

(1)

In the early '50's it was announced by the regime that the prices would ~~will~~ be levelled. In reality this meant that the prices of textile materials and other consumer goods were <sup>to be</sup> raised. In the beginning, people did not see what happened. More and more it became clear in the eyes of people that the exploitation of the Hungarian people for the benefit of Soviet Russia ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> going to take place. The purchasing power of money changed suddenly. People could get ~~even~~ the most important consumer goods <sup>only</sup> with the greatest difficulty. They had to pay one month's earnings for one suit of clothes and they could buy two, or in the best circumstances three, pairs of shoes for a full one month's earnings. It became evident that the standard of living had been reduced in Hungary and that the Soviet power ~~seeks~~ <sup>sought</sup> to keep it on the level of Russia or even a little lower. The next step was large scale exportation of Hungarian industrial goods. People whispered to each other that the Soviet Union buys goods in Hungary far below the world market prices. What was worse, the Soviets made it impossible that the terms of shipment be kept, by making various excuses. Hungary had to pay great penalties for forfeiting the terms. Thus, they gained not only by the very low prices, but also by penalties. I was told by an acquaintance that <sup>the</sup> Ganz shipyard in Budapest got an order from Russia to build ships to be used in the canal system in construction between Moscow and Leningrad. It was stipulated in the contract that the washstands in the cabins should be of 60 centimeters diameter. When the ships were ready, the Russian commission found ~~it was~~ that the diameter size was only 59.2 centimeters. It refused to ~~a~~ take over the whole ship. It was

in '50 or '51. People talked over such things when they met each other in the "espressos" (bars). Their slogan went on that the Iron Curtain should be raised on the Western and let down on the Eastern border of the country.

- (2a) I think that such things belong to the incubation period of the Revolution.
- (2b) Everybody hoped that some change would come, effecting some relaxation both in economic and political matters. Yet it was pondered that Hungarian leaders in Nazi times were more Nazis than the Germans and that the present Communist leaders of Hungary are worse than those in Russia. They were the most servile to Russia among the Communist leaders of the satellite states. Therefore, a quick change did not come.
- (2c) People hoped that pressure ~~might~~<sup>would</sup> be lessened and real relaxation ~~would~~<sup>would</sup> ~~might~~ come. They imagined that a Socialist country will be constructed according to the specific conditions in Hungary. Yet, Mátyás Rákosi, had a speech three days after Imre Nagy assumed premiership and announced that the kulak remain~~g~~ kulak. Many people thought that they had hoped in vain. Anyway, I was told in '54 or '55 by friends that Hungarian railroad men made ~~mistakes~~<sup>difficulties</sup> by transporting shipments to the Soviet Union. I imagine this was an outcome of the mood that prevailed in the first premiership time of Imre Nagy.
- (2d) It was a common opinion that in connection with this peacemaking Hungary was ordered by the Soviet Union to start negotiations with Yugoslavia. Before the feud with Yugoslavia started, expensive building construction works were made in Hungary in order to

develop the Hungarian industry by Yugoslave assistance. They were stopped suddenly and Yugoslavia requested now that she get compensation for her losses produced by Hungary's behavior. When Gerö met Tito in Moscow, everybody saw that the whole thing was arranged by Moscow and the peace with Tito served the aims of the Soviet Union. All these highly contributed to the discontent.

(2e) The Hungarian daily papers and also world newspapers wrote about it. Different meetings and lectures were held to explain that Stalin made great errors both in the economic sense and in foreign politics. It was implied that new relations <sup>would</sup> ~~will~~ be established between the Soviet Union and the satellite states, as well as with the Soviet Union and the Western countries. With reference to the new Soviet leaders, Party members tried to convince non-Party members that the new Party <sup>leaders</sup> ~~members~~ are lambs and not wolves. Yet, all this made people consider the whole Bolshevik rule as rotten.

Even before this time, already a real sense of dualism developed in Hungarian youth. They were told that the Soviet Partisan fighters <sup>would</sup> ~~will~~ were demigods and that the time ~~will~~ <sup>would</sup> come when the Hungarian youth ~~will~~ <sup>would</sup> have to act in a similar way. These teachings had results in the Hungarian Revolution, but quite in another way than the Communist leaders had hoped. Youth heard from their parents what kind of life existed before the Communist rule. When their teachers explained to them that Communism is the only right form of life, they only derided it ~~to themselves~~. Hungarian youth knew exactly that things they heard in their homes must not be mentioned in the school, or before people who had Communist feelings. They were taught in the school that long live Communism and that

the ideas of Lenin, Marx will be victorious. But this was only the school.

I had a composer friend who wrote an operetta about a marionette hussar. It was played probably seventy to eighty times. A song was in the operetta telling when the soldiers will have to take up arms. The time of the operetta was put in the so-called Kuruc-Labanc Times of Hungary, <sup>more than two</sup> ~~several~~ centuries ago. Yet, the song was left out from the operetta in 1955. Only later I felt that it was in connection with the general mood of people, with their general discontent and readiness to oppose Communism.

(2f) The Berlin and later the Poznan events stimulated the feeling considerably. It was said that still there are courageous men who not only in confidential circle of friends, but even openly oppose ~~spoke~~ Communist rule.

(2g) After the first Imre Nagy period, writers and composers <sup>spoke</sup> ~~spoke~~ more openly and started more criticism. The removal of Mátyás Rákosi served as an avalanche on the way of expressing opinions and criticizing freely.

(2h, 2i) Artists, writers, and people in general expressed their discontent more and more, and it was the general feeling that things <sup>could not</sup> ~~would~~ go forever in the way done before. Yet I was very much surprised by the outbreak of revolution.

(3a, 3b) The attitude of people did not indicate an armed uprising. As for myself, I was convinced that after the conclusion of the Austrian state treaty and the declaration of Austrian neutrality an armed uprising in Hungary can be successful only in connection with a war between the Soviet Union and the West. I remembered and talked



over with my friends that when the Baltic states were annexed to Russia virtually nothing happened and this would be the same in the case of the small Hungary. I think it is rightly to be supposed that most of the Hungarian people <sup>had</sup> have similar feelings.

- (3c) At the time already, when Ernő Gerő visited Tito, there were demonstrations in Budapest on the streets. People wanted and sometimes probably even told so, that Gerő has to leave his place and must be replaced by someone else. When Gerő was reinforced in his position, this raised the mood for open demonstrations. People felt intuitively that something must happen; former mild criticisms did not bring adequate changes and therefore, more decisive steps were thought inevitable. Discontent went higher when no real change was forthcoming.
- (4a) There was not.
- (4b) Economic chaos and the demand that Communist leaders who were guilty enforcing Stalinist politics in Hungary should leave their place were of the greatest importance in this respect. Many things, as for example, the immense costs of the planned Budapest subway, and the forcing of poor peasants to Kolkhozes were remembered.
- (4c) Part of the people wanted an independent Socialist Hungary; others wanted much more radical changes. I could observe in friendly circles how, step by step, the idea of Hungary's independence and the change of the regime developed.
- (4d) I don't have any exact idea about it.
- (4e) People taking part in the Revolution wanted to get rid of the political regime and its economic system. On the other side nobody wanted to return to the quasi semi-feudalism or the Horthy

regime, to the time of the latifundia and big capitalism.

- (4f) They longed for political and economic independence, democratic political life, many party system, and more influence of people in governmental politics. I talked with workers, civil servants, engineers, and all of them spoke in the same way. All of them were aware of the faults committed and thought Communism has no ground in Hungary.
- (4g) Independent and free Hungary.  
Free Elections.  
Hungary belongs to the West and is a citadel of Western culture. She must not be subjected to Communist ideas.
- (4h) Free ties with every part of the world and free trade, free literature and artistic life controlled by the people of the country.
- (4i) Definitely even those who were for Socialism refused Communism.
- (4j) There were very few convinced Communists in Hungary. Most people joined the Party for opportunistic reasons. When I ~~reminded~~ <sup>reminded</sup> members of the Budapest Opera who pretended to be Communists, the impossible things that happened, they just answered yes, they should be corrected and will be corrected. In the beginning, elements who were oppressed by the Nazis were for Communism, but the time came soon when they became aware of the fact that all things are the same in essence.
- (4k) Without thinking over things too much, people demanded a change because what was before was wrong.
- (4l) None of the leaders had the capacity to direct the events. Imre Nagy was a faithful servant of the Communist regime. His peasant dialect of the Hungarian countryside and criticisms of the Rákosi

regime made him popular in some sense, but he was not of the size nor the capacities to lead the Revolution ~~and~~ further and further. He did not control it, but went after it. When a demand was raised, he accepted it on the second day but at the same time new demands were sounded. The Revolution did not have real leaders. Different people distributed pamphlets of various contents. Everybody emphasized what he found most important, but getting rid of Soviet oppression, the demand for free elections, and that the Russians leave the country were raised in general.

(4m)

If Gerö had renounced on the first day of the Revolution and taken steps to have free elections, no blood bath would have come. I always was for peaceful and step-by-step development. Of course, I am sure that the Soviet Union would not have permitted the loss of its economic investments in Hungary. I am thinking in the first line of the uranium. I think they were afraid that Yugoslav interference would make the mining of uranium ore impossible. This point was probably one of the most important in making peace with Tito.

(4n)

Here and there extremist people fought for personal revenge. Later even very few anti-Semitic outcries were heard, but all this was most exceptional. Here I also can tell a personal experience. In 1951 I bought a motor car in a nationalized motor car store. Soon after, <sup>that</sup> I parked somewhere with the car, a man came to me and told me that he was the owner of the car. He showed me his papers to prove this. I explained to him that I bought the car in the most legal way and I had paid for it an adequate amount. I added that should regulations so order I would be ready to turn the car over to him, and gave him my name and address. During the Revolution this man waked me up in my home one (contd. next page)

MORning and asked for his car. I again answered that there are no rules to return it.

- (40) A handful of Communists by feeling ~~are~~<sup>of</sup> due to privileges, and in addition non-Communists who had good positions. There were ~~other~~ people in Hungary who liked to live a simple mediocre life and avoided every extremity. They were not active participants, but in general it was a real national revolution and nobody was against it except a very few mentioned above.
- (50) The most important thing I would mention was the following: it was a unanimous wish of the members of the Budapest Opera House, as well as theatre men in general, that no performances should be as long as Russians are in the country or at least in Budapest. No performances were held because of the revolution anyway. A delegation of four members had been elected in the Opera House to make this known by the radio. The members of delegation were Imre Palló, János Fodor, Lajos Somogyváry and myself (respondent). It was the plan that no performances will be held in the opera as long as the Russians are in the country. We went to the radio <sup>service.</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>it</sup> was in the Parliament Building at this time. The day was November 1st or 2nd. When arriving in the parliament, we were led first to Zoltán Vár, who was then in charge of the food supply of Budapest. We were received by him in a very friendly way. He told immediately, I have to tell you that we were stupid, not seeing in advance what will happen for doing things <sup>we did</sup> ~~with it~~. After calling on Zoltan Vár, we found the radio men. A real revolutionary mood prevailed among them. They refused to announce news in Communist



<sup>spirit</sup>  
~~sense~~; they promised to publish our announcement. As a matter of fact, I heard later that it was announced the same day at midnight. I did not hear it. I also was told that it <sup>was made</sup> ~~happened~~ so late because the man who should have made the announcement forgot it in his pocket. The Opera did not play as long as I was in Budapest, that is until November 24th. I don't know what happened later. A revolutionary commission had been elected in the Opera House by secret ballot before the second Russian interference. It took over the management of affairs and also elected a smaller executive committee from its ranks. One of its members was Mare Pakko. It could not do much but anyway it cared for food supply of the Opera members. Every member looked for his <sup>cadre</sup> files in the personnel department. It was amazing to find out how many strictly personal things and how far activities at former working places and data about the members' general behavior were described in it.

(6)

I wish<sup>ed</sup> to mention ~~these~~ <sup>things</sup>  
 because I think ~~it was~~ <sup>they were</sup> my most prominent participation in the revolutionary events." By this, I wholeheartedly followed the general enthusiastic mood of Opera<sup>n</sup> members. To start ~~things~~ <sup>h</sup> earlier I have to mention first that I lived in Vas Utea (street) 2b in Budapest. This was about five minutes <sup>walk</sup> ~~away~~ from the radio building in Brody Sandor Utea. On October 23d I was sick with influenza and I had to stay at home. My doctor and friends called on me and told me about the events before the radio building. They told ~~that~~ thousands of demonstrators were there and urged for entrance into the building. No specific details were told,

BUT we several times heard *shooting* and also *Choral* speaking reached us. [On October 24th or 25th a young boy of 17 came to me. I was acquainted with him since a long time, and he took rest in my home for three or four hours. I gave him some food and he washed himself in my home. He was fairly tired after two or probably more days fighting. By talking with him, I found that generally Freedom Fighters hoped for Western military help. I persuaded him to go home, and we even tried to phone to his parents, but my telephone did not work. Because of my sickness I did not go out to the street during the first days of the Revolution. At one of the later days I met a great crowd at Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Ut. They marched in the direction of the Parliament Building, and an unidentified number of Russian tanks came close to them, and one of the tanks stopped about a half meter before the crowd. People were among them who ~~though~~ talked Russian and after they talked to the Russian soldiers they drove their tanks together with the crowd in the direction of the Parliament. ~~XXXX~~ This was still before the second returning of Russians. ~~After~~ they came back on November <sup>4th</sup> ~~30th~~, We had to go down to the cellars of the apartment house where we lived for hiding before strong gun fire in the close Rakoczi Ut (Avenue).

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ We spent about one week there <sup>Sometimes</sup> going out only for food.

(6a) - see p. 19a - "Supplement to SECTION R"  
 (7a, b) During the Revolution when <sup>walking around</sup> ~~driving my car~~ I saw at several parts of the city policemen and soldiers not wearing the Communist badges on their caps and even some of them fighting Russians.

(7c) On October 31st or probably November 1st, I saw the dead body of an AVH captain at the corner of Brody Sándor Utea and Muzem Körut; an envelope <sup>containing</sup> his last <sup>salary</sup> ~~money~~ was pinned up on his uniform revealing that he got about four to five times as much

salary as average people.

(8, see 5 and 6)

(10a) <sup>I read</sup> ~~It was~~ the <sup>on</sup> NÉPSZAVA, printed/one page only, in the form of a pamphlet. It sounded the different demands of the revolution and brought ~~Western~~ Western radio news.

(10b) Everybody was very much interested in it because they wanted to find out how the papers reacted to the <sup>events</sup> ~~situation~~.

(10c, see point 6)

(10d) Yes, both. Among Western radios I listened to the Voice of America and the Radio Free Europe. Other Western stations were jammed so much that I could not get them. Both Voice and RFE reported on the reaction of the Hungarian revolution in the West and especially on the UN meetings in connection with us. RFE stimulated the Hungarians to more and more demands and thus in a certain degree it became responsible for it, that the Revolution, having no <sup>real</sup> ~~real~~ <sup>leaders</sup> ~~leaders~~, went a little bit too far. Yet Russian interference could not have been avoided anyway. Once I could listen to a Hungarian revolutionary radio of the country-side. It reported that the revolutionary committee had been formed in Győr. The Budapest radio reported that the Russians are going to occupy the bridgehead at the Russian-Hungarian frontier. In order to secure that the Russian party <sup>members</sup> and family members of Russians living in Hungary leave the country undisturbed. It was <sup>told</sup> ~~sought~~ in the radio how enthusiastic people were about <sup>this</sup> ~~it~~, but I felt that this means only that the Russians prepared to return. I listened to two statements of Cardinal Mindszenty in the Hungarian radio.

<sup>The</sup> ~~The~~ first of them was very reserved, in the second he made political

statements. I felt unhappy. He talked about the restoration of great capitalists and the latifundia. The most tragic thing I heard in the Budapest radio was the radio announcement of Imre Nagy on November 4th.

- (10e) Acquaintances informed me how things were going in their neighborhood. One of them living in the Northern part of Buda told that Russian armoured cars were facing Freedom Fighters, but no shootings were going on. Sometimes I could use my phone, at other times it did not work.
- (10f) There was a radio even in the cellar of the house after November 4th; we listened to the Voice of America, RFE, BBC, and the Hungarian radio.
- (10g) No.
- (11a) I know only things in connection with the party organization in the Opera House. Its Communist party secretary disappeared; I did not see him anymore. Most of the former party members also avoided coming in the Opera House during the Revolution. At least those who were servile members. The party organization had been dissolved.
- (11b) The superintendent in the house where I lived was a woman; her husband was a policeman. But he stayed at home during the Revolution and told me that most of his <sup>colleagues</sup> ~~colleagues~~ did not work either and were for the Revolution at least in spirit. Permits to walk on the street and drive cars were given by the police. It gave permits to drive trucks for supplying the Opera members with food. Most of the trucks disappeared from the garage, but for example one of my friends found out that there were two trucks in a garage. He



offered them to be used for the food supply of the opera and got a permit for it from the police.

(11c,d) I don't know anything particular.

(11e) While walking or driving my car on the streets I sometimes saw soldiers as well as policemen fighting on the side of Freedom Fighters for the Revolution. While in Vienna already, a soldier who escaped the country told me that during the Revolution they were alerted in their barracks, but almost all of the soldiers announced that they are not ready to leave their beds so long as the Russians were in Hungary.

(11f-11m) No information.

(11n) I thought the whole thing hopeless because of unavoidable Russian interference, but should thing develop freely it eventually would have been a Western type democracy.

(12) I saw Soviet soldiers several times. Sometimes they were shooting entirely senselessly, but at other times only for defense, when they were shot at from street corners and the roofs of houses. I can locate such an event only on November 12th. It was at the corner of Klapcsai Utea and Üllői Ut. In several parts of the city during the Revolution inscriptions were seen in Russian in Cyrillic letters calling to Russians to go home. They were fixed on shutters of stores, on telephone booths and on walls of houses. The Russian soldiers were very angry to see them, and shot at those inscriptions. I saw that a big <sup>department</sup> ~~department~~ store in Rákóczi Ut burned down entirely because of such a shooting by phosphorus shells.

- (12b) I heard during the revolution from a friend, a <sup>physician</sup> ~~relation~~, who worked in the hospital in Péterfy Sándor Utca that a Russian soldier lay there who was shot from the backside by one of his officers because he refused to fight.
- (12c) The general behaviour of Russian soldiers did not surprise me because I considered they are carrying out military activities upon ~~orders~~ <sup>orders</sup> they got.
- (12d) I was told that Russian soldiers speaking Hungarian did administrative work at Russian military commands.
- (12e) I had to get a permit for my motor car to drive it on the streets from the Russian military command of the sixth borough of Budapest. There was a rubber stamp on the permit indicating that it was given by the command of the fighting Russian troops. It seemed to be evidence for me that this rubber stamp had been prepared before the Revolution. Also it could not be proved, ~~as it and other~~ friends of mine were of the conviction that Russian agents were placed <sup>to stir revolutionary mood in order</sup> ~~to create for Revolution and thus~~ to have a pretext for armed interference.
- (12g) It was a general knowledge before the Revolution that Russian advisors were placed at the most important industrial enterprises in Hungary and probably even in the ministries.
- (12h) The whole country hated the Russian and the Communist regime so immensely that a moment arrived when nobody wanted to think things over, but was only resolved to make an end of it. My apartment was on the seventh floor, and the windows looked at the Gellert Hill on the opposite, Buda, side of the city. Early in November

I could observe by opera glass from my window that <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ helicopter ~~was~~ landing on the Gellert <sup>Hill</sup> Mountain. I immediately got the idea that Sop Communists are going to save their life. After about a half hour the helicopter left in northern direction.

- (13a) In 1945 and 46 I worked with the American Military Mission in Budapest. At this time I could start many good friendly ties with Americans. They were disrupted by the <sup>time of</sup> Communist rule, but I am sure that the Communists were quite aware of it. ~~As~~ <sup>Many</sup> ~~these~~ opera singers were permitted to go abroad into Western countries. I was not among them. It was only in 1952 that I could go abroad but even then only to Albania. Previously I was refused four times to go out to Vienna. I refused to subscribe for ~~the~~ 'peace loan' and therefore my salary in the opera was not fixed in a degree in proportion with my artistic work and my popularity. Singers of smaller talent got much higher salaries because they were more opportunistic and were careful not to express their ~~own~~ opinions in such an open way as I. I felt handicapped in my development as a singer and even jeopardied in material subsistence. After the revolution I ~~felt~~ <sup>felt</sup> that later or sooner I will have troubles also because my former service with the American Military Mission. All this led to my final resolution to leave the country. I cherished it even before the Revolution.

- (13b) I ~~thought~~ talked it over with one of my colleg<sup>es</sup>, but he did not want to come.

- (13c) Still in summer I made a contract on a guest performance in Yugo<sup>s</sup>slavia. I did not get a passport, but only a <sup>Border</sup> ~~Pass~~-Crossing Permit already during the Revolution before November 4th. The permit was extended to my wife too. On November 23d we went to the

Yugoslavia border together with my wife. I ~~was~~ <sup>showed</sup> ~~thought~~ <sup>Border-</sup> ~~my~~ ~~idea~~  
 Crossing permit to the border guards. They tried to get phone  
 contact with Budapest, but as they did not <sup>c</sup>succeed to get the phone  
 contact, I ~~succeeded to~~ <sup>could</sup> persuade them to let me through. When in  
 Yugoslavia I made several attempts to ~~go~~ from there to Austria, but  
 the Yugoslav border guards did not allow it to me and my wife.  
 Finally on December 17th I crossed at the Yugoslav-<sup>n</sup>Hungarian and  
 Austrian border triangle back to Hungary and then on the same day  
 from there to Austria, walking together with my wife fifteen kilo-  
 meters.

(13d) I had ~~no~~ <sup>other</sup> hope that I can succeed as a singer. I had contacts with  
 Italian and Western artists thru the years, as Mario Rossi, Carlo  
 Zecchi, Otto Klemperer. In '48 I could make contacts with the  
 American Vox Phonograph Company. I thought that all these can  
 be helpful for me. Still from Yugoslavia I wrote letters to  
 former American officers I knew ~~these~~ during my service with the  
 American Military Mission in Budapest. All of them persuaded  
 me to come to the <sup>S</sup>tates. On my escape time in Yugoslavia I met  
 also an East German orchestra *conductor*. His name was Hans  
 Konvitschny. He invited me to go to Eastern Germany, but I did  
 not think of it.

(13e) Before the Revolution already I was decided to use the first op-  
 portunity to escape. In the summer of 1956 I spent two weeks  
 vacation in Yugoslavia but my wife was not with me and therefore  
 I had to return to Hungary.

(14)(a) It became evident <sup>for the world</sup> ~~before the war~~ that a people can't be oppressed  
 indefinitely and that it will raise *against* oppression, even  
 if this means <sup>virtually</sup> ~~literally~~ suicide.



- (14b) I did not cherish such a hope. I knew from history that no Hungarian revolution could get genuine foreign help. It was the same in the Rákóczi times when the French made empty promises for helping him and his case, and in 1849 when the Hungarian fight for freedom had been crushed by the help of the Russian Tzarist army. Hungary always had to fight with overpowering outside forces and always was left alone. Spiritual help was not enough in front of Soviet firearms.
- (14c) I would do much more than I did in October and November. I would put all my energy to help the revolution to success.
- (14d) Virtually all the other satellite states have Slavs as their population. Hungary was always the first-class opposer of the Slavic expansion. For the other satellite peoples, Pan-Slavism is a strong tie, even with Soviet Russia. In the whole satellite bloc Hungary was the only real loser of the Second World War. Romania fought Soviet Russia, but fell to its side much before Hungary. The Poles were subjugated and became helpless in the early period of the Second World War. The Hungarians' spirit of resistance was kept awake by Western propaganda, but even without it the people of Hungary considered their country as a Western one which belonged to the West since earliest times.
- (14e) He's a Communist, even if a neo-Communist in a Malenkov spirit.
- (14f) Pál Maléter became a symbol and an idol in the eyes of Hungarian Freedom Fighters. It was a terrible feeling to me when I heard by radio that he's going to the Russian headquarters. I was sure he wouldn't return from there.
- (14g) The Hungarian youth; high school students, the younger year classes of university youth and probably in the first line working youths.

- (14h) University youths and young workers, as well as the higher year classes of the high school. Soldiers, as it was they who gave the arms to workers for fighting. Both skilled and unskilled workers, and before the revolution writers in the Petöfi Circle.
- (14i) The participation of young workers was the greatest surprise to me. They were called cockroaches because of their black apprentice uniform. The office of manpower reserves trained hundreds of thousands of them; still they were the first among the fighters. They joined the students who had to get new text books every year, because the names of former politicians had to disappear the next year in the new edition. All of them must have seen the instability of the regime and surely that caused them to participate in the Revolution.
- (14k) The greater part of the writers in the Petöfi Circle were against the regime. Their attitude was not surprising to me for I saw their spirit of opposition before Summer, '56, already. They were even invited to criticism and suggestions of improvement by the regime. Also a great many opportunists were among the members of the Petöfi Circle. I don't think much of them.
- (14l) I did not have direct knowledge.

(6a) On November 1st or 2nd I was glad to get about 100 liters of gasoline from a motor car garage leader's hidden gasoline supply and gave this to a leader of the Swedish Red Cross. At the same time I got gasoline for myself. But I got my motor car permit from the Opera House only about November 10th. Before this time I could not ride much with my car, but I had to walk most of the time in late October and early November, 1956. On October 30th I saw for a short time fighting close to the National Museum Building. The garden around the museum was full of Russian tanks; some of them fired, the museum burned, and I heard shooting from inside. Between October 30 and November 1st I saw that at the so-called Guttmann House at the corner of Rákóczi ut and Esterházi Utca there was lively shooting. AVH men fought Freedom Fighters with policemen and soldiers on the latter's side. I don't know how many they were in number. On November 1st I went to the Parliament with the Opera House's commission I mentioned already. At this time I saw Russian tanks around the Parliament building, but they were not shooting. On November 1st I saw that Hungarian soldiers and Freedom Fighters threw hand-grenades into the underground sections built as parts of the construction works of the Budapest subway. This was close to the Parliament around the Rákóczi statue. At the same time I saw a man who tried to get down the Red Star from the top of the Parliament Building. I heard later that he could not do that because it was of the weight of 2 metric tons. During the Revolution up through November 4th I mainly walked Rákóczi ut, Semogyi Bela ut, Bajcsy-Szilinsky ut, Hajos Utca and the Boulevard between Marx Tér and Rákóczi Tér. Everywhere I saw many houses ruined by gunfire and electric cables of streetcars and trolley busses laying on the ground. In the Rákóczi Ut I found streetcars ruined by firearms in a line one between the other. The most curious thing was that those streetcars disappeared on November 3rd from the streets of the city as if it had been intended to make the way free for incoming Russian tanks.

(1a) An opera singer with the Hungarian National Opera House.

(1b)(2) A book-binder, self employed. He died in 1936. From 1929 to 1930 I was an apprentice fitting together motor-car parts with the Imperial Autókereskedelmi Részvénytársaság (the <sup>m</sup> Imperial Company to ~~sell~~ <sup>sell</sup> Motor Cars). It was the agency of General/~~Autó~~ <sup>Motors</sup> for Hungary. Buick, LaSalle, Cadillac, Chevrolet and Pontiac cars were sold there. It had 15 administrative employees and 30 to 40 technical workers in the shops. The office was in Budapest, Vörösmarty Tér, the shop in Forgách Utsa. I worked in the repair shop repairing autos. In 1930 the name of the enterprise was changed to Nemzetközi Gépkereskedelmi Részvénytársaság (International Company to Sell Machines). I became a shop clerk there and worked in the repair shop repairing motor car engines for a year. In 1931 I became employed with the technical office of the enterprise in pre-costing (Kalkuláció) and generally in the <sup>+</sup>service of customers. The renamed enterprise was a service of the Anglo-Hungarian Bank (Angol Magyar Bank), the bank was the holding company. The commercial office was in Vilmos Császár Ut, presently Bajosi-Zsilinszky Ut where our associate bank had its headquarters. The technical office and the repair shop were in Váci Utsa. In addition to the American cars named above, also the Opiel cars were sold by this agency. It had about one hundred technical employees and 30 to 40 office workers. The enterprise prospered fairly well. From 1932 thru 1938 I was a technical employee of an enterprise producing cogwheels. Estimating <sup>the price of</sup> logs was my job. The enterprise had about 100 to 150 workers and 20 to 25 office employees. It produced



motor car, tractor parts and also parts of other machines.

In 1934 I started to study singing. I had a private teacher. From 1935 to 1937 I attended the Singer's Division of the Academy of Music in Budapest. In 1938 I sang in the Városi Színház in Budapest as a solo singer. I also sang in summer opera performances held in the Budapest Zoo and in the countryside.

From 1933 to 1934 I was in military service, but then I returned to my job with the factory producing cog wheels. From 1940 to 1941, I again was in military service. After being relieved I had opera singer work: I sang in concerts, I was the chauffeur for three to four months of a district court judge in Budapest and from ~~1941 to 1942~~ 1941 to 1942 I worked in a small enterprise of my mother's and my of my younger brother, producing baby dolls. I worked in management and selling. From '42 to '44 I was a soldier on the Russian front.

In July '45 I joined the American Military Mission in Budapest and worked with it until the first of January '47. But from September '46 I had a contract with the Budapest Opera House and I had also roles there. From '46 through '56 I was a permanent member of the Budapest Opera House.

(3a,3b) I considered my singer's activities not a work but a profession. I did not like things after 1948; they did everything to get me in Communist Party activities. I refused to do so. I did not like in the Opera House the cliques to promote personal interests or politics and the clique of homosexuals.

(4a to 4f) 1,000 forints in '46, 3,000 forints in '50 and 4,000 forints in '55. This was the basic salary; deductions were made for taxes, for social security, and if anybody became sick the salary for one day's

performance was subtracted. In '56 I was paid extra 2,000 forints for participating in the Faust premiere (first performance) and some time later the same amount for participating in the premiere of the Soviet opera called Young Guard. All of the performers got this extra pay.

- (4g) Singing in concerts and on the radio. It amounted to 800 to 1,000 forints per month in 1955 and '56.
- (4h) I earned much more than average people in Hungary who had an earning from 1,000 to 1,200 forints monthly, but for example many physicians earned much more.
- (4i) I belonged to the first third part of opera singers as to my salary in the opera house. The maximum salary was 8,000 forints monthly, probably 6 of the opera singers got this salary. Among the first third of the opera singers the smallest salary was 3,000 forints monthly. Other solo singers got only 1,200 to 3,000 forints monthly.
- (5a) I was paid for appearances. Rehearsals were held every day for about two or three hours except Sunday.
- (5b) According to my contract I had to have sixty appearances a year. Generally I accomplished my obligation. Sometimes I even had more appearances, but they were not paid well. I tried to refuse to take them. The payment for an additional appearance amounted to 272 forints. It was calculated to be  $1/25$ th of the contracted salary multiplied by 4. The opera season was from September up to the first of July in the next year. If I had all my contracted appearances in June, it happened that I had additional appearances for the rest of the musical year. Thus it came out that I had three, four or five additional appearances in the year. From '33 to '36 this was in the general the same.
- (5d) It depended on the opera program whether I had my appearances on

weekdays, holidays, or Sundays. I had six weeks vacation per year.

- (5e) I worked 8 hours per day from Monday through Saturday; before the late '30's I worked on Saturdays only from 8 AM to noon. Generally nothing was paid for over-time, while I worked with industrial and commercial enterprises. I had then 14 workdays vacation per year.
- (5f) In the opera house it was taken very strictly. In the first case there was admonition, in the second case the theatre's tribunal fined the latecomer.
- (5g) It was meant that everybody had to be present at the rehearsal ten minutes before we started; according to the rules of the theatre, everybody who had an appearance had to be at the theatre one hour before the appearance.
- (5h) In the first one or two cases, it was not taken too seriously, but if it seemed to be regular, deductions were made in the salary. This was a very exceptional case at the Opera House, because everybody's own interest was to be present on time at the rehearsal. We enjoyed both rehearsals and performances and did everything to succeed.
- (other sub-points not applicable)
- (6a) We had excellent music trainers, got good rooms for the ~~xxx~~ rehearsals, good pianos and the stage was prominent. The only difficulty was that the Erkel Theatre, the former Városi Színház, was a branch of the National Opera House and sometimes we had to rush there to be on time for the scheduled rehearsal.
- (6b) The main male or female solo singers had a separate room each for himself or herself. This meant about 4 of each. The other singers

*The dressing rooms were more crowded when an*  
 DRESSED themselves in two or three. ~~Each~~ opera was played where many singers and other performers were taking part.

(6d) The opera was prominent during the whole <sup>Communist</sup> period as to its singers, musicians, scenery, staging, and in every other sense.

(6e) It was a more direct way to ~~work~~ <sup>walk</sup>, and I needed 15 minutes walking, to get there or to return. By taking a streetcar I needed twenty minutes for each. From 1951 I had my own Motor car and ~~since this time I~~ <sup>drove to</sup> ~~and in~~ the Opera.

(7a) Opera singers ranged in age from 20 to 60. Most of them were trained in the Hungarian Academy of Music; they had a relatively high living standard and an honored social position in accordance with the propaganda of the regime. They were from every class of society, from former physical or white collar workers, from the nobility, etc.

(7b) It was excellent in general but of course there was some petty jealousy and there were some intrigues as anywhere in the theatre life. Futile vanity and longing to succeed. The only man not liked in the opera was Aladar Toth, the director. Virtually nobody liked him because of his personal politics; disgusted every opera member working honestly. He was director of the Opera House from '45 up to the revolution.

(7c) Yes.

(7d) In political aspects, yes. As to artistic aspects it was hard to get to an objective attitude; this sometimes ~~also~~ prevailed itself also in personal contacts.

(7e) My best friends were doctors rather than opera members.

(7f, g) Yes.

(7h) There was a Communist party secretary who had this job as an only



PROFession paid by the party headquarters. There were also party secretaries for the orchestra, for the chorus, for the solo singers, and for the staff of stage managers. They were employees of the Opera House but at the same time party <sup>secretaries</sup> members. They ~~tried to have~~ <sup>cared both for</sup> ~~both~~ party and non-party members but not with much success. They rather had the role of observers.

(7i) Not too much among solo singers except that one or two party members probably got better salaries, more <sup>a</sup> premises, or they were sent sooner abroad as a non-party member.

(7j) Nothing specific.

(7l) It cared for administrative work and vacations but it was rather unimportant in the Opera House for the director had influence in every kind of activity.

(7m) Up to 1949, opera singers had yearly contracts prolonged year by year. From 1949 they had an employment contract <sup>with 2 weeks</sup> notice, but it was never practised. The salary was fixed by the director of the Opera House; as there was only one Opera in Hungary, except small opera houses in the country, there was not too much possibility to go elsewhere. These members of the opera depended too much on the director and his boss, the Minister of Public Culture. Sometime in the late '40s or early '50s a ministerial order was issued according to which every opera member has to play everywhere requested as long as he did not accomplish his contracted performances.

(7n) It was active only in the province of workers and of employees of small salary up to 2760 forints monthly. Those who got higher

salaries were directly under the Minister of Public Culture in controversial problems.

(7p) Yes.

(7q) It was of no importance.

(7r) Those of <sup>good</sup> ~~best~~ political connections got artistic tasks above their capacities, but the director tried hard to make this impossible. Among the technical employees, political connections played a little greater role, but even there the natural interests of making good ~~work~~ prevailed.

(7s) Not since I <sup>was</sup> working with the opera.

(7t) It was <sup>in</sup> ~~whispered~~ that one of the prominent female singers, [redacted], was an informer. Her husband was <sup>an</sup> ~~AVH agent~~ <sup>general</sup> for a time, but later he was fired. [redacted] stayed at home during the time of revolution.

(7u,v) The revolutionary council of the Opera House was something like a workers' council. Even physical workers participated in it; it was active as late as on November 24 when I escaped from Budapest. It tried to preserve the whole organization. I was not a member of the council. Imre Palló, Kálmán Nádasdy, Miklós Lukács, Lajos Surogyváry, György Látassy, and probably also László Jámbox were members of the council. It called for meetings of members, tried to arrange some rehearsals with little success, and <sup>cared</sup> ~~gave~~ for the food supply of the members.

(8a) My parents wanted ~~that~~ I learn some trade. Later I changed my job for better salaries.

(8b) An opera singer. I consider this not an occupation but a profession.

(8d) To be useful for the society.

(8e) After getting my high school diploma, I wanted to be a mechanical engineer but as I was not a very good student I became an auto mechanic to keep up my mechanical interests. Since 1934 when I started to study singing my only goal was to be a good opera singer.

(8f) Yes.

(8g) Everybody wants <sup>material</sup> success.

(8h) Because it makes him independent in material matters and makes him possible to reach his other goals, as nice home, clothing and <sup>hobbies</sup> ~~copies~~.

(8i) Technical help for further development, studies, nice home, to lead an adequate life after I am not able to work anymore. My free time hobby was to construct air-plane models for the last thirty years.

(8j) They were only re-inforced.

(8k) Should I have a child, I would like him to take a profession or a job as he feels talented. I would not like to influence him. I would dissuade him to take an artist's or singer's profession.

This is a holy thing requesting many <sup>There</sup> self-denial. It is too much difficulty and hardship with it and if somebody succeeds he is contented, but at the same time he feels that he has to do more.

(9) I <sup>have been</sup> married since 1946 and my wife never worked since then for earning. She always <sup>cared</sup> gave better and for less for me than should we have a house-servant and always shared my joys and doubts. My ~~earnings~~ was enough for both of us.

(9b) They did not change.

(9c) Things absolutely necessary for my life, home, food and the minimum clothing, but I could not pay for a greater apartment, for better

FURNITURE, for an icebox, etc. Both I and my wife preferred to this to buy a motor car for better transportation. I could have it for a relatively small price~~price~~ of 8000 forints thru the Nationalized Motor Car Service Enterprise. I got a permit for it from the National Planning Office, and the leaders of the enterprise would like to help me as they favored artists. Only very few <sup>people</sup> ~~men~~ could succeed to get a motor car, mainly artists, doctors, engineers.

- (9d) 4000 forints per month, <sup>in</sup> addition 800 to 1000 on the month average for radio and other performances not provided in my contract. Deductions were  $\approx$  6% for taxes and an amount I don't remember anymore for social security. I got squeezed only once for peace loans; I think it was in the season of '52 to '53 and it amounted to 50% of my monthly salary.
- (9e) I paid 190 forints monthly as rent; heating, and ~~ambulance~~ due to the house superintendent, (házmesterpénz) included.
- (9f) I lived together with my wife in a one-room apartment with <sup>additional</sup> vestibule and bathroom and kitchen. There was <sup>plumbing</sup> ~~plenty~~ there, and hot water service, but the latter did not work.
- (9g) About 1500 to 1800 forints monthly; *Standing in queues* was exceptional; I can't tell an average.
- (9h) About 300 to 400 forints monthly for two persons.
- (9i) Most things in state stores, but clothing and shoes I preferred to purchase by private firms as much as possible. For instance, I paid about 100 forints a month for gas and ~~motors~~ <sup>electricity combined</sup> and the same <sup>additional</sup> amount for telephone.
- (9k) As we had central ~~heating~~ <sup>heating,</sup> this was not a problem for us.



- (9l) About 300 or 400 forints a year for two of us.
- (9m) We had medical service thru SZTK (Szakszervezeti Társadalombiztosítás Központ) but in addition to that we liked to have sometimes private physicians. It was a more personal thing.
- (9n) 10 forints monthly ~~was~~ for a radio subscription. 1000 forints yearly for recreation, about 400 forints yearly for amusement, movies and "expressos" <sup>(snek-bars)</sup>; in most cases both of us could go to theatre without paying, about 100 forints monthly for books and papers, <sup>some 100 forints monthly for</sup> air plane ~~models~~ models.
- (9o) About 600 forints monthly: motor car expenses.
- (10) I was much better paid as an opera singer than people on the average, not having opportunity to make a
- (10a) Still I felt exploited because of ~~not having a choice of~~ choice of different theatres. ~~To contract this~~ I had to accept the terms <sup>of the</sup> contract laid before me in the opera house.
- (10b) Yes.
- (10c) The state of Hungary and the Soviet Union by exporting Hungarian industrial and agricultural products by low prices.
- (10d) I don't have any specific knowledge.
- (10e) It was a forced deduction of wages and salaries.
- (10f) They had a legal <sup>base</sup> ~~place~~ in the peace treaty, and inso far they were right that it was the natural duty of Hungary participating in the Second World War on the side of the Nazis up to the end to <sup>make</sup> ~~pay~~ reparation payments. Yet the Soviet Union overcharged Hungary ~~indeed~~, and at the same time wanted to make it believed by propaganda that it is she who helped Hungary to restore herself economically..
- (10g) No.

- (11a)b) Too much stress has been put on the development of heavy industry, and production of consumer goods in an adequate quantity<sup>t</sup> has been neglected.
- (11c) (answer under point b)
- (11d) No care was taken that peasants reach an adequate material and cultural level. The workers were too much at the mercy of the employers.
- (11e) I can't tell too much about these. After the second World War, I lived in an atmosphere that did not have too much to do with economic problems, and I did not have contacts with people of the economic life. Still I could observe that there was something like a real boom until 1945. In 1948 however large-scale nationalization started and was carried out, and a break had been put on personal initiative. It had been replaced by huge administrative machinery that bleed the country and ~~caused~~ caused immense unproductive expenses.
- (11f) At the beginning I believed that Communist propoganda told the truth about it and that good planning will have good effects. Very soon I found out that what they <sup>published as</sup> established <sup>achievements</sup> has nothing to do with the real results.
- (11g) I found it wrong definitely. I thought its schemes were wrong, careless, and that centers of gravity of the five years plan <sup>were</sup> are erroneous.
- (11h) It ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> the situation in some certain degree but the first

premiership time of Imre Nagy was too short to right the wrong things that were made previously.

- (11i) Some things were published in papers in this respect, but it was evident that only so far things could be discussed as far it was found permissible by the government policy streamlining the press.
- (11j) There was not considerable change as compared with the period previous to the first premiership of Imre Nagy.
- (12) It was of great importance for almost everybody. Communist rule meant a very low standard of life causing daily hardships.
- (12a) By and large my mood and attitude was similar to the general one.
- (12b) People longed for freedom in general, for taking jobs freely, for free trade, free travel abroad and expressing opinion freely. All of these were considered as presuppositions to make the standard of life better economically.
- (12c) Peasants and physical workers, but in fact everybody in general.
- (12d) In 1952 or '53 two or three other solo singers in the Opera House asked me whether I would be ready to take part in an underground movement. I answered yes, but nothing more happened and I never could find out whether the whole thing was initiated by private persons or something more organized was behind it.
- (12e) I was better informed about the mood of singers and musicians

in the Opera House. They were highly discontent because ties were almost completely severed with the West and they were handicapped in free movement. Also the personal politics in the Opera House troubled them much. I think that workers in general in Hungary were <sup>dis</sup>satisfied mainly on account of material reasons.

(12f) As far as I could see by walking on streets and get it from news that reached me they considered the revolution to be on the way of natural development and were pleased to join the Revolution.



- (1a) From 1917 to 1929.
- (1b) High school diploma.
- (1c) From 1917 to 1921 the elementary school at Hernád Utca. From '21 to 1929 Real School, ~~that is~~ <sup>EÖTVÖS</sup> (high school) named ~~after~~ <sup>after</sup> Eötvös József Reáliskola in Reáltanoda Utca. ~~in the meantime~~ <sup>also</sup> From 1922 to '26 through three years I studied violin in Harsveti Zeneiskola (national music school) but I did not get a diploma there for I did not finish my studies. In 1929 or 1930 I attended a one year course for motor car fitters apprentices in the elementary school building at Sziget Utca. All these schools were in Budapest.
- (2) Not.
- (3) Not applicable.
- (4a) I would have liked to have studied at the university.
- (4b) ~~Because of economic conditions as a family~~ I had to work <sup>for earning</sup> after getting my high school diploma.
- (4c) I wanted <sup>to study at the</sup> university studies because I felt capable of doing this.
- (4d) I don't know but as I wanted to be a mechanical engineer I am sure it would be much easier for me now here in the United States.
- (5a) Mechanical engineering. In 1929 I was much interested in it and felt to be capable to accomplish ~~the studies~~ <sup>be drained in this</sup>.
- (5b) For reasons I told above. Note: See 4b.
- (5c) When I started singing I felt that the opera singing <sup>art's</sup> profession was the closest to my spiritual and physical conditions.
- (5d) My voice has been <sup>we</sup> discolored.
- (6) I was a medium student. The reason was lack of industry rather than lack of capacities.
- (7) In general, yes.
- (7a) I could have done as others <sup>did:</sup> to work hard <sup>in order</sup> to earn enough for my university studies.
- (7b) Those who had more <sup>where with all</sup> and did not care much for in-



(12a)

*was also expert in*  
~~had also a workshop~~ *gold tooling* rooms. He won beauty contests by this work.

(12d)

I think he attended only 4 classes of junior high school.

(12e)

He agreed with me as to my jobs I got during his life and also that I wanted to learn singing. He was a passionate singer up to the end of his life. He was a member of Budai Dalárda, the glee club at Buda and several times went out with the club for appearances abroad as to ~~the~~ Amsterdam, Netherlands, and to Italy.

(13)

It was a nice family life. According to standards of the lower middle class.

(13a)

It did not change later.

(14)a

I had a younger brother. He graduated in a commercial high school and was employed with a private firm for a while. In '36 he joined my mother who had a small shop producing baby dolls. She started this activity in about '33. At this time it was harder for my father to earn a living ~~mainly~~ from his own occupation. After the death of my father, my mother continued to work this shop for about 3 more years. My younger brother was killed in battle on the Russian front in January 1943.

(14b)

With my wife.

(14'a)

My father's father was a physician but he died in the age of 31 or 32. About other family members I told already.

(16r)

It neither ~~helped~~ *helped* nor hindered me.

(17'a)

My wife was part owner of a restaurant before our marriage. We were married on November 26, 1946 and had our wedding in the church on December 1st of the same year. We don't have children.

(18-21)

Not applicable.

(22)

On best terms.

(23)

Not except I remember that in 1919 my father had been carried away from ~~out~~

- (23) home by the Communists. He was permitted to return after a while. I was 8 years old at this time, and can't remember any more for what reasons he had been jailed and what he told about the whole thing later.
- (24) No.
- (25) Nothing. It was all right in this respect.
- (26a) The closest possible with my wife.
- (26b) I think it was typical.
- (26c) I constructed airplane models.
- (26d) Theatre, movie, society life, concerts -- all with my wife.
- (26e) Almost every time when I did not have to work.
- (26f) There was not such a thing.
- (27) They became lesser because of political interference with family life. The wife of one of my friends became absorbed in Communism too much, and her husband was so disgusted about it that he left her.
- (27a) As to myself and my wife, completely. As to others, it is a personal matter. I don't know specific things about this.
- (27b) There were no other persons with whom they felt free to speak and to exchange their opinions.
- (27d) On the contrary, they ~~felt~~ feel closer to each other with very small exceptions.
- (27e) I think all this refers more to the city.
- (28a) Prostitution having been abolished and brothels being prohibited, sexual life became more licentious and ties between boys and girls became less controlled. Extramarital sexual ties developed between them to a much greater degree than before.
- (28b) I think about at the same time as before. I don't know it exactly.



- (28c) I don't know anything about it.
- (28d) I think it is no good that sexual life starts too early and uncontrolled.
- (28e) It was prohibited.
- (28e-f) By abolishing open prostitution fighting venereal diseases became more difficult. Youth tried to find other ways of sexual contact instead of prostitution. Communists promoted this insofar as it helped them to destroy family feelings and to gain them better for their goals in this way.
- (28g) It is right when fighting hereditary diseases. It can be tolerated when indicated by social conditions, but abuses are likely and it also ~~was~~ promotes excessively early sexual life of young people. Up to about 1952 or 1954, it was prohibited very strictly. Afterwards regional medical councils were formed to decide whether there were adequate reasons of interrupting gravity.
- (28h) They did not feel branded so much as before.
- (29a) Two of my best friends were both physicians. One of them remained at home because of family circumstances. The other got an emigration passport and is on route to Australia with his parents.
- (29b) They were in the age between 45 and 48 and were of middle class origin.
- (29c) We talked much with each other and sometimes went together to movies or theater, or else played cards.
- (29d) Openly.
- (29e) No.
- (29f) I continued to write letters to my friend who remained in Budapest. I don't know the address of the other friend as yet.
- (29g) Complete sincerity.

- (29a) I am sure it would have influenced our friendship deeply. Differences in political matters most certainly would have estranged us, also in other problems.
- (30) My parents originally belonged to the Jewish faith, but they were baptised before the birth of their children, and thus both myself and my younger brother became Roman Catholics by birth. ~~Back up~~
- (30a) Both my parents and we children were rather indifferent in religious problems. Our parents did not interfere with us in this matter.
- (30b) Personal religious feeling is necessary if it is based on the teaching of Jesus Christ and on the Ten Commandments. People must be indulgent with other religions and respect religious freedom.
- (31a) It made people reluctant to go to church for they were blamed for this and branded as adherents to clerical reaction. Compulsory religious teaching in schools was abolished and materialism propagated.
- (31b) Yes, in the sense I told right now.
- (31c) I don't know exactly. I think all of them try in the same way to beat off the influence of the Communist Party. They tried to act together in order to preserve religious freedom.
- (31d) Religious freedom was in contrast with the dictatorial system. They did not want to allow any other philosophy of life than their own.
- (31e) They rather wanted to make use of it. They found a ready-made organisation and their aim was to transform it for their own aims.
- (31f) Mainly against bishops and priests, thus influencing members of the churches indirectly.
- (31g) Yes.

- (31h) About once a month.
- (31i) I did not talk over this item. On great holidays as Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, there were great masses in churches. Street processions organized by churches were allowed to be held very exceptionally. It caused a sensation to see one.
- (31j) They probably sought to bridge the gulf between church and Party. They did not succeed and therefore they acted in vain.
- (31k) The Roman Catholic church was the most powerful. It could resist more <sup>c</sup> successfully.
- (31 l) I feel that both for my generation and the youth of our days religion was less important than before. On the other side, oppression and difficulties caused by the regime to exert religious life, as well as longing to know about things which were hidden from people promoted their interest in the church and religion.
- (32) Approximately in the same way and in the same degree as members of other denominations.
- (32a) Some strata of them thought before 1948 that they would have free possibilities. Others became aware of the inherent dangers immediately and left the country. After 1948 their behavior was exactly the same as that of the rest of the people. They fought the regime when they saw the true face of it.
- (32b) I feel that they participated in the Revolution at least as much as others.
- (32c) The same as in the United States.
- (33) Scholars, artists, physicians and those of engineers who did research work

or other kind of work important to the regime were in a relatively good situation. The worst was for those who were merchants, army officers, or civil servants before the regime.

- (33a-b) To the artists.
- (34) To what he should have specific talent. If not such a case: to be a physician or some sort of engineer.
- (34a) For those professions are less influenced by politics.
- (34b) To learn to educate himself and to find as much experience as possible.
- (34c) Those of peasant or worker class origin.



- (1a) My interest in politics rose when Hitler came to the surface. I tried to find out the reasons for German expansion and I was troubled by the racial theories of the Nazis and the persecution of Jews. Previous to this time I was interested in the role of the Hungarian people in modern history.
- I don't think that politics can be considered by scientific methods. It is a final effect of tremendously many causes.
- (1b) Since about 1950 I tried to influence with my views other opera members against Communism. In talks with them as to the program policies of the opera house, as well as concerning other artistic work. I ~~also~~ tried to be acquainted with Western music the best I could and to propagate the same spirit among friends.
- (1c) My interest was limited because it was my singing work which occupied most of my time. I started to be a singer at a rather late age and to make up for the lost time took almost all of my time.
- (1d) No.
- (1e) More. Emotionally I was most interested in studying the human spirit and the attempts to reform and improve human life.
- (1f) My interest increased. Communist propaganda interfered so much with private life I could not help having a great interest in following and criticising the events. I was pleased that men on the street in general cherished more and more a great interest in world politics, but I was displeased that information given by newspapers was one-sided and prevented people from having

to ~~have~~<sup>try to</sup> independent political aspects ~~and~~<sup>try to</sup> directed them in these respects *in an improper way.*

- (2a) Roman numbers iv, ix, ii, i, iii, vi, viii, x, v, vii, ~~and~~ xi, xii.
- (2b) Roman numbers iv, vi, ii, i, iii, ix, viii, vii, xi, v, x, xii.
- (2c) Roman numbers iv, ii, i, vii, vi. The rest of the Roman numbers: in the same degree.
- (2d) Roman numbers iv, iii, ii, i, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii.
- (2e) Roman numbers iv, ii, vii, ix, x, vi, i, iii and the others without differentiation.
- (2f) When things went farther they found out that there are great differences between the principles founded and their carrying out.
- (2g) I felt handicapped to make my own way. I could not decide upon my work according to a ~~is~~ two-sided, mutual agreement. ~~Originally~~<sup>Practically</sup> they did not care for my person at all when assigning my working place as a singer. ~~As~~<sup>Toward</sup> other people, I also felt in a certain degree that I cannot be self-reliant. The attitude of the regime's policy was successful after a time because the human nature gets accustomed to such things, as ~~human~~ not to have free will, ~~being~~  
*and* being ~~human~~ regarded as a man in only a restricted way. ~~At least~~<sup>Eventually</sup> I found almost a natural thing that my initiative was not important at all as a decisive point in my work.
- (2h) I talked over these things with my colleagues, with the solo singers, chorus members, musicians and every other person I contacted in connection with my singer's work. There was no change in this respect for the last six years or more.
- (2i) I felt completely disarmed by the concentrated ~~efforts~~<sup>efforts</sup> of the

various organs of the regime: The Ministry of Public ~~Health~~ Culture, the Philharmonic Society, by the radio. All of them worked hand-in-hand. When in 1950 or 1951, the previous system *making* <sup>fair</sup> ~~made~~ contracts with solo singers, was

abolished, I first refused to sign a contract which I considered disadvantageous for myself. The result was that for about two and a half months I was prohibited from earning my bread as a musical artist. Eventually, I felt forced to sign a disadvantageous contract which only made it possible for me to follow my vocation. Several other people reacted in the same way; only those could succeed who found good political connections or could make use of influential friends, or else if their work was considered to be important in <sup>a</sup> some sense or in another by the ~~regime~~ regime.

(3a) It was a political party of the bourgeoisie with which I sympathized more in the first and second years after the end of World War II. I don't remember its name anymore. It stood the closest to my spiritual structure and political imagination. I was not an active supporter because after I followed their politics for a while I felt that the party leaders were political adventurers who ~~never~~ considered as most important their own personal interests. Since the Soviets were so close geographically and their influence grew and became permanent it became clear in my eyes that such a party will ~~never~~ lose its *raison d'être* very soon. After my experiences in the following years I think that my thinking was probably wrong. It may have been possible to *direct the events in another way* should we have seen better

- (23) home by the Communists. He was permitted to return after a while. I was 8 years old at this time, and can't remember any more for what reasons he had been jailed and what he told about the whole thing later.
- (24) No.
- (25) Nothing. It was all right in this my respect.
- (26a) The closest possible with my wife.
- (26b) I think it was typical.
- (26c) I constructed airplane models.
- (26d) Theatre, movies, society life, concerts... all with my wife.
- (26e) Almost every time when I did not have to work.
- (26f) There was not such a thing.
- (27) They became looser because of political interference with family life. The wife of one of my friends became absorbed in Communism too much, and her husband was so disgusted about it that he left her.
- (27a) As to myself and my wife, completely. As to others, it is a personal matter. I don't know specific things about this.
- (27b) There were no other persons with whom they felt free to speak and to exchange their opinions.
- (27d) On the contrary, they ~~felt~~ feel closer to each other with very small exceptions.
- (27e) I think all this refers more to the city.
- (28a) Prostitution having been abolished and brothels being prohibited, sexual life became more licentious and ties between boys and girls became less controlled. Extramarital sexual ties developed between them in a much greater degree than before.
- (28b) I think about at the same time as before. I don't know it exactly.



and movies -- tried hard to make people believe that every act of the leaders is in the interest of working people. Because/<sup>of</sup>streamlining of thought and because of terror discontent was expressed merely by talking carefully with friends.

- (4, 4a) It was the Soviet Union. Whenever new political or economic measures were taken reference was made to the marvelous social and economic politics of the exemplary and most advanced Soviet Union, that leads the permanent fight against capitalism, exploitation and Western imperialism.
- (4b) It was the Politburo, Rákosi, Geró, and one or two other men close to them. They were authorized to issue orders possessing the force of law. A so-called Parliament composed of terrorized men and those servile to the régime sanctified them without hesitation.
- (5a) It was only a so-called one. After 1948 there were only yes-men in it.
- (5b) They were held only to make the population believe that people elected by them controlled the activities of the political leaders. The time came soon when everybody was convinced that there was no election, but only voting, for there was no choice among those to be elected. It became evident also that secret balloting was a farce. It was known about everybody under what circumstances he used his political right. People did not dare to enter the polling booths because they wanted to avoid remarks made on the election lists which could lead to a release from their jobs, or transfer to a worse working place or even being deported. They just dropped the ballot-paper into the ballot-box in the presence of officials, without entering the booth.

- (5c) I neglected them completely and was interested only in their administrative activities, -- issuing of documents, <sup>of ration cards for</sup> gasoline permits, marriages, <sup>Service</sup> and legal statistics, registration of birth, marriage and <sup>death.</sup> and ~~death~~ more.
- (5d) Much ~~more~~ than before 1944. One of the reasons ~~was~~ for housing difficulties was bureaucracy.
- (5e) If there <sup>were,</sup> <sup>was</sup> anything reported about them, people found guilty were simply removed. <sup>where</sup> I heard about such a case I always thought that the man removed refused to follow the orders of the regime, or else abused his power.
- (5f) Most of them were of worker or peasant origin. Their knowledge and experience was much less than needed in their positions.
- (5g) Almost all of them were of worker or peasant origin. In one or two key positions it could happen that officers of <sup>pre-war training</sup> education were employed but they were controlled ~~in~~ so far that they were unable to do anything in accordance with their own imaginations. It was <sup>advantageous</sup> to people of low education and restricted intelligence to get officers' jobs; ~~or~~ in this way they could reach better life circumstances and some kind of leading <sup>post. opportunities.</sup>
- (6) It was controlled by the Party and it controlled and influenced activities of the youth in turn.
- (6a) I don't know about any disadvantages.
- (6b) They were fairly numerous but I could not tell the actual percentage.
- (6c) Yes, by <sup>large-scale</sup> propaganda.
- (6d) I don't have any idea about this.
- (6e) I don't know either.
- (6f) I wasn't.

- (6g-6m) Not applicable.
- (6n) Young people hoped to get good social connections by joining the DISZ. They found that it was a way to get good positions. Those who conformed and were good DISZ members succeeded in such hopes.
- (6o) Most of them did not consider the thing too seriously.
- (6p) I think he did not have any influence.
- (6q) The Communist Party.
- (7a) I don't know anything about direct pressure.
- (7b) People seeking to camouflage their Fascist past. Those who participated in previous underground movements. Youths who hoped to get a better life from joining the Party. Most of them were successful in their efforts to join the Party.
- (7c) I don't know.
- (7d) To pay membership fees.
- (7e) In 1945-46, and 1947 propaganda to join the Party was almost continuous. I ~~can~~ can't mention specific cases. In general, most of them were opportunists or people mentioned under point (7b).
- (7f) Yes, people of not peasant or worker descent and some intellectuals. They were considered as class-aliens.
- (7g) No.
- (7l) I was invited to join the Party in 1949 by opera members who were already Party members. I explained <sup>to</sup> them that I ~~don't~~ don't have any intention to do so and I gave for reasons something like this: my occupation as a musical artist takes ~~me~~ so much time that I don't have time for anything else.
- (7m) Not too much, I would only mention that I was always free to express my opinion and probably this was the main reason that it became too hard for me to go abroad for appearances.

- (7n) ~~As stated under points (d) and (e).~~ <sup>See points</sup> (d) and (e).
- (7o) They became more careful in their political opinions. They talked and acted even in the most intimate moments of their life as being influenced by the Party.
- (7p) The Central Party leadership, both the Central and the local organizations.
- (7q) It had decisive influences as almost every member of the Cabinet was a member of the Communist Party.
- (7r) The commander of the police was a member of the Party's leadership board. As far as I knew every AVH man was a Party member.
- (7s) I don't know anything specific about it.
- (7t) In the same degree as <sup>concerning</sup> every other public organization.
- (7u) Churches were restricted in their activities because if they did anything the Party disliked they always could be labeled as acting against the interest of the people.
- (8a) In 1945 I became a member of the <sup>Free</sup> Trade Union of <sup>Theatrical Workers</sup> actors. Since 1948 I did not pay the membership fees because I became aware of the fact that the organization serves the ~~main~~ interests of the Communist Party and the government rather than those of the trade union members.
- (8b) In 1945 I still hoped that the interests of the union members will be cared for.
- (8c) Hungarian Soviet Society, Peace Movement, Magyar Nők Demokratikus Szövetsége (MNDSZ), Union of Freedom Fighters, Union of Hungarian Airmen, and many other. I don't know anything specific about them because I was not a member of any of them.
- (8d) <sup>That</sup> Each of them carries out the will of the government and the



Communist Party and eventually reinforces the regime.

- (8e) I can tell only things about the Free Trade Union of Theatrical Workers. As I did not pay my membership fees, they did not consider me as a member since 1950. The members of the trade union were actors, opera singers, and also physical workers of the theatres. I don't know how many they were.
- (8f)
- (8g) Not applicable.
- (8h) I was told by friends that they had to attend meetings but they were not frequented too much.
- (8i) I often explained to my colleagues that the goal of the trade union of theatrical workers should have been to prevent abuses, excesses of government policy, and to protect the rights of members. In fact, I could see that the trade unions just promoted the aims of the Communist regime in a full degree and superimposed the interests of the members to the directions received from the government.
- (8j) I don't know.
- (8k) From 1945 through 1948 people belonging to the elder generation of the best actors. In 1948, they were disgusted about the development of things, and from now on Party members of poor capacities, and even men who had nothing to do with theatrical workers had leading positions in the trade union supposed they were reliable for the Party and for the government. In

general they were <sup>in</sup> the age <sup>from</sup> 35-50.

(81)

I don't know.

(8m)

As far as I know, not.

(8n)

I have no idea.

(8o, p)

With reference to ~~some~~ the mass organizations in general, I can't tell that people either did not agree with the aims of the respective mass organization, or else they were indifferent in this respect and did not have any opinion. <sup>They used to feel:</sup> ~~It didn't~~ Others are doing it, why should I not. This and the other is a member, it does not harm if I will be a member, too. In the opera house, those who were not members of the trade union or did not pay membership fees were excluded from vacation <sup>benefits</sup> ~~activities~~ as managed by the union, and in case of sickness, they got less sick help than the trade union members.

(9)

After ~~that~~ time virtually every member of the mass organizations except the few leaders found out ~~now~~ <sup>they</sup> ~~the regime was~~ <sup>were only the tools of the hand</sup> ~~met each other~~ People ~~combined~~ in these mass organizations in relatively greater masses and this gave them an opportunity to talk ~~things~~ <sup>things</sup> over and work together.

(9a)

It had a very small influence because the influence of parents and home circumstances were much greater. I mentioned already that youth found out in their early ages already that they have to play a double role. They

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- have to be "yes men" in schools and with others who could betray them or their parents, but this only enforced their longing for free life and free expression of their views at home.
- (10a) They were enlisted according to the general military recruiting system.
- (10b) I mentioned already (Section R) that many peasant boys and also several Jews were among them; probably also people from other social strata. Most of them looked primitive. They were of the average age of 25-35, as far as I could see them.
- (10c) I don't know.
- (10d) Informers are even more detestable for they volunteer to do their work. The regular AVH member has to do his job.
- (11a) It happened once that a man kicked me on the back when traveling in a streetcar. Therefore, I slapped him on his face. This was early in the 1950's, in connection with an argument. It turned out that the man I slapped on the face was a detective. He summoned me to the police station. The policeman who interrogated me knew that I was a well known opera singer. He treated me, however, in a humiliating way by talking to me roughly and by knocking out the cigarette from my mouth. At this time I had to stay at the police court four hours.
- (11c) Imre [REDACTED] was a good friend of mine. He was general manager of the Standard Company. He was accused of —————>

*spionage*, condemned to death by a court, and executed. Tamás [redacted] was another friend of mine. He was the secretary of a Mr. Jacobson, an American, who was the leader of the "Joint" organization in Hungary. ~~and~~ I don't know of what Tamás [redacted] was accused. He had to spend four years in a concentration camp, and after his release from there, he remained under police surveillance until the time the revolution started. I knew well Mr. and Mrs. [redacted], the former having been the Budapest reporter of the Associated Press. They were arrested, I don't know for what reason. Györy Rassay, a senior ~~leading~~ leading politician of Hungary, had been deported. I visited him at his deportation place. Erzsi [redacted]. a chorus member of the opera house had been deported, too, ~~his~~ <sup>Her</sup> father was an army general during theorthy regime, and I suppose this was the reason for ~~the~~ <sup>her</sup> deportation.

(11d) The cases of Geiger and Farago<sup>d</sup> made the deepest impression on me. I was convinced that both ~~are~~ <sup>were</sup> innocent.

(11e) I don't know anything specific.

(11f) I would not tell that there were specific categories, but probably members of the intelligencia, civil workers, former army officers, and descendents of the previous leading strata of the population were the most numerous among them.

(11g) I don't remember.



- (12a) Only in the sense that people ~~are~~ doing more obscure work are in more security.
- (12b) Yes,
- (12c) Connections with Party functionaries, and higher members of the civil service.
- (12d) According to the propaganda, it was advantageous. I don't know whether it was so <sup>in fact</sup> ~~expedient~~. According to my experience it always came <sup>out</sup> ~~out~~ sooner or later if anybody stated that he was of peasant <sup>or</sup> working class origin, but it was not so in reality.
- (12e) Yes. Even passports were available for an adequate amount of money.
- (12f) Yes, it helps if anybody does not oppose the regime openly.
- (12g) I don't know.
- (13a) ~~There is a~~ <sup>By the</sup> police and <sup>in most cases,</sup> the courts, especially ~~more recently~~ since about '53.
- (13b, c) I don't know.
- (14a) They were at the time of the death of Stalin and of the first premiership of Imre Nagy.
- (14b) A new wave of terror came after this time. <sup>was to be felt when</sup> ~~A~~ general relaxation <sup>relaxation</sup> holidays approached. ~~Some relaxation was to be felt.~~ Food stuffs came to the market that were not to be seen for a long <sup>time</sup>.
- (15a) The details of less importance were decided upon in Hungary only. Others, <sup>by</sup> the Soviet counselors working together with Hungarians. The most important political

and economic matters were <sup>decided by</sup> Moscow alone.

(15b) I don't know this directly, but it is my conviction that it was so.

(15c) The role of Moscow has been emphasized in every problem of life, as well <sup>that</sup> as every salvation comes from the Communist Party. Soviet attitude prevailed when dealing with matters of history. Daily politics followed the Soviet line entirely.

(15c)

It was requested that the Soviet Union be followed in every respect and it was emphasized that it is the Soviet Union and the Communist Party which brings every salvation. History ~~has been considered~~ <sup>was taught</sup> in accordance with this attitude, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> even daily politics were formed according to this construction.

(15d)

I met only Soviet opera singers and stage managers. I did not talk with them ~~but~~ <sup>in matters of</sup> general policy. The stage manager with whom I worked together was a very talented man. I was very contented to work with him.

(15e)

Soviet influence prevailed both in economical and cultural matters. In literature it was the literature only of the Soviet Union that was told to be studied. Family life was the least influenced by the Soviet.

(15f)

To almost every Hungarian industrial <sup>ial</sup> enterprise of key importance and also to the ~~central government and~~ ~~engine~~ ~~and~~ the different ministries.

(16a)

People tried to hide their feelings because they ~~felt~~ <sup>are being</sup> terrorized.

(16b)

In the opera house I was ~~engaged~~ <sup>absorbed</sup> in my musical artist work. I expressed opinions only in very intimate circles.

(16c)

I am ~~frank~~ <sup>talkative</sup> by nature, ~~even~~ <sup>often</sup> sometimes ~~foolhardy~~ <sup>reckless</sup>. I was not always careful with whom I spoke. Of course I was the frankest with old friends and relatives.

(16d)

After Communist rule had been firmly established, discussion of every <sup>of</sup> political nature was dangerous. People could be frank in matters not connected directly with politics.

(16e)

The change I told right now came about in 1948.

(17a)

As to ~~status~~ <sup>and</sup> governmental orders I can't tell anything. Listening to Western radios and to buy and have at home Western papers and books was dangerous, but people did not care too much for it.

- 17b) For example, refusing to subscribe to peace loans.
- 17c) Yes, by hiding part of his products.
- 17d) I don't know.
- 17e) The situation eased only in the last two or three years. Previously if a worker not taking the working place he was assigned to had to work for six months in a less important sphere of activity thus getting less wage.
- 17f) The only possibility was to find a department of the university where he could be trained for a profession where there was need for experts.
- 18) People who don't oppose the regime directly or are considered indispensable in their work.
- 19a) Passive resistance. Sabotage as to the work competition, production of sub-standard goods.
- 19b) Those who enjoyed the benefits of the previous regime.
- 19c) Those who were subservient or at least passive in their attitude as to politics and could obtain a relatively human life by accomplishing activity adequate to their talent and experience.
- 19d) It increased both in economic and political aspects. People felt more free to express their opinion and did not obey different governmental orders without qualifications. The number of those leaving the country in an illegal way increased.
- 19e) I don't know anything of organized groups. Thus I think that the resistance was rather individual.
- 19f) As to the Party and the army, I don't know anything. Approximately one year before the revolution freer criticism started in literary circles and the writers started to discuss political things too. Students acted, being influenced by the writers.
- 19g) I don't know anything specific.
- 19h) There were lots of them. I would mention only two. A man sees a motor car on



the street and tells to another man unknown to him, "What a nice Russian car." The other says, "But don't you know that it is an American car?" Then the first man replies, "Yes, I do know that, but I did not know who you are." Another joke: The Communists' electoral system is similar to the case of the first man, Adam. Why? God told Adam that you may select a wife for yourself, but it was only Eve he could select. It is the same with the Communist election system.

- 19i) I don't know anything about it except that nobody liked to learn Russian.
- 19j) Only what was written in papers about controversies of Rakosi with Hajk and Imre Nagy.
- 19k) It would have been very hard. People were terrorised too much.
- 19l) Freer atmosphere came after the death of Stalin. That opened the way for freer criticism.

- (1) From the radio, papers, books, and bulletins of the American and British legation.
- (2a) Voice of America and BBC broadcasts.
- (1b) The newspapers and the bulletins of the legations.
- (2a), b and c) I subscribed to Magyar Nemzet, a Budapest daily, as well as for Rádió Ujság, and Színház É s Muzi, both Budapest weeklies. I bought Színház É s Irodalom every month. I read all of them regularly. In 1944 and 1945 I was for a while a member of the editorial staff of Színház É s Irodalom. It interested me mainly in matters of theatre and music literature. Reading of Színház É s Muzi was in connection with my interests in the theatre and the cultural life. Reading Rádió Ujság was for my interest in radio programs. I read Magyar Nemzet for I considered it a bit more independent than the direct Communist papers. (See also new paragraph after point (2j)).
- (2d) I read every part of the paper.
- (2e) Yes.
- (2f) The news coverage of Magyar Nemzet was about the same as of any other daily paper, but probably I liked <sup>it</sup> to read, mainly for its name that remembered me to the Magyar Nemzet previous to the end of the World War. <sup>The latter</sup> ~~it~~ was an independent and critical newspaper.
- (2g) It was the political summary I read first in Magyar Nemzet. Thus I got a general aspect about politics. In Színház É s Muzi I was interested in the theatrical critics and about the content of new plays.
- (2h) Yes.
- (2i) They gave summaries on domestic and external politics taking over all the news from papers. They did not ~~also~~ <sup>contain</sup> anything new in this respect. In addition they published material discussed in seminars, that is in Communist meetings, in <sup>a</sup> primitive style. Various opera members, especially those who belonged to the Communist Party published on them their own ideas very week or every second week. If anybody had an article of such a kind it was put on the

board.

- (2j) I read it only when my specific attention was ~~on~~ <sup>called on</sup> something published there. As for example ~~as~~ <sup>when</sup> I was among about 25 or 30 others who did not subscribe to peace loan. All of us were very proud of being exposed in this way.

Supplement to 2a I have also to mention that I subscribed to Repülötechnika, a monthly paper on problems of aviation. ~~As I said~~ <sup>already</sup> that I was ~~was~~ interested in constructing airplane models, ~~this was in connection with my interest of this kind.~~ Therefore, I liked to read REPÜLÖTECHNIKA.

- (2k) The bulletins of the British and the American legations, Reader's Digest, and New York Times mainly European editions, I got at the American legation. Time to time I bought an Austrian newspaper or rather got it from an acquaintance who came from Vienna. They used to be Presse, Neue Oesterreichische Zeitung. Since 1955 I could buy Volkstimme, an Austrian Communist paper on paper stands in Budapest. It brought news not published in Hungarian papers and also it had some kind of another aspect of things as the Budapest papers. I used to buy it about 2 to 3 times a week.

- (2l) The bulletins of the British and American legations I used to read in their offices. As to the first one, I mean the office of the British <sup>Council</sup> Consul. Only <sup>when</sup> I found specially interesting things in them I took <sup>one copy home giving it also</sup> and charged them to my friends <sup>for reading</sup>. It was for example at the Berlin Revolution in '53 and at the time of the Suez conflict in the summer of '56. I avoided taking them home <sup>more often</sup> for I found it rather dangerous should they be found with me. Time to time I read American periodicals on aviation in the library of technology at the corner of Népszínház Utca and József Körút. I could read them only in the library. I was not permitted to take them home.

- (2m) The latter were of very <sup>high level</sup> ~~level~~ in their subject matter. As to the bulletins I liked to have adequate and ~~reliable~~ reliable news on international ~~news~~ politics in them.

(3a, b)

Movies open to the general public once or twice a month. From about 1952 to 1956 I attended the movies of the American legation regularly in the legation building. Only members of the legation and specifically ~~invited~~ invited guests were permitted to attend. In the Hungarian movies I liked French and Italian films for they were of a high artistic level and their subject matter stood close to my interests. About two or three British films yearly were also permitted to be played in Hungary. One of them, "The Cruel Sea," I saw on the occasion of a guest performance in Pecs. It was a fantastically beautiful film of the time of the 2nd World War.

(3c)

I did not like Soviet films because they carried propaganda in the same manner as Communist Party lectures. I was not interested in it at all and at the same time they were primitive and dull. Before two or three years I participated in synchronizing a Soviet film. It was a Russian adaptation of the Pinocchio story. I had to be the voice in Hungarian of the circus director. The film's artistic standard was by far lower than that of similar Western films. Western films permitted to be shown had also some political content but in a way only that one had to think it over before finding it. Social problems and social deficiencies were treated in it, also not directly in the Communist manner. It was, for example, the problem of unemployment in an Italian film, "The Bicycle Thief," and others. "Rome at 11:00 P.M.," "Miracle in Milan" were of <sup>a</sup>high artistic level. "Roma Città Aperta" was very realistic, dealing with the barbarous methods of Nazism during the Second World War.

(3d)

See point (3a and b).

(3e, f)

Films I saw at the American and sometimes also at the British legation were sometimes adaptations of classical prosaic works: Hamlet, played by Laurence Oliver, <sup>i</sup>Bunbury Wilde's novel on film. Others were criminal films but very ~~2~~ interesting. American films on the ~~xxxxxx~~ teamsters and the good trade unions



leaders, as well as on wrong ones, were very moving and realistic concerning problems of workers. "Kiss Me Kate," "Barefoot Princess," Walt Disney films were very good amusement films. I saw also the "One Million/Dollar Banknote" with Gregory Peck in the main role. There were very good films connected with natural science. The "Bridge of Toko Rei" was marvelous. In 1955 a club of artists had been formed the next floor above the Rádias Movie in Budapest Nagymező Utcá. It was exclusively for artists. Films were produced there before producing them for the general public, or others which were not going to be produced for the public in general at all.

3g) Yes.

3h) National Theatre, Opera House, sometimes other theatres. Since 1955 the political satire program of Vidám Színpad was very good. It started about the end of 1955. The director, Dossó Keller, did an excellent and courageous work.

3h) Up to 1952 I attended opera performances almost every day. Later I was there less. I used to be in other theatres once or twice per month.

3i) I mentioned already Vidám Színpad. Since about 1953 classical plays in theatres were more often permitted than before. As for examples, As You Like It and Richard III by Shakespeare. A play on village problems by Lope De Vega, Intrigue and Love and Don Carlos by Schiller, Physician in Spite of Himself and The Misanthrope by Molière. It was characteristic for the waves of politics to follow the performances of the Hungarian classic: Ember Tragediája (The tragedy of man) by Madách. If the atmosphere went more to the left it had not been played at all or at least much less than before. If it was on the program it happened that people bought tickets for it months in advance.

4a) Yes.

About 8 each year.

American authors in Hungarian, as Petroleum by Upton Sinclair. Works of Sinclair Lewis, Dreiser, for example the American Tragedy, several works of English authors, those of H.G. Wells and G.B. Shaw, many Shakespeares, works of Wordsworth, Arrowsmith, and Sholem Asch, Wasserman, Thomas Mann. Classics as Goethe, Schiller, Dostoevsky, Tolstoi, Pirandello, D'Alembert, Madariaga, all in Hungarian. I read some pages of modern Soviet Russian authors. The one I liked among them was: The Young Guard. I read the Parvus Trilogy by Feucht- wanger and the Report from Moscow by Davis. I liked to read Hungarian classics as Jókai, Vorésmarty, Petöfi, Ady. I read also the works of Zsolt Harsányi and Viktor Rakosi. Miklós Vasselényi was a very good recent Hungarian author writing the history of the 3rd German Empire.

I read what I got in my hands rather than being systematic.

For about 25 years I had my own library. I had about 100 books.

Classical or modern western writers generally could not be bought in bookstores in Budapest. Some books as the one of Madariaga circulated among friends.

Yes.

Yes, Orion type, made in Hungary.

The Budapest radio.

I was mainly interested in musical programs and in addition in news.

About two or three including also listening to Western radios.

At home or in the club of the Opera House members.

(With a smile:) My own performances.

Yes.

Everything I could get. Musical programs from Belgrade, German and French stations, Voice of America. The Tanger network for light music.

Sometimes I listened also to news broadcasts of the stations mentioned above, as well as of BBC, RFE, in German, English, French or Hungarian. I liked to hear / <sup>Western news.</sup>

I was interested by listening to Western radio both in musical matters for development and entertainment, as well as in reportage to find out the real aspect of world events.

6d) Answered under (6a).

6e) The musical program was always of a very high level both in technical aspects and as to program policy. As to news and commentaries, I preferred mostly BBC and Voice of America. They were objective and not driven by passions. RFE broadcasts were often to be blamed for it.

6f) For the very same reason I found BBC and Voice more reliable. RFE sometimes gave a fairly distorted picture.

7b) In '49 I attended a lecture in the Opera House and another one for the public in one of the movies in Budapest. I was interested to hear both of them.

7e) The lecture in the movie was about the history of the Bolshevik Party. In the opera we were taught about a new Russian play, The Young Guard.

7f) The former by the Opera House, the latter in the movie by the Communist Party Committee of the 6th Borough of Budapest by free admission.

7g) About 1½ hours each.

7h) That about the history of the Bolshevik Party, dull and boring; that in the Opera House very useful before the play was put to the scene. This lecture was only to opera members.

7i) I think yes concerning the lecture given to the general public. I don't remember any more what kind of questions.

7j) In the movie the lecturer had been presented by the chairman and asked to hold the lecture. Then he read it. After this one or two questions were asked. Some people made notes.

- (8a) Yes, for example, the events in 1953 in Berlin and the later <sup>ones</sup> in Poznan.  
Generally every kind of domestic news as well as news in the Soviet Union.
- (b) From ~~FRANCO~~ friends, colleagues, acquaintances.
- (8c) I don't remember any more. ~~Generally more reliable ones?~~
- (8d) Generally, more reliable ones.
- (8e) Sometimes, they were only hearsay, but for others it came out later how exact they were.
- (8f) No.
- (8h) At their homes.
- (8i) Some of my colleagues who moved more around <sup>and</sup> interested themselves more in things, had better radios or more correspondence abroad; or else they were less controlled and <sup>were bolder by</sup> ~~their order~~ in nature.
- (8j) In all of the 3 places mentioned. <sup>Every</sup> ~~anywhere~~ <sup>I</sup> ~~met~~ <sup>met?</sup> could <sup>meet?</sup> friends or acquaintances ~~and~~ <sup>was liked to</sup> exchange ~~the~~ news.
- (8k) Yes, friends. I never met former prisoners of war or those ~~with~~ who were released from prisons.
- (8l) At about 2 or 3 times I got leaflets dropped down by balloons in Hungary. I got them from friends. On one occasion I found such a leaflet fixed on the door of the lavatory in a Budapest coffee house. One or two days later it was fixed with four rather than ~~the two original~~ pins, <sup>as it</sup> ~~was done at the first occasion.~~



- (9a) Radio, papers, possibly American and British legation ~~and~~ bulletins.
- (9b) I listened to the radio.
- (9c) Radio, papers, and possibly Western bulletins.
- (10a) I tried to find out things about the context in a logical way.
- (10b) In the last year I felt that probably it tried to inform people more exactly about the events.
- (10c) Western radio broadcasts.
- (10d) Hungarian papers, Soviet and ~~and~~ satellite radios.
- (10e) It was Magyar Nemzet, but even this paper was not reliable enough.
- (10f) Yes, regularly.
- (10g) For his frank voice and critical spirit.
- (11) Everybody.
- (12a) Western radios because they were the most reliable and news could be had ~~that~~ in the quickest way through them.
- (12b) By telephone, radio, own experiences on streets and meeting friends.
- (12c) In general, by people who passed Budapest, by refugees, soldiers I met on the street and by the radio.
- (13a) From acquaintances. They had only second-hand information about the terrible circumstances, inhuman work conditions, bad food and big death-rate.
- (13b) There was not.
- (13c) The North-Korean/.
- (13d) He was guilty because he was servile to the regime. It was he who organized the AVH and he approved its terrible working methods. As to the Yugoslav events he was not guilty.
- (13e) I knew it from papers that Germany will raise a new army which will be provided by the most modern American firearms.
- (13f) It had been just the same way as that in Budapest.

(13g) I don't think that they are adequately informed about agents in Hungary  
and therefore ~~SECRET~~ <sup>emigrant Hungarian</sup> political leaders are not <sup>very</sup> popular in Hungary.

- (1) Free elections, national independence, declaration and securing of neutrality of the country, democratic constitution and government, free press, freedom of conscience and religion, and an economic system that makes it possible that every working man gets work according to his capacities and earns accordingly. All this is needed because of national self-respect and <sup>for the</sup> adequate development <sup>of</sup> everybody.
- (1a) State investments <sup>to improve public welfare</sup> ~~having social work~~, and state control of key industries.
- (2a,b) No, I am against every human extremity directed by uncontrolled <sup>them</sup> emotions. Complete freedom would make the way free for ~~the~~, too. By having this opinion, I mainly consider the present cultural and economic <sup>level</sup> ~~degree~~ of the population of Hungary.
- (3) Yes, I think that every man must partake of this right. I can't imagine in a normal political and economic regime that <sup>any</sup> ~~everything~~ must be <sup>hidden</sup> ~~seen~~. Probably I am influenced by my personal mental construction, ~~and~~ I never have secrets and always was communicative.
- (4)a-d) Yes, I am for complete freedom of association, for the same reason I told in connection with the freedom of speech.
- (4e) In the case if the population is delivered to the political and economical leadership <sup>without</sup> ~~of~~ any control by themselves, or if the government is influenced by another state or else if the government has a dictatorial spirit, excluding the population to influence economic and political development.
- (5) I am only for state's control, not even for state direction, not to tell anything about state ownership.

- (5a) I mean under state direction <sup>pointing to</sup> the way to be followed and this must be decided by the necessities of the market. The leaders of great enterprises must be under control whether they care for social and economic benefits <sup>e</sup> of their workers adequately.
- (5b) State ownership would mean that the state is the only master of the enterprise; it would be wrong. But the state ~~could~~ <sup>can</sup> rightly control the process of the accumulation of the capital as it is made in the United States by a progressive tax system. It is absolutely necessary <sup>- loving</sup> in a peaceful world system that the state cares for it that <sup>the</sup> capital serves the economic and social development of the population.
- (5d) <sup>No.</sup> It is in harmony with human nature and one of the most important <sup>incentives</sup> ~~aspects~~ of human achievements.
- (6a) <sup>I am not</sup> Even for state control; free competition must prevail.
- (6b) Tax policy is probably the only right way.
- (6c) It must follow the natural needs of the population.
- (7) I am only for state control as expounded under point 5. Monopolies should not exist at all.
- (8a) I am not for it for the life is too much different <sup>lated</sup> ~~hard~~ to make it useful.
- (8b) Theoretically it can be fixed that in a given period how much should be produced. In a free country, everything should be subjected to the laws of demand and supply. Yet I have to make here a general remark as to the economic problems discussed now. Starting from the heavy industry, I consider



MY views fairly *utopistic* as long as the world is separated in different countries. The ideal <sup>would be</sup> ~~is~~ that every man follows the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ten commandments of the bible strictly or at least tries hard to reach them as close as possible. In the present permanent fight for existence it is too hard to reach these idealistic aims, but the goal should be an <sup>all-embracing</sup> ~~complex~~ human permanent community and harmony between races, religions, and <sup>people of different colors</sup> ~~color of men~~. Should this be reached, the idea could prevail: don't do to any other <sup>man</sup> what you don't want to be done to you.

- (8c) It was the same in the Soviet Union as in Hungary. In both countries the result was oversized <sup>bureau</sup> ~~beaus~~cracy and complete *failure* of centralization.
- (8d) (not applicable)
- (8e) I refer to my general remarks.
- (9a) I am for state ownership of railroads and postal service because both are key domains of human ~~life~~ ties, only state apparatus can care for them <sup>in</sup> an ~~adequate~~ way.
- (9b) Other means of communication should be in private hands, in accordance with the principle of ~~xxxxxx~~ free competition but of course under state control.
- (10) It is alright if ~~xxxx~~ carried out according to the capacities and aptitudes of every man.
- (10b) In that case there is nothing dangerous in it.

- (10c) To do everything in my capacities for a political and economic system that secures for every working people a decent living. The decent minimum <sup>of</sup> needs/~~are~~ ~~substance~~ must be secured to sick, disabled, old and young people and in general to everybody who without his own fault cannot care for himself. Democratic measures should be taken to make malevolent, idle people useful. For example, generally known work shirkers should be forced to work as prescribed by democratic rules.
- (11) Yes, for example, freedom of conscience, freedom to select a job and profession, free movement. All this is necessary to develop human capacities freely and to be useful to the community.
- (12) Yes, they are protection of the governmental system as found right by the majority. Helping to develop the state as our common good and to promote and improve every state activity which serves the good of the population.
- (12c, d, e) Yes.
- (12f) This refers to every governmental system which <sup>follows</sup> allows the wish of the majority, the general <sup>respect</sup> ~~number~~ of the laws, the principle of freedom and the principles <sup>laid</sup> ~~laid~~ down in the ten commandments.
- (13) It did not change.
- (14a) Yes, it improved during the Horthy regime already.
- (14b) Yes, mainly physical workers and peasants, because the social security system became general and organizations and invest-

ments were made in the countryside <sup>in this respect</sup> ~~for this gain.~~

(14c) Clinical care is more preferable for scientific aids are better available there.

(14d, e) It should be general, but people should be free to select their own doctor <sup>according to the</sup> ~~since~~ social security system. The ultimate aim must be that physicians ~~must~~ be made completely independent, ~~and~~ thus to make <sup>them</sup> ~~that~~ possible, that they devote <sup>all of their</sup> ~~other~~ capacities to poor people ~~and~~ <sup>being</sup> not ~~be~~ troubled by their dire personal needs.

(14g) The present Hungarian system is still far away of this idea; it is too mechanistic and therefore I prefer <sup>ed</sup> to have had operated my vocal cord polypus by a friend, a private physician.

(15) I don't think that there is more opportunity in general, but ~~there was~~ thirty years trouble taught people that it does not make sense to economize. Economic instability during the two World Wars and the years that followed <sup>both</sup> ~~it~~ made <sup>people</sup> ~~them~~ feel that it is better to make daily life more beautiful than to economize. Especially now they feel: let's have our amusements, nobody can know what will come tomorrow, whether an AVH man or war.

(15b) Yes, because having more opportunities as a theatre man.

(15c) Yes, it promotes human development.

(15d) The poorer human strata. Theatre tickets and those of other amusement places are relatively inexpensive and the regime

built up organizations to sell tickets at the working places. Thus it is easier to get tickets.

- (15e) Yes, in general, but people dislike that Communist party politics influence too much theatre and general amusement policy. Masses of people preferred to go in theatre and movies where the performance had nothing to do with politics or at least less government policy had directed it in general. For this reason there are permanent full houses in the opera and operetta theatres and in dramatic theatres mainly <sup>when</sup> ~~then~~ classical plays are produced or exceptionally modern Western plays reach the country. Plays of Western writers who <sup>wrote</sup> ~~were~~ after the second World War and plays of some Hungarian writers who wrote before the end of the second World War are almost completely lacking from the theatre program. People are longing for them.
- (15f) There are no specific strata.
- (16a)b) No.
- (16c) Probably.
- (16d) Members of different armed forces, politicians, party leaders and party functionaries as well as foreign diplomats can have food in ~~their~~ specific food enterprises only available to them.
- (16e) It is hard to everybody else.
- (17a, b, c) No.



- (17d) It was evident when looking at people.
- (17e) People of free occupations, physicians, artists and *genius engineers* can clothe themselves better.
- (18a) Yes, because new enterprises were constructed.
- (18b) No, because planned economy cared mostly for heavy industry and not for the population in general.
- (18c) Much less, articles of heavy industry; more and better articles of light industry should have been produced.
- (19a, b) They should be dissolved unless not upheld by free decision.
- (19c, d) Everything should be distributed among peasants, according to their own decision.
- (19d) They should be given to individual farms provisionally. Later they will be able to care for them by their own work.
- (19e) As the quality of land is different it seems to me unavailability; yet two small strips could lead to ~~degress~~ <sup>decrease</sup> in the production. The ~~problem~~ should be decided by the peasants <sup>working</sup> ~~feeling~~ their lands <sup>by</sup> themselves upon the advise of agricultural experts.
- (19f) Only up to a certain quantity of land.
- (19g) For small *holders*, yes. As to the kulacks, it should be decided exactly what is meant under kulacks.
- (19h) Yes.
- (19i) ~~These~~ <sup>The right thing</sup> should be that the members of the cooperatives should profit by it and, of course, the whole <sup>population</sup> ~~people~~ according to a rightly organized agricultural production *system*.
- (20a, b, c) They should be managed or probably even owned by the agricultural corporatives, controlled by the state. But individual

Farmers ~~must~~ be given ~~the ability~~ <sup>opportunity</sup> to use ~~the~~ tractors and other agriculture machines ~~and at~~ <sup>according to</sup> the same ~~same~~ terms as available to farm cooperatives.

- (20d) I don't know.
- (20e) Yes, the natural development of human life leads to mechanization and making human work easier by this.
- (21) Workers should be listened to, too, as to the increase of the production and making it more economical. But should the management think that the ~~proposals~~ <sup>proposals</sup> are not right, experts ~~must~~ <sup>must</sup> ~~should~~ ~~have~~ the final word as arbiters.
- (21a) To promote the interests of workers and production and to watch upon that workers be trained and reach their cultural and social needs up to a certain standard in conformity with the requirements of the community. Using the right of striking should be decided by the trade unions, but it ~~should~~ <sup>is</sup> not be forgotten that strikes in general are prejudicious to the state economy.
- (21b) Completely.
- (21c) Yes.
- (21d) It can't be considered as onerous if the above principals <sup>la</sup> are followed.
- (21e) The trade unions were only the tool of the regime and as to the interests of ~~the~~ workers, they dared ~~literally~~ <sup>virtu</sup> only for recreation and amusement. No free discussions were permitted as to the collective bargaining agreements.
- (21f) They are not necessary if the trade union life is free, but some way excesses of trade union leaders must be

prohibited.

- (21g) They were formed by free elections. The workers elected by *their* fellow workers to whom they had most confidence and they *rather* cared for a continuation of production instead of leaders named by the government. I think the Yugoslav example had been followed.
- (21h) I don't think that there is need ~~for~~ them and that they could be useful.
- (21i) Managers appointed by the owners.
- (22a-g) Everyone of them should be treated individually according to his culpability. Courts of arbitration should be elected from every strata of the population and similarly to the jury system in the United States <sup>the veto</sup> legal power of the person taken to responsibility should be established. Of course *abusing veto power must be prevented.* ~~only in certain cases, then excluding abuses.~~ I think that such an arbitration court could be un-biased. Not only criminal acts of party members and other people in question should be decided upon but generally how far they committed wrong acts even if not criminal ones. Suspension of political rights for a certain period would be right even in not criminal cases, if the individual case makes it advisable.
- (22g) Those of extreme right before Communist rule and <sup>those</sup> ~~all of them~~ who <sup>ugh</sup> ~~tho~~ not Communist party members helped with the regime *in a* ~~by certain~~ more important way.
- (22h) As far as I <sup>can</sup> remember, workers' councils removed exposed Communist

- PEOPLE. Maybe there were some personal excesses, but I don't know anything particular about it. ~~It~~<sup>This</sup> ~~is~~ in principle.
- (23) It was biased, followed a perverted aspect and considered every<sup>h</sup>thing according to the points of Socialistic Materialism. It was subjective and inconsistent. If one of the politicians became disgraced, his name and activities were suppressed from the text books and new text books expressed quite opposite opinions and statements as to the previous ones. Education in this sense was considered very important by the regime; it became fairly un-effective due to the different atmosphere of the parental homes.
- (23a) Religious education had been completely neglected by the Communist regime. Historical relations were presented one sided by the Communists.
- (23b) The regime tried hard to differentiate among various social classes and to divert children of intellectuals and of those exposed under the previous regime from intellectual education.
- (23c) It is wrong. Parents should be the only decisive factor.
- (23d) Yes.
- (24a) Yes.
- (24b) All of them. The system of established state religion is wrong. It was ~~thought~~<sup>told</sup> previously that Hungary was a Catholic state. It should not be so. Every citizen should have the right to ~~accept~~<sup>adhere to a</sup> religion freely as long as this does not mean interference with the free development of another church.
- (24c) No. The churches should be upheld by their own members.



- (24d) Yes, it is in connection with the fundamental human rights.
- (24e) No, it would lead to a sectarian philosophy of life; it would make more difficult to students to develop their own independent opinions as to the organization of the world.
- (25) The original settlement of Hungarians in their present country; it means that the former nomadic people <sup>be</sup> came permanent settlers and an important factor in their <sup>S</sup> respective part of Europe. Assumption of Christianity; <sup>is</sup> by these Hungarians became attached to the Western culture and permanently influenced by the Western philosophy of life. The victory at Nándorfehérvár (of Hunyadi over the Turks) made it possible preservation of the achievements of the Western culture. The Rákóczi Revolution developed a national <sup>consciousness</sup> among different types of people. The Revolution in 1848 for national independence, the destroying of Communism in Hungary in 1919, <sup>thus</sup> and stopping the spread of Communism to the West. Revolution in 1956 making clear that the Communist regime can't be considered as workable and that Hungary belongs to the West.
- Hungary contributed to the Western culture, ~~culture~~, science, arts and politics as well as in sports. To remember just a few names I would mention Francis Liszt, Béla Bartók, Semmelweis, Albert Szentgyörgyi. <sup>From a</sup> Among the politicians, Kossuth, Széchenyi, Albert Apponyi, and <sup>from</sup> among others, Alfred Hajós and <sup>of sports establishments, and</sup> architects, Cukor in the development of <sup>movies</sup> museums. But there are other innumerable ones.

- (26) The early kings of the Árpád Dynasty and Mathias Corvinus were real national rulers and very popular with the country.
- (26a) As far as I know from my studies, Hungary had to lead a colonial life since the rule of Hapsburgs and probably it was only the Revolution in 1848 that brought the Hungarians again to national consciousness.
- (26b) Exactly for the same reason as Italians and people belonging to other nationalities. They wanted to be acquainted with new parts of the world and sought for freer opportunities. In Hungary also bad living standards contributed to this.
- (26c) Yes, until 1848.
- (26d) It was wrong; great masses could not develop in social and economical sense.
- (26e) The country prospered fairly well in economical sense; as to the politics, it was more and more to the right.
- (26f) Aristocracy by birth and money did not care for the problems of the people at large and class differences were fairly great.
- (26g) She should have been neutral; a small country is always a tool of great world policies. The Treaty at Versailles was wrong; it did not look at the future. Committees preparing this peace treaty were not acquainted ~~evidently~~ with conditions of people in <sup>Central</sup> ~~the West~~ Europe, and the geography of the respective countries. Also the political preparedness of the respective people was not duly considered, and it was the same with the economic problems of Central Europe. Should

THE Austro-Hungarian monarchy <sup>have ed</sup> remain<sup>y</sup> an economic unit things would have had another turn during the second World War.

(26h) A completely ruined country was brought to life. Political independence was going to develop in a great degree and <sup>there</sup> was hoped that a prosperous country could be formed. After '47 the country had to follow the Soviet lead and it was no more able to decide upon herself.

(27) Yes, it is. Hungarian people are unpretentious, industrious, and their longing for freedom is inextinguish<sup>y</sup>able.

(27a) Hungarians try hard to keep their own personal opinion. They are not influenced by <sup>hard</sup> ~~heart~~ instincts. Both are contrary to the German spirit; yet Hungarians are more superficial in their life and activities than Germans.

(27b) Hungarians have an independent way of thought and a higher cultural level in contrast to the Russians.

(27c) National tradition is more important to Hungarians than to Americans, but the latter are much more developed technically than the former.

(27d) I don't think so.

(27e) Not in every strata, mostly in peasants.

(28a) It is important for the present moment; there are various political systems and the temper<sup>a</sup>ment of people differ.

(28b) (not applicable)

(28c) Yes, territories should be re-annexed to the mother country where the big majority, lets say 75% of the population, is

Hungarian.

- (28d) In the south, in the east, in the north alike; Transylvania, Banat, Bačka, and the southern portions of the present Slovakia.
- (28e) There is none.
- (28f) Yes, it is the Slavic expansion.
- (28g) Against Czechs, Yugoslavs, Russians. This is rather ~~is~~ a problem of education and should not be considered a fundamental, natural characteristic of Hungarians. There are linguistic differences, differences in the natural conditions, in economic structure and the national consciousness<sup>ness</sup> between Hungarians and <sup>people of</sup> the neighboring countries, but one should not forget that they were oppressed in the same way as Hungarians.
- (28i-1) I can't tell anything: I never lived in one of the respective territories.
- (28m) This is again a problem of education. Jews have an excellent capacity to assimilate themselves to Hungarians and in more than one case they were more Hungarians than other people of the country. In Hungary after the first World War they followed their natural instincts and a large part of the Jews became intellectuals. As such, they could get a fairly good standard of life. This led to a certain tension among them and other Hungarians.
- (28n) Yes.
- (29) Geographic conditions in Central Europe make people living



THERE <sup>virtually</sup> ~~literally~~ completely dependent on each other. Austrian and Czech industry, Hungarian agriculture, natural wealth in ore and other <sup>h</sup> ~~things~~ in Romania and Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav seashore combined could be an important ~~part~~ <sup>part</sup> of a high economic unit. It would be in the interests of every people living in those countries.

(29a) Economic unity should be established first of all, and later also political unity.

(29b) Something similar to the political system of Switzerland should develop. Customs borders should be demolished and every country should have influence <sup>in common problems with</sup> ~~with the leading of~~ the other countries in the federation, but every country should have its own linguistic and cultural life, <sup>as well as</sup> ~~by~~ completely free contacts and movement.

(29c) The same as other participants.

(29d) It should be United States along the Danube.

(30) In general they are of good intention, they are friendly and hospitable. They like to learn and are interested in things. I spent two years on the Russian front and this is the reason I know it. These views did not change because of experiences until 1956 as to the people in itself.

(30a) I think that Russians on the average are against Communism in the same way as Hungarians or Americans on the average. Russian Communist leaders ~~are probably those who~~ have better life opportunities now than <sup>during</sup> before the Tzarist regime, than otherwise. Up to 1912 there was a feudalistic system in

Russia, the Russian people was oppressed then, even if in another sense than presently. The political education of the Russian people is one-sided. They are not much informed about things that are going on in the world, ~~but in a sense they are of good intentions in general.~~

- (30b) As to the Russian people, it is the same as with other people.
- (30c) I don't think that more than 20% of <sup>the people</sup> Russia is Communist. Probably ~~this is also too grave period~~ *even much less.*
- (30d) No, they were <sup>as much</sup> half-afraid of me, as I was of them.
- (30e) It meant the end of the world, <sup>war</sup> for Hungarians. A big part of the Hungarian population did not see clearly what intentions the Soviet politicians have with Hungary. I also belonged to those people. At this time I thought that <sup>the</sup> Russian army is about the same as every other military. A victorious country never treats the defeated <sup>in a way</sup> gently. The first bewilderment was caused in almost every Hungarian when the Russians as conquerors did everything in their propoganda to figure as good friends, protectors, and liberators of Hungary. It was clear that this is only a political trick. I found it out first in 1947.
- (30f) As the whole thing was clear at this time the ideas about Russians did not change between '48 and '53.
- (30g) It became absolutely evident that Russian imperialism ~~was~~ does not spare anything or anybody to reach its goals.

- (31) The theory means the abolishment of social classes and the construction of a world where no man will be exploited by another. <sup>In contrast to</sup> ~~Among~~ this Christian <sup>he</sup> ~~principal~~ stands Russian imperialism.
- (31a) The <sup>idea</sup> ~~principal~~ to make an end to exploitation is alright, but it is another thing how it has been carried out.
- (31b) A society without classes can't exist. Merely <sup>led by</sup> ~~my~~ personal interest; I read one or two ideological books, but <sup>they</sup> ~~it~~ became so complicated to me and in the meantime the political development disgusted me so far that I lost my interest, ~~and~~
- (31c) No, ~~ever~~.
- (31e) I think that Hungarian Communists have nothing to do with real Marxist principles. They <sup>carried out</sup> ~~followed~~ activities according to the direction of Russian political and economic leaders. I can't tell anything specific about it.
- (31f) In 1949 I read part of the history of the Bolshevic party, but I could not finish it for I completely lost my interest because of the misrepresentation I found in it. I also read the Report on Moscow by Davis. I was not much impressed by it, for it did not ~~illucidate~~ <sup>illuminate</sup> the Soviet regime adequately and I felt wrong that he drew a somewhat favorable picture on the soviet regime and its politics.
- (31g,h,i) I don't know.
- (31j) I don't know, I don't think so.
- (31k) Respect of human rights of freedom. <sup>Finding out</sup> ~~Minding~~ the public will. Respecting it and carrying it out.
- (31l) Never.
- (31m) Neither one nor the other; he's a dictator.

- (32) In a sense it's the same thing as national socialism, as termed by Hitler, but probably the idea of expansion does not belong to the meaning of national communism and it is not based on racial ideas. Anyway, national communism does not respect the wishes of the people so far as it propagates to do so.
- (32a) Yes.
- (32b) They came from all social classes, and wanted a regime similar to Yugoslavia.
- (32c) He's a compromiser and ~~in a sense~~ <sup>in essence</sup> a Communist. Probably he wanted only that Poland be independent and he saw how much the country ~~is~~ delivered economically to Soviet Russia.
- (32e) There is none.
- (33) Probably. He was longing for power and initially he wanted something like Gomulka's regime. Later he was completely carried ~~out~~ <sup>away</sup> by the stream of the Revolution. He lost ~~com-~~ <sup>the events</sup> mon sense, and became completely influenced by Russians. Such an immense quantity of wishes were adopted during the Revolution eventually that they became impossible to be carried out under the present situation.
- (34a) It is <sup>a thing</sup> good ~~if~~ it means that human conditions should be improved in general and a free life be developed according to ~~the~~ <sup>ideas</sup> ~~sense~~ of classical democracy.
- (34b) It is bad; it makes it possible that one people be exploited completely by the other.
- (34c) It is wrong; it means that the workers' class ~~acquires~~ takes exclusive power.



- 4d) It is good; it means combining the whole people of a country in a common aim. The goal must be to develop the life of population according to the <sup>it own</sup> ~~Hungarian~~ interest and character.
- 4e) It means big power policy; it is wrong because one people seeks to lead ~~other powers~~ ~~without~~ giving the same right to <sup>other</sup> ~~other~~ people; they are led ~~as deserved~~ <sup>by</sup> the leading people.
- 4f) It is wrong in Communist sense, because it is a humbug.
- 4g) It is wrong, as an exclusive rule of capitalists.
- 4h) It means middle class elements; it's right because they are <sup>more</sup> ~~the most~~ educated than the average <sup>people</sup> and, therefore, their philosophy of life is the ripest.
- 5) I think, the same.
- 56a, b, c, d) All of them less.
- 56e) ~~Less~~: Those being in high positions and political functionaries as well as chiefs of personnel departments, more. Other civil employees, less.
- 56f-j and 1) Less.
- 56k) <sup>Virtu</sup> ~~Generally~~ there were no ones.
- 57a) ~~less~~ good.
- 57b) There were no ones.
- 57c, d, e) They fared better.
- 57f) Teachers less, physicians and lawyers fared better.
- 57g) Less.
- 57h) They fared better.

- 7  
(38i) Members of parties existing at this time, less.
- 7  
(38j) K ~~Current.~~
- 7  
(38k) (1) They fared better <sup>for</sup> all of them, ~~this~~ was my own impression.
- (38a, b) They are in harmony.
- (38c) The interests ~~of~~ bureaucracy does not harmonize by far with that of the production.
- (38d) They don't harmonize. ~~A~~ party member looks for the party's interest in the first line; a non-party member for his own or for his class's interests.
- (38e) They are in harmony.
- (38f) I don't know.
- (38g) They are in harmony.
- (38h) For the time being, I think so.
- (38i) They were in harmony.
- (38j) Aristocrats tried to hold their privileged position, and workers fought to get their place on the sunny side of the life.
- (38k) There was a conflict of interests; the conditions for production <sup>by</sup> of latifundia were better and <sup>thus</sup> these great landowners could sell their products <sup>s</sup> for cheaper prices. ~~to each other the latifundia~~ ~~and these, the big land owners could manage to~~
- Small holders sought to balance the whole thing by quality work.
- (39) Only those who support <sup>ed</sup> the regime, ~~who supported it~~ also during the Revolution, that is the AVH men and the favorites of the regime who were paid well. A war can be possible between the Nato countries and Soviet Russia. For example ~~in the question of German re-annexation~~ if one side or the other would make forcible steps in the problems of

- (1) As an important remark I would like to mention that while in Budapest I lived in an "ivory tower." I started <sup>my</sup> singer's profession relatively late and this took much time for education and training. For this reason I could not devote as much time to find things out about events as I would have liked, and to elaborate in my spirit their importance. I met only a small section of society. Therefore it is much likely that several parts of the interview are not congruent with facts or not definite opinions.
- (1a) It is excellent. Its standard is too high and thus right answers often will be available only from people of higher education. It should be made more understandable for people of simpler minds, in order to raise thoughts in them too. In many points this is the case already, but in some points there is need of correction.
- (1b) Yes, under reservations told above (point 1a).
- (1c) The hate that Hungarians rightly feel presently against Russians possibly can cause too subjective answers occasionally.
- (1d) I hope so. Of course, the recent past troubled and disturbed people so much that they probably are not able or don't like to remember some events.
- (1e) Whether the respondent plans to get a job in his previous profession or some other kind of job, about his opinion concerning differences in the life in Hungary and in the United States, about his impressions in the West. I would mention here especially Austria. Her people were marvelous in helping Freedom Fighters and refugees in general. I would ask opinions about the help given by the American people, the activities of the UN and NATO and some questions about China, India, the recent changes in the British Empire, and about the state forms: monarchy or republic.
- (2) Yes, but only as a visitor.
- (3a and d) I don't know about such things and for the present I don't know about other

persons to be interviewed.

(3b)

Yes.



Impressionistic portrait of respondent:

Respondent's life was deeply rooted in his profession of an outstanding solo singer of the Budapest Opera House. His aspects were colored by these facts that kept him pretty far away from daily struggles of life. Anyway, respondent emphasized his interest in political and social problems as a thinking man. Statements in this respect revealed several ~~well~~ well founded individual ideas, <sup>though</sup> <sup>important to</sup> ~~as~~ he found it interesting ~~that~~ that they were instant reflections rather than statements based on methodical studies and deeper considerations of the principles ~~in~~ in question. Sincere endeavor could be observed during the interview to be as informative as possible.

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