Semitism in Hungary.
 (28 n) Yes.
 (29) It is very useful because Middle Europe consists of a mixture of different peoples with different ethnical characteristics which are not always in harmony. They certainly will be decreased and through the enlargement of the economic body, the economic conditions will greatly gain.
- (29 a) A federation of republics organized on democratic principles.
- (29 b) The political and economic division as well as the borders will be abolished. The new state should have an integrated economy within the borders of the federation; they ^{members} should keep their ethnic distinctions, but defense and monetary affairs should be common.
- (29 c) All members of the federation should be equal at the leadership level. No ~~one~~ nation should have special privileges.
- (29 d) If there should be a regional federation, it should be a Danubian one.
- (30) They are people like everybody else, very much mixed.
- (30 a) There are. For instance Slav^s, Mongolian^s, Caucasian^s, Ukrainian^s, and so forth.
- (30 b) There are both among them.

- (30 c) They are not all Communists. They are first and above all Russians in their feeling and dealing. Respondent was in Russia as a member of the Hungarian Army and had an opportunity to make observations of the simple Russian people. He had seen their everyday life in small villages and on farms. They had openly laughed about the propaganda the Communists make. They still live in great poverty, their apartments are not furnished. They had no furnitures at all. There is no electricity in small villages, neither do they use lamps for lighting up after darkness, but they have small candles and to save them they go very early to bed in wintertime.
- (30 d) Had no intimate contacts.
- (30 e) It was friendly and rather sympathetic.
- (30 f) After they were for a while in Hungary, the feelings toward the Russians had changed. It became disapproving. Then it grew in intensity ^{to} in outspoken enmity and hate.
- (30 g) They want to rule Hungary and exploit her to the utmost.
- (31) It is the movement of the proletarians to establish a Communist society. It is outdated. After experimenting with it, it proved to be unsuccessful on account of its economic and humanitarian failures.
- (31 a) That it drew attention of the whole world to social problems. The accumulation theory of capital has scientifically something to it.
- (31 b) That non-economic elements were brought into economic theories.
- (31 c)d) Has studied economics at the college and has made intensive studies afterward. Has read a large number of books on the history of economics and theoretical economics.

- (31 e) They adapted it fully from Russia, following Lenin's and Stalin's interpretations. They had no views of their own.
- (31 f) Respondent concedes that he read the Marxist literature with prejudice, but he approached the problem with a willingness to learn and review^{ed} each theory with as much rationality he could muster. He arrived at the conclusion that these theories are in contrast with human rights. He believes in these human rights strongly and fondly because they are unalienable. Neither do the conditions exist today which were characteristic of the economic life at the time when Marx lived. Marx could not take in account the factors which entered later into history and gave a new direction to social economy.
- (31 g) He certainly was. However, he corrected and developed it.
- (31 h) He was not. He placed the international ideals of communism in the service of Russian national aims and followed a policy of imperialism.
- (31 i) Yes, they are, but reshaped marxism for the needs of our time and keyed it to the democratic process.
- (31 j) Theoretically it is not possible, marxism professes the struggle of classes and the proletarian dictatorship. If they are to be practically realized, a marxist cannot achieve it without resorting to antidemocratic means.
- (31 k) A democrat means to accept and practice democracy. It means the equality of every citizen and the free exercise of all human rights which are protected by the state.

- (31 1) There was never a full democracy in Hungary in the American sense of the word.
- (31 m) He is a marxist.
- (32) It means independence from international communism. Its aim is to establish and develop state capitalism within the borders of a particular nation.
- (32 a) Yes, there were.
- (32 b) These were members of the Communist Party who were convinced marxists, but wanted to emancipate themselves from the Russian exploitation. They hoped to liberate themselves and the Party from the Russian brand of communism and go their own way.
- (32 c) It was an attempt of independence from Russia.
- (32 d) He is a national Communist.
- (32 e) Perhaps a few, but not the international Communists, yet a national Communist can be an honest Hungarian patriot.
- (33) Yes.
- (33 a) A social democratic system, modelled after the British Labor Party's program.
- (34 a) Socialism is good because it promotes general welfare.
- (34 b) Colonialism is good if it helps colonial people to raise their culture and eventually to establish their own state.
- (34 c) Class struggle is very bad because it disrupts the balance of social life through hate and constant struggles. A great amount of energy is wasted instead of employing it for productive purposes.
- (34 d) It is bad, because it is a protective branch of the Communist Party.
- (34 e) It is bad because it means the forceful suppression of other people

and the suppression of their interests.

- (34 f) It is good if it aims for the prevention of wars and it does not serve the interests of only one ~~power~~ power or state.
- (34 g) It is good in the sense of Western capitalism which fosters individual initiative and produces results.
- (34 h) It is good in that sense that it means the educated middle class, which is always interested to preserve the culture of the land and the progress of the whole country and ^{in a healthy balance} of the society.
- (34 a above is to be supplemented as follows: Socialism is advantageous to the just distribution of goods. (Crises can be avoided through planning; health service and old-age pensions go with Socialism.)
- (35) Their thinking varies in accordance with their personal interests and convictions.
- (36) Respondent believes that all people mentioned from "a" to "l" receive much less than they deserve, for the simple reason that everybody receives too little.
- (37) Respondent knows from own experience that all groups are worse off now than before 1944.
- (38)a) Coincide.
- (38 b) Coincide.
- (38 c) Conflict.
- (31 d) Conflict.
- (38 e) Coincide.
- (38 f) Coincide.
- (38 g) Coincide.

- (38 h) No.
- (38 i) Coincided.
- (38 j) Conflicted.
- (38 k) Conflicted.
- (39) No one would put up an individual fight for the regime and there are no social groups which would fight for it.
- (39 a) Everybody would fight against the regime who is not willing and prepared to take later on refuge in Russia. In case of a war, the intelligentsia would take the lead in the fight and the workers and students would form the main body of striking forces, with the peasants joining them later. They would align themselves with any foreign nation which declares war against Communist Hungary if it is a Western nation professing democratic principles. The whole Hungarian population would receive the foreign army as liberators. New parties ^{would} ~~will~~ be established and they would take responsibility for public order. Soon elections would be held and people, enriched with their past experiences, would very seriously consider their duties as Hungarians and good citizens.

(1) Respondent said that I had really asked him a great many questions and he would like ^{to} ask me just one question that bothers him very much: "What can Hungary expect from the United States in helping her to regain freedom since so much hope was placed in American intervention."

My answer was, "So far as I can judge the situation an armed intervention that many Hungarians had in mind, is far remote at the present time. This administration's policy toward ~~Hungary~~ Hungary was based on action taken by the United Nations. America is a democracy and in the last analysis any decisive move in the foreign policy must have the support of the population ^{'s} ~~majority~~ majority, represented through Congress, especially in armed intervention or outright war. The case of Hungary is part of ~~the~~ larger complex and ^{it} can be remedied only through the solution of ~~it~~ ^{the differences} between the United States and Russia, whether through peaceful means or otherwise that is the great question. The fact is that war in this country is unpopular, but moral support for and material help to suppressed nations is traditional."

Respondent recountered: "Does that mean that the United States does acknowledge ^{Russia's} right or ~~might~~?"

My answer was: "Any right to dominate Hungary was publicly denounced a hundred times by the officials of the American government, but that Russia is militarily powerful is generally acknowledged, yet to what degree she is capable of waging a war and also win it, is beyond my and many other people's knowledge. The new elements of the nuclear weapons

and the rockets are to be considered and they are of top secret."

- (1a) It is very useful but he regrets the repetitions.
- (1b) Great deal of material.
- (1c) Of biased and ~~many~~ extremely subject ^{ive} answers. Many ~~young~~ people are affected by emotions ~~in~~ and by the bitterness of their experience and they removed themselves from reality and gave answers that are not very useful for scientific research.
- (1d) *Yes, they will be well-meant.*
- (1a) More questions about Hungarian industry and industrialization.
- (2a) Yes, he would like to return to Hungary when the system changes. He would like to be called an American citizen and work as long as he is able to work and then when he retires he would like to live in Hungary, to be buried there.
- (3) He wouldn't know about it.
- (3a) Has nothing available.
- (3b) Yes, in fictional form.
- (3c) Interviewer recommends Respondent for special interviews on industrial, social, historical, and art subjects.
- (3d) He has a friend in Philadelphia, he is medical doctor who has information in health and hygienic conditions in Hungary. He would have to get in touch with him. M

My impressions of the Respondent as to his personality, goal and motivations; Respondent holds a doctorate in political ~~science~~ science which he earned at the University of Budapest in 1934, at a time when college education in Hungary was rather characterized by free scientific inquiry. Having maintained

his intellectual curiosity, following his formal education respondent continued to improve his knowledge through self-study in history, sociology, economics, and arts with a view of becoming a writer.

The Communist regime made Respondent ~~make~~ even more conscious of social and economic doctrines, since he was able to understand the theoretical background of the Communist practices. He read intensively in related literature and viewed the events as a ^{keen} key observer.

Respondent creates the impression of the prototype of the educated Hungarian middle class with progressive leaning, who endeavors to evaluate events and situations squarely and rationally. He is aware of the distinctions between objective scientific methods based on facts and observations, ^{highly} ~~highly~~ ^{subjective} ~~his~~ ^{and} ~~subjective~~ emotional judgment, and propagandistic designs. I solicited and succeeded in receiving a great deal of information supplementing the questions contained in the questionnaire, minute details that respondent was able to supply through his first-hand knowledge. It proved, however, to be impracticable to make notes of the phrasing of my additional questions, for they were spontaneous and too many, yet the answers I received, frequently indicate the questions I had directed to respondent. The sincerity of his statements, their spontaneous projection through carefully selected words straight to the point, convinced me that as a result of study and contemplation, respondent's views had matured when he still lived in Hungary.

I recommend respondent for special interviews on social, industrial, and art subjects.