

(1) First of all, it is important to know the reasons for the revolution. The main reason was that the atmosphere in Hungary was extremely depressed, people had to live in constant fear, and in addition to that, the living conditions were very poor. Respondent had personally felt very badly about the general atmosphere because he had to lie. Lying was a daily necessity; everybody and everywhere people had to lie. In these circumstances, the revolution had to come, and it came spontaneously as if it ~~was~~ ^{were} the act of one man against the regime and the teachings and practice of Marxism. The overwhelming majority of the people was not extremely nationalistic, yet their feeling was national and anti-Russian because they lived in conditions which had developed these feelings.

(2) The revolution was ~~preceded~~ ^{preceded} by a spiritual change which had started with the death of Stalin. In Russia, changes came and so they came in Hungary, too.

(2a) The phases were: 1. The first ^{and premiership} speech of Imre Nagy
2. Stalin's death
3. Rakosi's removal
4. Courageous language of the writers in the Irodalmi Ujszag
5. Speeches in the Writers' Association

Many foreign tourists came to Hungary, especially to Budapest in quite large numbers, sometimes by the thousands. It was possible to speak with them. They came from Czechoslovakia,

Austria, ~~and~~ at occasions of large sport events. Sometimes they came also from the countries of Western democracies. Through friendly conversations some information was again received. from them.

- (2b) Very much so, because the signs of a new spirit had cropped up.
- (2c) Willingly or unwillingly, Imre Nagy's ^{first} radio speech had historical meaning. He was the man in the Communist Party who had clearly seen that the regime made great mistakes concerning the peasants and agricultural. He had seen that the Russian example to force upon the peasantry unworkable conditions, is disastrous.
- (2d) Perhaps in political circles, but the simple people was not aware of it and did not pay too much attention ^{to} these discussions.
- (2e) It had very much. In the wake of it considerable changes occurred. Everybody was shocked since the papers wrote about it, papers which sang a different song before. It became official that Stalin was a fanatic murderer who murdered many millions of people and could keep his regime only by a number of ^{victims} ~~resistances~~ which went into themillions.
- (2f) It was known in Hungary. It was revealed that in a state which adheres to the people's democracy, the workers revolted against the regime and came forward with demands.
- (2g) Respondent was very happy because he saw in it a sign for a better future.

- (2h) No, respondent was sceptical. Stalin's ^{death} ~~speech~~, the speech of Imre Nagy and Rakósi's removal did not appear as turning alleviating events. points, just as ~~alleviating events~~. Even at the revolution he could not overcome his fears and ~~through~~ doubts, as long as the Russians are in Hungary, there cannot be a substantial change.
- (2i) He thought of big political changes but not of a revolution.
- (3a) The people wanted to liberate themselves from ^{this} ~~these~~ modern slavery. The general conditions were compelling and repelling and reading the Irodalmi Újság was felt as a ^{tonic} ~~stimulus~~. The writers and the spiritual leaders around the Irodalmi Újság started to see the situation quite differently than before, and the fact that they dared to write about it proved ^{the emergence of a} a new attitude.
- (3b) There was no doubt in the mind of the people that they live in conditions which exploit them, and that the regime is supported by terror. Among many people there was a great bitterness, life appeared futile, and confidence in people ^{in existing} and/conditions had vanished completely.
- (3c) Time, many years ~~were~~ ^{are} needed to become convinced that the conditions are unbearable. People ^{had} ~~were~~ to arrive ~~at~~ mentally to the stage when they felt the ^{ri} ~~horrible~~ suppression. The psychological process had developed and arrived ~~and~~ at the boiling point, and then it exploded.
- (4) It was a larger goal, but not concretely defined.

- (4a) The goal was to get rid of the oppression and slavery. This is an instinctive human trait, very strong in Hungarians. In every revolution of the past, at first most of the revolutionaries are led by emotional reasons and then in the course of the revolution, people start to give more thought to the goals and aims of the revolution.
- (4c) Not at the beginning, later on different goals came to the surface.
- (4d) It would be impossible and unwise to define it in this way because it was ~~one~~ ^{a common and popular} revolution from the beginning, a revolution against the Communist regime and not for something concretely determined.
- (4e) The lack of freedom, the terror, and the bad living conditions.
- (4f) For the freedom of the press, religion, speech, and for better living conditions.
- (4g) Respondent participated in the student demonstrations. Groups of demonstrators ~~appeared~~ ^{shouted} in unison the following slogans:
"Vonuljon ki a Szovjet!" "The Soviet should leave!"
"Kossuth cimert akdrunk!" ^a "We want the Kossuth emblem!"
"Azt kérdezék Pesten Budán, hova lett a magyar uran?"
^{In} "Pest~~er~~ and Bud~~er~~ there it is ~~was~~ ^{asked,} what did become ~~with~~ ^{of} the Hungarian uranium?"
"Vesszen az AVO!" "The AVO should perish!"
"Rakosi a Dunába, Gero meg utána!" "Into the Danube with Rakosi, and Gero should follow him!"

- (4h) The Russians should leave the country and should not interfere with Hungarian affairs because they have no place whatever in Hungary.
- (4i) Absolutely!
- (4j) They, too, had felt the terror, and wanted to eliminate it. They knew very well that the system cannot be sustained because it is untenable. Furthermore, they were not convinced of Communism and its teachings.
- (4l) The ideas of Imre Nagy would have developed. There wouldn't have been these great blood sacrifices which were made, because only a few of the AVO and of the police would have resisted and the revolution would have been successful.
- (4m) No, because the principal ^{pal} demand was not fulfilled--that is, the removal of the Russians from Poland.
- (4n) No one, at least at the beginning of the revolution. Perhaps later on some ^{would have} accomplished ~~his~~ personal goals.
- (4o) The officers of the AVO and some of the men in lower positions. The respondent was a student and lived in student circles. There were one or two girls who were very much afraid and had shown less courage, but they were hardly opponents of the revolution.
- (5a) Respondent participated in the student demonstrations, but did not take active part in the revolution. He was a student of the Academy of Music and that was a group of artistically inclined people, psychologically not prepared for battles at the barricades.

(6a) There was a student meeting at the concert hall at the Academy of Music and from there the students marched to the Petofi statue. There, a few speeches were made, but respondent couldn't hear them--he was too far from the speakers. Then the already very large number of students marched to the ~~statue~~ Bem statue. Slogans could be heard such as, "The teaching of Marxism should be cancelled," and also against the AVO and the Russians. From the Hungarian flag the stars had been removed and carried with holes in the middle. Across the statue of Bem is located a barrack and the students encouraged the soldiers who stood at the windows to join the demonstration, but they did not do that.

At the Bem statue, patriotic songs and poems were heard and the demands of students were read. In the meantime, the number of the demonstrators grew tremendously. From here the demonstrators proceeded to the Parliament, demonstrating loudly by singing and shouting. Having arrived at the Parliament, the demonstrators requested the removal of the star from the top of the Parliament building. A student deputation was received by Imre Nagy who, ~~at~~ ^{at} the request of the students, appeared on the balcony and made a short speech to the students promising that he ~~will~~ ^{would} forward their demands. Everywhere the eye could see, an uncountable number ~~was~~ massed around the Parliament building and every more people, especially workers, joined the demonstrators.

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Then the masses proceeded ~~through~~ the Hotel Astoria and in front of it the AVO shot at the demonstrators. Later in the evening they marched to the radio station building and requested permission to broadcast the students' demands. It was already 1:00 A.M. and respondent decided to walk home to his student quarters, which was a long way from the radio station. He and the students of the Academy of Music did not participate any more in mass demonstrations. They stayed at the student hotel. Respondent was worried about his cousin who was a student at the College of Pharmacy. He tried to contact her and they decided they would leave Budapest to be with their parents and relatives. He left the capital the fourth day of the revolution, and stayed at the village of his birth, named ^eMazoladany, a village about 380 kilometers from Budapest, with a population of about 3000. Respondent stayed there until November 26, at the home of his parents.

- (6b) He was afraid very much on account of his origin that charges will be made against him as an enemy of the state.
- (6c) He had no opportunities.
- (6d) As the son of a kulach^k, he wanted to stay out of trouble. By nature too, an armed struggle did not appeal to him.
- (6e) Nothing.
- (6f) In the students' demonstrations in Budapest.
- (7) He had seen demonstrations and shooting, one killing and several attacks ^{s on} people in the streets, tanks and destroyed street cars, and the distribution of food which was brought from the peasants and given to the inhabitants of Budapest, free of charge, during the revolution.
- (7a) He saw some shooting by the AVO's and the police, and many

times blind shooting, nobody knew where the shooting came from.

- §7b) Nothing of this kind.
- (7c) Had seen one AVO man hanging on the lamp post and then another was killed by the mob. Two soldiers had escorted another AVO man whom a group of people attacked, but the soldiers could not protect him--he was beaten to death, though he wore a raincoat and could be recognized only from his shoes as an AVO man. He was about 35 years old, fat, and of a peasant complexion. These killings as well as the hanging AVO man happened to be on the boulevard near the West Railroad Station.
- (7d) On the Square of the Republic, in front of the Communist Party building, ^{he saw} ~~there were~~ four or five dead men who were AVOs, but wore new uniforms of the police as a disguise. On Ulloi Road, ^{saw} ~~there were~~ many civilians dead, ^{and} Damaged tanks, In front of the National Theater ^{saw} ~~there were~~ two Russian soldiers dead beside a Russian car. As a sign of how much the peasantry was moved by the revolutionary ^{events} ~~event~~ in Budapest, he ~~saw~~ noted a great many trucks without-of-town tags having delivered food from the country. This food was distributed in Budapest without payments.
- (8) Does not apply to respondent.
- (9) As a student who was involved in his studies.
- (9a) Yes.
- (9b) No.

- (9c) As the fight took place in Budapest, respondent was in the small village with his parents. All peasants of ~~the village~~ contributed with food to be sent to the Freedom Fighters to Budapest. Respondent participated in collecting food. In front of the ~~peasant house~~ **Council House** large quantities of food were placed on trucks and he helped to do the job.
- (9d)(e,f) No.
- (9g) As said before.
- (9h,i) As said before.
- (9j) Respondent was most of the time in his native village, as the revolution took place in Budapest. The revolutionary movement had a tremendous impact on his ~~village~~ ^{other} rural communities. When the peasantry heard about the assemblies and processions in Budapest, similar demonstrations took place in rural communities. In the village where respondent was, things went very very peacefully. Most of the peasants took part in the demonstrations and marched to the ~~market place~~ **Council House**; the star from it was removed and national flags without the Communist emblem were carried. Even the Communist office holder participated in these demonstrations. Yet in the neighboring ~~village~~ village, things did not go so peacefully. Some of the Communist Party ^{leaders} / were beaten and stabbed.
- (10) While respondent was in Budapest, he found out from his student colleagues and from the radio which they had at the community room of the student hotel. When home in his village he learned the news through the radio.

- (10a) The newspapers played a very important part because they brought proclamations to the people and respondent read them.
- (10b) Some believed the papers and others did not believe them.
- (10c) About
The momentary conditions in the fighting, and he learned them from students who lived outside the student hotel.
- (10d) He listened more frequently to the radio at his arrival at his native village. He listened to the Voice of America, Free Europe, the Hungarian broadcasting of Brass French and Spanish stations which they had for ~~xxxxx~~ ^{half an} hour each day. They learned details of the revolution as well as foreign views and reviews on it.
- (10e) Nothing.
- (10f) The radio, especially the French and Spanish newscasting. The word-of-mouth news was unreliable.
- (10g) Believable local facts could be learned only by personal experience, and national news only through the radio.
- (11) Respondent was in his native village in ~~Mez~~ ^{Mez} Moladany during the revolution. All official functions ceased, ~~for several~~
- (11a) At his place there was the Communist Party house and the ^{cil} Community Council. The Communist Party had some rooms at the house of the ^{cil} Community Council and some more rooms which were expropriated from private ~~apart~~ apartments of peasants. These rooms were returned and the Party functionaries discontinued their activities.

- (11b) The village police joined the liberation movement.
- (11c) There were no AVOs at this village.
- (11d) No courts were at the village.
- (11e) There was no army station at the village, but the soldiers came gladly home, and many of them.
- (11f)(g) They stopped ~~was~~ functioning.
- (11h) ^yThere are not in villages.
- (11i) No changes. Because people went very frequently to churches, now as before.
- (11j) The ~~was~~, ~~was~~ ~~was~~ ~~was~~ (Termelőszövetkezeti Csoport) T.Sz.Cs. ceased to function. The workers' council ^{cil} reduced its activities in so far as they cared ^{only} for the maintenance of public order.
- (11k) There were not such at the village.
- (11 l) None.
- (11m) Respondent's village was a small agricultural community and the workers' council ^{cil} was not particularly important. Its secretary was not changed. He was hardly a Communist.
- (11n) Based on the policy of Imre Nagy, probably that government would have emerged which would have taken into consideration the interests of the workers and the peasants, and show more understanding for the general welfare and a sane national economy. Imre Nagy was a Communist, but he revealed understanding of practical situations, and did not feel that he had necessarily to imitate Russian patterns.

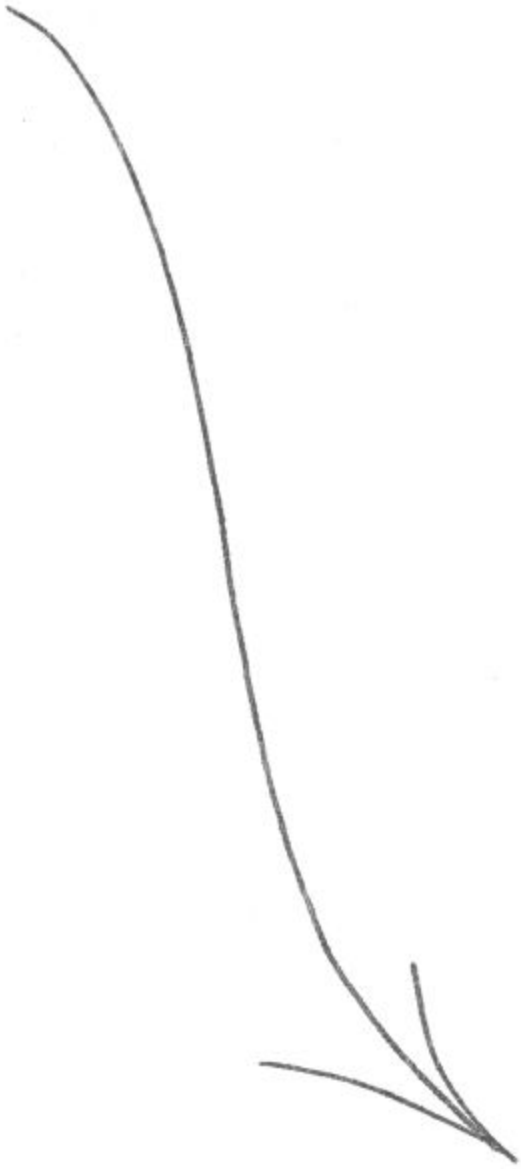
- (12) They did not know what happened all of a sudden. They were surprised and start^{ed}~~ed~~ to give thought to the situation as they saw the unexpected mass demonstrations of the Hungarian people, and above all, they wondered just what happened that everybody is against them. They realized that they confront a great mass movement. It could be seen that the comm^on soldier was fearful and uncertain in his being in Hungary, and they were very much impressed and disturbed by the uncertainty the officers displayed.
- (12a) When respondent left Budapest for his home village, he traveled by truck over the highway leading to Debrecen. He ~~was~~^{saw} an endless continuity of tanks, along the ~~road~~^{highway, for} ~~some~~ about 150 kilometers. They came from the border and headed for Budapest. These tank units were largely Mongolian outfits. He saw at the airport of Debrecen how Russian families boarded the airplanes ^{to} be evacuated and brought to Russia.
- (12b) At first the Russian troops were on the defensive and they were bound to protect themselves, but the new troops which were brought ^{to} ~~from~~ Hungary went into the offensive and so much bewildered and ready to fight that they were shooting aimlessly wher^ever they thought they had to shoot, into people, into buildings, in the air.
- (12c) Yes, it was unconceivable that they ~~would~~^{would} behave otherwise. Respondent was fearful all the time that the Russians will interfere.

- (12d) Has no information on that.
- (12e) Doesn't know it.
- (12f) What he knows from own experience is the eye-witnessing of the departure of Russian families from Budapest five or six days after the revolution.
- (12g) In the ministries, it was very strong ^b Before October 23 as well as after November 4, but probably even stronger. During the crisis they lost control over the Hungarian government and the Party on account of the sudden upheaval, and probably waited for instructions from Moscow.
- (12h) It is impossible to control so thoroughly and completely the people. A system maintained by terror and suppression cannot rule forever. Especially when the masses are strangers.
- (13) In his desperation when he was expelled from the Medical School of the University ^{of Debrecen} / in 1951.
- (13a) His great hopelessness and especially the danger that he will be sent to a ^c concentration camp as the son of a ^k kulak, and his fate will be the same as that of his cousins who were jailed for political reasons. He could never be sure what day they will carry him to a labor camp, possibly to Russia.
- (13b) Never with his parents or relatives, only with a friend of his.
- (13c) He and his friend left without carefully conceived plans. Respondent tried his good luck and was rather shocked by the plans of his friend. His friend was decided to kill with a knife anyone, ~~that~~ a guard or Soviet troops, if they will be in their way.

- (13d) They were prepared to take anything, because a camp in a free country is more hopeful than life in Hungary. He hoped that whatever fate will bring him, sooner or later, he will be able to devote himself to the study of music which is his professional goal.
- (13e) He lived in complete ~~total~~ resignation and looked forward to an uncertain destiny which was dark and hopeless.
- (14) Yes.
- (14a) It was useful, though very bloody and unfortunately very costly. For the immediate regaining of Hungary's freedom the revolution had no practical advantages. The only fact remains that the world could learn about the Hungarian situation and know the true facts and learn them and from them.
- (14b) Successful it could have been only with help. Through receiving weapons and other material help from the free countries, especially from the United States.
- (14c) The events succeeded very fast. Everything was unorganized and it was clear that the Russians will not give up or renounce Hungary, peacefully. The problem is how to secure arms and to organize the revolution. How can a people fight without arms against a well-equipped army even if the will is so strong as it was in the Hungarian people. The revolution was a heroic deed, but ~~the~~ respondent said he could not do anything differently, except he too had to take a gun in his hands, but he doubts whether the results would have been better.

(14d)

First, because the Hungarian people is independent and craving for freedom. Hungary was always in heart and thinking ~~in~~ ^{for} the democracies of the West, and ~~in~~ ^{by} character, Hungarians have more admiration for the civilized peoples of Western Europe. Secondly, Hungarians are not a Slavic people and not so close and intimate with the Russians as the other satellites are.



- (14e) Imre Nagy was bound to decrease the heavy pressure on the peasantry by taking into account the agricultural considerations with a view of more ~~consumey~~^{good} production as well as with regard to the overemphasis of the heavy industry. He had a following among the Communist Party members too. As a human being he made the impression of a decent, sincere, and well-grounded man in the scientific fields so far as they are concerned with a balanced national economy. He was no Stalinist and he disclosed great courage when he contradicted Rakosi's Moscow-inspired policy, especially in the economic field.
- (14f) Maleter was the military commandant of Budapest before the revolution, he received his training at the Military Academy Ludovika, and had served as a high officer in the Hungarian Communist Army. He became Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Imre Nagy and later he joined the revolution. Bela Kovacs was the politician who belonged to the Small Landholders Party. He was one of the organizers of the Small Landholders Party, and probably tried to re-establish it during the revolution, but not much was heard of it. Zoltan Tildy was a representative of the Small Landholders Party, but did not enjoy the confidence of the small landholders because he compromised too much with the Communists. Cardinal Mindszenty was in jail when the revolution broke out. Being considered a martyr, he was freed at the first

opportunity when the revolution broke out. He exerted a great moral influence over the country. M Zoltan Kodaly , he was a culture politician. One of the internationally-known Hungarian composers and art educators, he courageously contradicted Communist educational designs and was among those/^{who}demanded the Russians' exit from Hungary. Bela Kiraly was a general educated at the Ludovika Military Academy and later ~~was~~ served in the Communist army as a high officer. He made himself known as an organizer of the revolutionary army and he planned to lead this army against the Russians, but he had no arms.

- (14g) The Hungarian youth and the ~~was~~ workers. Many of them fought and sacrificed their lives, however, in a wider consideration the Hungarian peasants should be considered/^{equally}heroes of the revolution. In some sections of the country the peasants took part actively in fighting the Communists, but in every part of the country they volunteered with food to send it to the fighters in Budapest. This was unorganized but effective, they found it natural and contributed with this means to the regaining of Hungarian freedom.
- (14h) Respondent ranks the groups as follows: the writers as those who prepared the spiritual conditions for the revolution, and then the students and the young workers who fought ~~at~~ on the barricades. Then the older workers, then the peasants being non-members~~of~~ of Collectives, then the larger part of the

soldiers, then the peasants in the collectives, then the intelligentsia, and finally the artists, the actors and musicians who demanded reforms.

- (14i) Yes, because the youth participated in every European revolution, it took part as the most enthusiastic and most heroic segment in national movements.
- (14j) Yes, because they were the adversaries of the regime's cultural aims, they refused to learn the Russian language, Marxism, and some other specialties forced upon them by the Communists.
- (14k) In reality, the Petöfi Club started the Revolutionary movement insofar as the spiritual ideals of a free people and of a happier Hungary ~~was~~ originated among its members before the Revolution and it gave impetus during the Revolution to a movement which grew into a mass upheaval. The name of Petöfi did not lose its magic lustre, and it was not surprising, rather natural that a free movement connected with the name of Petöfi which ~~was~~ ^{es} ^{objectives} ~~strongly stress~~ ^{the} ~~conditions~~ connected with the poet's name cannot be anything else, but the realization of freedom and independence.
- (14l) The part of the peasantry was decisive. The peasantry waited for this opportunity and joined the Revolution immediately without hesitations. The Hungarian peasantry went through basic changes insofar that it stood much nearer to the city population than it was the case before. The radio and the new school system changed the life and the way of thinking of the peasantry and modernized it very fast. It was known as conservative in thinking but even so it adapted itself to modern life and modern ideas. A few minutes after the

Revolution started in Budapest and in other small and larger cities, the peasants in the smallest villages and isolated farms heard of it, and having been listening to the foreign radios they were very ^{well} informed and were able to draw the conclusions. There is a radio today in every peasant home, they listened not only to the Budapest radio but to foreign stations, too. It took just a very short time to get direct information on the great national upheaval which started in Budapest and they joined with great enthusiasm arranging their own demonstrations, destroying all the monuments they had seen ^{which} and reminded them of Communism. The Revolution in Budapest ~~am~~ could not continue for a day without being supplied with food by the peasantry. They did that voluntarily and they ^{were} knew that was the only way they ~~was~~ able, at the moment, to help the freedom fighters. This was a demonstration of solidarity. Respondent wishes to stress that there were demonstrations in every ~~village~~ village of Hungary, and that if ^{were} there ~~was~~ no armed revolts, ^{it is} ~~to~~ be ascribed to the sad fact that no guns were at the disposal of peasants. Respondent knows it from his own experience at Mezoladany, where he was during the Revolution, that all members of the ^{T.Sz.Cs.} ~~CSZ~~ left the organization. They did it as an expression of their disgust with the Communist regime.

- (1a) He was a student~~um~~ at the Music Academy at Budapest, there he studied the double bass.
- (1b) He was a farmer, considered as a kulak.
- (2) Respondent was a student and had to work during vacations and sometimes during the school year too. He had worked in different jobs, altogether at four different places. They are as follows: the Iron Factory at ~~XXXXXXXX~~ ^{Csepel}, for one month in 1950. The Building Enterprise for Concrete Highways, in Debrecen for five months in 1952. The Enterprise for Arrangement of Exhibitions in Debrecen, for six weeks in 1952. Finally, he was a choir singer with the Csokonai Theatre in Debrecen, for one year in 1955.
- (2a) He did physical and office work, at the theatre he sang with the choir.
- (2b) He was a student worker, and being interested in arts in the jobs he was as a helper, except the choir where he was one of the tenor voices, equal to all other choir members.
- (2c) As said above. They were temporary jobs. As the son of a kulak he hadn't the means to study and had to work to support himself.
- (2d) All organizations at which he worked were large and efficient as well.
- (2e) The job he really liked was that as a choir member at the theatre. It was a pleasant place, and a successful theatre, clean and modern, and there he found himself the closest to his aims and ambitions.
- (3) The longest and last job he held was that with the theatre in Debrecen. The working conditions were good, the salary was

- fellow-workers
- good, his relations with the ~~musicians~~ were good and this was the best he could expect as a student.
- (3a) Being interested in music and in art, the stage appealed to him very much and the whole surroundings led him into the direction where he saw his future.
- (3b) The irregular working hours which are inescapable at the theatre.
- (3c) He considered them as transitory, too hard physical work for someone who played a musical instrument, but he had to take the jobs because he needed to make money.
- (4) He does not remember exactly his income from his provisional jobs, but he knows it from the theatre.
- (4a, b) Does not know.
- (4c) At the theatre he received 12,000 forints a year as his basic salary.
- (4d) About 1,000 forints a year from extra fees at the theatre.
- (4e) About 5 forints a ~~year~~ ^{month} union fees; health insurance, income tax and bachelor tax about 40 to 50 forints a month.
- (4f) None.
- (4g) He played occasionally in small orchestras and was an extra in non-musical plays.
- (4h) By comparison for his age it was very good. As a ^{skilled} worker he would have made 800 to 1,200 forints a month and as an office employee ~~between~~ 700 to 900 forints per month.
- (4i) The salaries of all choir members were identical as far as the basic salary went. Respondent ~~is~~ volunteers this information concerning the salaries of other employees at the theatre. The

director of the theatre/^{who}was at the same time a leading actor received 5,500 forints a month. The leading actors of younger age received 1,800 to 3,000 forints a month. The leading actors in advanced age, some of them with national reputation and others with a local reputation, received 4,500 ~~fl~~ to 5,000 forints a month. The salaries for actors in supporting roles were 2,000 to 2,500 forints a month. In most cases the wives of the actors worked at the theatre in some capacity and had to supplement the salaries of their husbands.

- (5) At the theatre they worked 6 to 8 hours a day, this would be the average.
- (5a) There were no regular hours because they changed in accordance with the programs. Some days they had to be at the theatre only for 3 to 5 hours. But before the first showing of a new play the rehearsals may have taken 8 or 10 hours. Then, sometimes they had longer plays and sometimes shorter plays. Some plays run for a long period and no rehearsals were needed on such occasions.
- (5b) Six days a week.
- (5c) There was no over[^]time.
- (5d) There were no holidays at the theatre. They had two months summer vacation with full pay.
- (5e) Was ^{far} too short a period in other jobs and doesn't know it.
- (5f) In theatres it is always very important to be there at the time.
- (5g) No.
- (5h) Late comers were ^{strictly} severely punished by reduction ~~in~~ from their salary.

- (51)(j,k,l) Not applicable, at the theatre.
- (6) Relatively good.
- (6a) ~~XX~~ ~~XX~~ It was a well-appointed theatre.
not?
- (6b) The theatre building itself was/old, but had a tradition.
The rooms behind the stage were rather small but as he left they were modernized and enlarged.
- (6c) The stage equipment and the costumes for the plays were satisfactory.
- (6d) The performances of the theatre, the plays and the musicals were on a high artistic level.
- (6e) With the street car 15 minutes, and when he ~~was~~ walked, it took him half an hour.
- (7a) Respondent was the youngest member of the choir, the others were between 25 and 60 years of age. They were trained singers with a mixed background, some were workers, peasants, doctors, employe^es, and there was even one clergyman.
- (7b) The relations were very good, officially and privately as well.
- (7c) Yes, with several of them.
- (7d) In theatrical matters there was a spirit of complete frankness. About politics they spoke too. Yet, when someone was present in whom they had no confidence, they were very careful. There was one man and perhaps a second too, of whom they believed he is an informer, and in his presence they didn't talk at all about politics.
- (7e) Yes, ~~he~~ with all those who were members of the choir.
- (7f) At the theatre club, but not in apartments.
- (7g) He did with those of whom he knew that they are not members of the Communist Party.

- (7h) Yes, the Party had a section and this united all the employees, artistic and the technical as well.
- (7i) No differences could be made because this was impossible, at least among the members of the choir.
- (7j) The theatre had 160 employees but very few were members of the Party. The choir consisted of 25 members and only 4 or 5 were Party members. But it was known that they are no Communists.
- (7k) The union didn't mean anything and there wasn't the slightest confidence in it.
- (7l) Respondent doesn't know anything about the union, just so much that he had to pay his fees and that ~~mm~~ once in a while the union helped one or two members to get a place at the summer resort. The union contributed a little bit of money and the rest had to be paid by the people who were sent to such finer places.
- (7m,n) Doesn't know anything about that.
- (7o) The administrative policy of the theatre was decided by the Artistic and Administrative Directors of the theatre. What plays to do was decided in Budapest at the Ministry of Education. The theatre directors had a choice among many plays permitted by the Ministry and they decided what plays and musicals to show and for what ~~m~~ period to place them on the program. There were performed ideological plays; however, they meant box office losses. Budgetary considerations entered into the management of the theatre and the program^ming of plays. The old musicals, the operettas were box office hits and the theatre was over^ucrowded when

these plays were shown.

- (7p) Yes, but only insofar as he could not be substituted by a Party member, as long as he was unreplaceable.
- (7q) He was tolerated until they didn't find an equally good and acknowledged actor.
- (7r) In other fields it was possible, but it was hardly practicable in artistic fields because people are not attracted to poor performers.
- (7s) Doesn't know it.
- (7t) The ~~kader~~ kader system prevailed everywhere including at the theatre. There was one man who came from Budapest and filled the position of an actor. He was ~~suspected to be~~ ^{suspected to be} ~~an informer~~ an informer and the employees tried to avoid him; in his presence no political opinions were expressed at all.
- (7u) Respondent did not hold a job at that time when they were formed, but he believes that they would have served a very good purpose.
- (7v) The ~~the~~ purpose of the Workers' Councils was to elect freely representatives in order to protect the workers' interests unaffected by the considerations of the Communist Party. Respondent heard of it that deputations of the Workers' Councils went to the ~~the~~ ministries and submitted their demands.
- (8) Respondent wanted to continue his studies ~~and~~ and took occasional jobs in fields not related with his studies. In selecting his job he had no career considerations, but the fact that he needed money compelled him ~~to~~ to take any job he could ~~get~~ get.
- (8a) Respondent found it possible to change occasional jobs as a student, ~~but~~ but it was important that each time when

he left the job his work book should disclose that ~~that~~ he left the job with the consent of the employer.

- (8b) He was eager to complete his studies and to become a medical doctor.
- (8c) Because this was his ambition.
- (8d) The family tradition is a factor, status and prestige are rather placed into the background, material regards are very strong, to be useful to society is of less importance, convenience is considered, to have responsibility is not sought today, to have less responsibility or no responsibility is now the usual because people are indifferent to the ruling system. In Hungary today one factor enters into consideration. It is possible to postpone military service or to reduce it for ~~the~~ those who study. Young men in colleges are entitled to serve after each term for one month at the military unit and after graduation they have then to serve three months in addition. Otherwise the military service is two years and by being a student about a full year of military service is avoided.
- (8e) Respondent completed the high school for agriculture since his parents wanted to make a farmer of him. But he wanted to become a medical doctor and started two terms at the medical school in Debrecen . As the ~~the~~ son of ^akulak he was expelled from the medical school; he learned from his early childhood music and went to musical schools in addition to the public schools. Since he had artistic inclinations he decided to register at the Academy of Music in Budapest

where he was only for a couple of weeks when the revolution broke out. His real ambition, however, his burning desire was always to become a medical doctor and he feels extremely unhappy about it that this was not permitted to him by the Communist regime.

- (8f) It was impossible because he was persecuted as the son of a kulak.
- (8g) In normal conditions yes, because it is instinctive with young people.
- (8h) There are economic and moral reasons for it. It is only human to have a higher income and to strive for refinements.
- (8i) First on respondent's mind is to help his family in Hungary, and then he would like to help ~~it~~ to all young students who are struggling for their musical ~~w~~ education. He would spend his money for the enjoyment of music, sports, and traveling. He would try to be outstanding in his field and to make a name for himself.
- (8j) His ideas didn't change whatsoever.
- (8k) Yes, because the influence of music is tremendous on the development of the human character; it makes human beings more disciplined, more understanding, and places them on a higher level, in feeling and in thinking alike.
- (9) Respondent and his family were badly off after the war.
- (9a) Father and mother. As farmers they had always worked and now ~~it~~ they had especially to work. They were watched, abused and persecuted.

(9b)

His father had about thirty-five holds, these are approximately fifty acres of landholding. He himself cultivated his land and had one or two helps. The family was denounced as kulaks, though nobody knew just why. Part of this property was confiscated and unjust claims were made against his father concerning compulsory surrender of agricultural products. The living conditions of the whole family deteriorated and sank ~~xxxx~~ below the subsistence level of ~~background~~.

(9c)

Being a peasant family the household and the ~~xx~~ budgetary conditions were different from those living in cities. In 1951 when the Communists pressed the peasants they took away from them all food, the potatoes, the grain, the animals and poultry, and they were deprived of ~~x~~ everything that could be eaten. His own family as well as other peasants had to buy the bread which was sent to his village from the neighboring town. Long lines waited every day for the arrival of bread. This was an unheard-of situation in a Hungarian village, recalling times ~~x~~ many hundred years ago, when the Hungarian peasants were ransacked by invading armies of the Tartars and the Turks. Later, when the regime became a little bit more considerate, ^{was} more food were left to the peasants and thus his parents escaped the hunger they suffered before. During the Communist regime his parents were unable to buy any kind of clothing.

(9d)

This is impossible for a kulak. To question (d-iii) respondent made the following remark: Through intimidation his father

was forced by the Community Council to sign loans for the five-year plan and the peace loan action. His father knew that he hasn't the money to ~~xx~~ pay the loans but he had to sign. Then they ask for the money and since he could not pay it, his cows, pigs and all the inventories were carried off because he did not pay for the loan.

To question (d-iv) respondent said "There is nothing like a net income for a kulak."

(9e) They lived in their own house.

(9f) The house was crowded. His parents had three rooms ^{and of these} ~~six~~ one was confiscated ^{ed} by the Communist Party to be used as an office. Then this room was returned, but instead a larger room was taken ~~from~~ from them and used as a classroom for the public school. In the other two rooms his parents lived, his grandmother and his sister.

(9g) The peasants live on a modest food ration and provide for it through their own production. They eat what they grow and buy very little. The worst conditions ever experienced were in 1950- 1953 when they had to stand in line for bread which they couldn't bake themselves as it was usual in every peasant home. The state bakery from the neighboring village supplied the bread, in quality quite different they ~~xx~~ are used to. Bread is the main nourishment of the Hungarian peasant, and it was felt catastrophic not having bread as much they need and they kind they like. To buy factory-made bread is one of the most frustrating thought a Hungarian

farmer's wife can ^eimagine.

- (9h) Absolutely nothing.
- (9i) Only the bare necessities.
- (9j) In rural areas, especially in very small villages that's very little. They had electric light, but no gas. They burned trees dried for a short period and in wintertime dung is burned.
- (9k) Difficulties arose in providing fuel when his father was denied to cut trees. Permission was needed for that, too. Sometimes it happened that the supply of electricity was temporarily suspended.
- (9l) His parents were not insured. They had to make use of a private doctor. When his mother got very sick and medical help was needed, the bill amounted to over 2000 forints.
- (9m) When respondent was in job far from his village, ~~of~~ he ~~had~~ received all the benefits, medical and social services which were the usual.
- (9n) Very little.
- (9o) For nothing.
- (10) No.
- (10a) ~~Yes~~ Yes.
- (10b) Hungary as a whole was extremely exploited, except individuals in high government and party positions.
- (10c) By the system and its principal^{al} maintainers.
- (10d) Before the ~~new~~ norm system the situation of the workers was better. Then, ~~the~~ through the ~~Stakhanovite~~ Stakhanovite

procedures some could make more money but the average worker couldn't do it. Consequently the average man's average income fell off.

- (10e) It was a form of exploitation and abuse.
- (10f) They were not justified by any means. It became never known just how much the fixed amount of reparations is. The payments ~~sk~~ had to go on and on without limits and the Hungarian people became outraged because they felt that's a new kind of slavery. This contributed to developing more and more hate against the Russians and their willing servants in the Hungarian government.
- (10g) In his job at the theater there was nothing of this kind. But at the college respondent had to participate in the meetings and lectures of DISZ, but if he did not appear, notice was taken of it and the informer placed into his student group, (this was a smaller group of ten to twelve students who worked together and studied together), put his eye on respondent and watched him closely.
- (11) Skeptical.
- (11a) There was no growing, ~~by~~ but instead set-backs.
- (11b) Many things were wrong.
- (11c) First of all, the agrarian policy: the productivity of agriculture, the livestock, they suffered badly ~~in~~ through unsensible rules and regulations. The small landholders were compelled to join the kolkhoz and through the forced delivery of the livestock no replacement was made possible.

Secondly, through the ~~xxx~~ speedy development of the heavy industry for which Hungary hadn't sufficient raw material, the economic balance of production was ~~xxx~~ disturbed.

- (11d) It was positively wrong. The distribution of land was a problem in Hungary, millions of peasants were proletarians and the whole development in this field appeared as a curse of agricultural Hungary.
- (11e) After the Second World War the conditions improved a ~~ix~~ little bit. But when the Communists took over, the agricultural conditions turned from bad to worse. They promised to help the agrarian proletarians, however, this wasn't the case. Many young peasants had to leave the farms and headed for Budapest, where they hoped to find jobs in the factories. It is a fact that many found a livelihood as ~~un~~^e unlearned workers, some went to industrial courses and became ~~un~~^{skilled} workers. Yet the agricultural development suffered great set-backs, and as a result Hungary, always well-supplied with food, found itself in a scarcity of unheard-~~of~~ dimensions.
- (11f) It was a promising undertaking. After the war was over, the country was ~~impoverish~~^{ed} and ~~dis~~ disorganized. The plan had worthy aims, the stabilization of the money, the building of bridges, railroads, highways, and the expansion of industry, agriculture and the establishment of new cultural institutions were badly needed and actually also achieved. Everything started well, including a new school system, but some parts of the program watered down and others went into the extremes.

- (11g) People had no confidence in it and had great doubts. It was motivated by class struggle and governed by the principles imported from Russia. It was not conceived in accordance with Hungarian requirements, and from the point of view of a ~~a~~ balanced and prosperous general national economy the details of the general plan appeared to be nonsensical^{al}. In fact, that what many people ~~expected~~^{sus}pected, unfortunately became true.
- (11h) When Imre Nagy made his first radio speech in 1952 or 1953 people placed great hopes in him. Especially the peasants expected some changes in agrarian policy. He proved great courage in contradicting Rakosi by challenging openly the Moscovite line of the Communist Party. Nagy had seen realistically the problems of agriculture. He has clearly seen not only the deterioration of agriculture ~~but~~ but also the peasants' attitude to Communist policy. The Hungarian peasant's love for his land, and the incentive which he receives from his labor, had perished to such a degree that agricultural production was made impossible. Imre Nagy did not make a secret of it that the country's economic policy has to grow out of the country's economic needs. This would have meant a relaxation of the pressure put on the peasantry and consequently more production and better supply of food.
- (11i) Has no information on that.
- (11j) It was worse before the revolution but better than in 1951; in the economic fields there was a general relaxation insofar that food was available, but the general ~~living~~ living standard

was still very low because food was relatively expensive and other industrial consumer goods were high in price. People could not afford to buy clothing, for instance. The real wages of workers declined because actually they couldn't buy too much for their take-home wages. But it was still better than in 1951; for the peasants there was a slight ^{advancement} ~~improvement~~ for the better, insofar that the balance of the forced deliveries which the peasants could not supply was not insisted upon. So were the old debts the peasants were unable to pay, also cancelled.

- (12) Very important, because when people are prevented in satisfying their minimal needs of liv^elihood, they feel threatened, suppressed, and sensitive to social conditions.
- (12a) Basically they are important. Yet, it depends from the personal views of the individual and from his tradition. But there is a minimum for everybody and everywhere and the Hungarian people did not find this minimum during the Communist regime. If there isn't the minimum of the minimum available, no cultural aims can ever be met.
- (12b) The individual suppression and the elimination of Hungarian identification and independence were felt repelling. At the same time one had the feeling that forces ar^e at work which want to make believe that the Russians are actually superior in everything.
- (12c) First of all the youth because the regime tried to use the youth

for its own purposes at any price and all the time. The Communists imposed upon the youth an education which made ^w willing tools, forgetting that they have their own aims and also the ability to ~~think~~ think for themselves.

(12d,e) Respondent doesn't know it.

(12f) So far as respondent could learn it, they were against the Communists and he saw many young workers marching and fighting with the students.

- (1) Four years of grade school at Mezoladany. Four years of junior high school at [REDACTED] Four years of Agricultural High School at [REDACTED] Here respondent got his high school diploma in 1949. One year at the Medical School ^{and} ~~at~~ the University of Debrecen. Three years at the Music Conservatory at Debrecen. One year at the School of Music in Budapest. Three weeks at the Music Conservatory, the College of Musical Arts at Budapest. ~~to~~ college
- (1 b) The high school. Respondent could not finish any ~~school~~ college which he attended.
- (1 c) The Agricultural High School [REDACTED]
- (2) Yes.
- (2 a) In 1944 respondent went to the agricultural high school and afterwards to the schools mentioned above. He went to schools to earn degrees.
- (2 b) No.
- (2 c) Yes, first to the medical school and then to the music school.
- (2 d) ~~Yes~~ At the medical school it was compulsory.
- (2 e) In all schools ~~XXXX~~ they were compulsory subjects.
- (2 f) He was sent to the agricultural high school by his parents, but the medical and musical colleges were his own choice because of his inclination.
- (3) Yes, it was an excellent school.
- (3 a) Wanted to earn the diploma of musical education, to be authorized to teach music.
- (3 b) Wanted to become a professional musician.

- (3 c) He hoped very much that he would be able to complete his education, but was not sure in that at all. He was afraid, when his kulak origin will be discovered, he will be ~~XXX~~ expelled from this school too, as he was from the medical school.
- (4) No.
- (4 a) He was anxious to receive the medical diploma, but could not.
- (4 b) Respondent was expelled from the Medical School of the University of Debrecen.
- (4 c) To become a physician. He would have felt happy if he could complete his musical studies at the music conservatory. He expected that his income and his social prestige would be higher than otherwise.
- (5) Medicine.
- (5 a) Because he felt attracted to it and liked it.
- (5 b) Because he was ~~XXXXX~~ expelled from the medical school.
- (5 c) It did not change.
- (5 d) He is in love with music and likes a musical career. After he was expelled from the medical school, he decided to become a student of the music academy. He studied music since early childhood, but not with professional intentions. He thought that at the academy of music no questions will be asked about the origin of the candidates before they are admitted. In view of the less rigid rules practiced at the academy of music, respondent was admitted to this school.
- (6) At the grammar school, the junior high school, and the high school he was a good student. At the medical school he was a mediocre

- student. At the musical schools he was an excellent student.
- (6 a) He was intellectually interested and liked to study.
- (7) Unfortunately, not.
- (7 a) He was prevented from studying medicine. Expelled from the Medical School of the University of Debrecen, as the son of a kulak he was prevented from becoming a doctor.

Interviewee's remark: I give here the procedure which accompanied the expulsion of respondent from the medical school.

The students of the medical school were organized in student groups, consisting of about 15 students. The purpose of these groups was to help each other in study as well as to be observed as to their communistic reliability. In the day-to-day living and working together, the students got to know each other better. In each student group were certain assigned observers who were able to get out information from every student and they kept an eye on those who were suspicious. They talked with the students and asked from them many questions and so were able to get detailed information and facts on each student. One day respondent was called into the administration department of the University for interrogation. Before that, however, he was excluded from the DISZ. This happened in the following manner: the 160 members of the DISZ were called to a session to discuss the case of respondent, as the only agenda of the meeting. First the secretary of the DISZ made a speech to the effect that respondent is not deserving to be a member and he requested his expulsion because of his kulak origin and because respondent had submitted false information about his origin. He

is, therefore, an unwanted element and must be excluded from the society of students. The secretary asked the assembly to take position to the agenda. A few students spoke, most of them because they were forced to speak up, and they too demanded the expulsion of respondent. The secretary of the DIS~~E~~ asked respondent to return his membership book and to leave the room. Respondent has forgotten what he said in answer after he was asked for his remarks. He felt dizzy and crushed and his words escape^d his memory.

On the wallpaper of the medical school caricatures appeared, poking fun at respondent. The ~~XXXX~~ other students avoided his company and did not speak with him any more. Respondent was admitted to the medical school by submitting a certificate to the effect that his father has had property of $7\frac{1}{2}$ holds, about 12 acres, but in reality his father owned 35 holds. Respondent felt that he was morally justified to lie because the whole system is based on falsehood and lies and nobody is sincere and tells the truth in Communist Hungary. He felt that it is an outrageous injustice to prevent a student who wants to study just because his father has a small property.

- (7 b) Yes, the children of the Communist Party members, and all those who were not supposed to be hostile to the regime, according to their social origin.
- (8) Yes, there were, some subjects of indoctrination in addition to the special subjects which the students learned.
- (8 a) They had to study at the medical school political science, economics,

markism, and military subjects. The social sciences took up four to six hours a week and the military education and training two to three hours a week.

- (8 b) He and the other students ~~knew that studying Russian social sciences~~ ^{and Marxism is a waste of time,} ~~through~~ they were not interested in these subjects because they are far from their selected field of knowledge. Respondent felt obliged to study these subjects, otherwise he would have been charged with being anti-Russian in feeling and anti-regime in attitude. He did the best ~~he~~ he could, yet he lost about seven hours a week and considering that they had to read supplementary literature on these subjects, he felt they are a great burden on students, badly affecting the efficiency in those fields which they chose to study.
- (8 c) He studied Russian with no interest in it. If he had failed in the exam, that would have set back his whole medical study.
- (8 d) The ideological subjects had no significance whatever for a medical student. Nobody could become a better doctor for knowing, for instance, the dialectical^c materialism.
- (8 e) Respondent hates everything military, and he doesn't want a part in it. He and the other students amused themselves about the lacking intelligence of the officers who lectured to them; they couldn't speak even correctly the Hungarian language.
- (8 f) At the college sports were compulsory every Saturday. He liked it, did it, and approves of it.

- (9) It positively had an effect on children.
- (9 a) The children's attitude changed toward their parents, to each other, and, above all, toward all adults. They experienced antagonistic views and attitudes between the school and the home. Their respect to adults lessened and toward each other, their discipline was loose and quite uncooperative.
- (9 b) The Communist ideas were not without effect on children, but it was not permanent.
- (9 c) No.
- (9 d) As a peasant boy respondent has knowledge only of peasant children. And he can speak only of his native village. There the children still stood under the influence of their parents and the teachers themselves did not push too hard the communistic ideas. Peasants live close together and the teachers and parents know each other very well, so that the school X̄ itself could not exert an influence on children, or at least to such a degree that it would antagonize the parents.
- (9 e) It is effective with the first and second graders, but ineffective when children are between fourteen and seventeen, becoming critical and eager to think for themselves.
- (9 f) In younger age the physical development takes up most of the energy of the young people and when they near the eighteenth year of age, elements of spiritual life enter their lives.
- (10) They were peasants for many generations.
- (10 a) Peasants.

- (11) The Communist regime called them kulaks.
- (12) A peasant who tilled the soil.
- (12 a) He did not.
- (12 b) He was a farmer all his life.
- (12 c) Respondent respected it and liked it.
- (12 d) Six years of grammar school.
- (12 e) He was ~~XXXXXXXX~~ pleased that respondent wanted to study medicine.
- (13) During the childhood of respondent, his parents had what they needed. At that time they were better off.
- (13 a) The land property of respondent's parents was expropriated and they remained without an income. (Interviewer's remark; facts and conditions concerning kulaks crop up at various sections of this interview. See answers heard before and those to come.)
- (14) During the childhood of respondent the family consisted of five members.
- (14 a) Grandmother died, sister married, both parents are now living.
- (14 b) No.
- (15 a) Mother did work as it is usual with farmers' wives.
- (15 b) He was dead for many years.
- (15 c,d) His sister worked ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ the household before she married and his grandmother did the same before she died.
- (16) It hurt respondent very much.
- (16 a) He was denounced as an enemy of the regime.
- (17) Respondent was unmarried.
- (18, 19, 20, 21) are not applicable to respondent.

- (22) Their ~~XXX~~ relations were always cordial and they got along very well.
- (23) Yes.
- (23 a) Usually in the evening when they got together and many times relatives came visiting. All sorts of questions came up, family affairs and economic worries, national questions and international affairs as well.
- (24) There were no conflicting views about the education of respondent. They sent him to Debrecen into high school and supported him. But when he grew up and had to go to college, his parents were unable to give him any kind of material assistance.
- (25) Nothing. He paid respect to them all the time.
- (26) Respondent lived first in Debrecen and then in Budapest, where he studied. He visited his parents on holidays and during vacations.
- (26 a) It was a closely knit family and in the last years they were even more devoted to each other.
- (26 b) It was typical among those who were called kulaks.
- (26 c) He had very little spare time, but then he liked to do some sports.
- (26 d) During vacation, when he was with his parents, he helped them in their work.
- (26 e) When he was with his parents during the summer vacations, he spent all his time with them.
- (26 f) He would have liked to travel across Hungary, but had no means for it. To make foreign trips was his great desire, but it was not possible.
- (27) Among the kulaks they tightened very much and the same is true of the intelligentsia in the cities. Among the young people in the villages they loosened a little bit, but not so much as in the cities,

where family ties in general loosened more among young people than elderly people.

- (27 a) People in rural areas and in cities live in different conditions and are exposed to different influences.
- (27 b) In the country much more than in the cities, where the family ties loosen on account of the opportunities for each member of the family to go its own way.
- (27 c) Among the kulaks and the intelligentsia very much, and respondent believes that generally family interdependence increased.
- (27 d) In villages not at all and in cities neither.
- (27 e) It is impossible to generalize, for there are distinct differences based on the background of the people and the actual conditions in which they live. Generally speaking there are differences between the population of towns and the country.
- (28) Yes, they did. The relation between boys and girls is more informal and they equalized. Many girls go today ~~generally~~ to schools, especially to colleges in variance with conditions before. At the college, for instance, they speak with each other more informally, they "tegezik egymast" (this is the more intimate form of address, like "tutoyer" in French).
- (28 b) Interviewer's remark: since respondent is of rural origin and kept in touch all the time with his native village, I divided my questions concerning rural and city life, conditions, and customs.
- In the villages people ~~meet~~^{meet} at dances and sometimes at lectures, but usually in the afternoon on Sundays or holidays. The youth in

towns meet in the evening, too. They go to the movies or for a walk, freely and unattended. This is not the case in villages, there girls don't go out with boys. Traditionally, the reputation of a girl suffers if she is seen with a boy several times or in suspicious circumstances. Girls, when they approach the eighteenth year of age are bound for marriage. Actually ~~many~~ many of them marry at sixteen or seventeen. In cities the situation is quite different. Girls go to school, they want^{to} and the parents request it that they learn a trade or a profession. And when they are planning marriage, they know it, and the parents insist on it that they girl finish her studies in order to earn a livelihood. As a rule, girls in cities prepare themselves for a job because they know that she has to work in addition to her husband. If the boy is a student, he postpones his marriage until he receives his diploma. If he is a young worker, he is waiting until he receives his certificate of qualification in the trade. With peasant folks there is still the custom of a dowry, an institution practiced before communism in Hungarian cities too. Among the city population the dowry disappeared completely. Instead of the dowry the girls' earning power plays a role in the marriage. Generally it can be said that young people marry between 18 and 24, with the boy two or three years older than the girl.

- (28 c) Among the rural population, something like courtship, as we know it in cities, is not customary. A few village women, who know everything and everybody, are still at work as matchmakers. They introduce the candidates and after a period the families decide about the

marriage and the wedding. The custom of the girl's dowry plays a role, but among the city population it disappeared completely and the girl's earning power is taken into account. If the young peasant couple is unable to get an apartment, usually the girl moves into the house of the boy's parents. Some young couples are able to build their own house, but if they are of kulak descent, no permission is given them.

In the courtship of the young people in towns there is hardly any kind of luxury. The boy and the girl participate in satisfying their common interest, they go to sport events, to meetings, to the theater and the movies. When both earn a salary they marry. They are unable to furnish their own apartment, and therefore move into a furnished room if it is assigned to them by the rent office. If they cannot move to one of the parents, they are happy to get a furnished room. For furnishing an apartment they have no money. Respondent knows a young leading actor who was very famous for his leading roles in classic plays such as Hamlet. He lived with his wife and small child and mother-in-law in a two-room apartment because he couldn't afford anything better.

- (28 d) These conditions resulted in the deterioration of family life. In rural areas the changes were not so much pronounced than in towns, where the divorce rate was much higher than before. Divorces on account of infidelity were frequent.
- (28 e) In 1947 or 48 prostitution was officially abolished. It was explained as a capitalist institution for the exploitation of

women. Courses in factories were given to prostitutes and they had the opportunity to take jobs in factories. Many of them became streetcar conductors, taxi drivers, but mostly factory workers. Yet, a secret prostitution survived with the effect that the authorities lost any control over ~~them~~^{it,} since officially prostitution did not exist any more.

(28 f) It seems that..... they are stricter about sexual matters, but in reality sexual life became much looser. In villages the youth is watched very carefully, and since the blame was laid on the girl, girls are reserved. The same could be observed among college girls, with a very few exceptions. There was no inclination for free love, or intimate relations. In a few cases students entered marriage, but it was rather the exception. If there were marriage plans, usually they were postponed until after they finished school.

It was different, however, with the working class. Girls have received complete equality, in life as well as in jobs. They moved and behaved as free and independent women if they went to work. Since most of the ~~working~~ women had jobs, it happened very frequently that they were involved with one of their colleagues. The opportunity, and sometimes the desire to keep a job, resulted in a ~~loose~~ loosening of sexual morality. The premarital intercourse seemed to be frequent and problems of extra-marital life had arisen.

(28 g) At the outset of the regime, it was strictly against birth control. The doctors were severely penalized for abortions. Abortion was a criminal act, and only in 1955, for some other reasons than health, were abortions permitted if approved by the committee of doctors

which functioned at the clinics.

- (28 h) There were more illegitimate children than before. It was a consequence of the relaxation of thinking in sexual matters. The illegitimate children have the same rights as the legitimates, their mothers were protected by courts and the natural father had to pay alimony by court order.
- (2829) Yes. A friend of his with whom he grew up in the village.
- (29 a) He was a teacher principal at the public school.
- (29 b) He was 26 years old and the son of a small landholder.
- (29 c) They went together to grammar school, but after having studied at different colleges and different towns, they met only occasionally.
- (29 d) Never.
- (29 e) Insofar as they were not so frequently together any more as they were when they were children.
- (29 f) Yes. They wrote each other when respondent was in Hungary.
- (29 g) The attractive character, similar views, and his loyalty which he highly appreciated in his friend. He understood his precarious position as the son of a kulak and he encouraged him all the time.
- (29 h) Yes. This would have alienated him from his friend because their views on and their approaches to the conditions of life and to politics would be too different.
- (30) The father is Greek Catholic (Eastern rite) and the mother Roman Catholic.
- (30 a) They all are religious.
- (30 b) He believes in religion and does practice it.
- (31) It has.

- (31 a) Children do not ~~NE~~ get religious education any more, because the parochial schools were closed with a very few exceptions. Those who were irreligious became more so, and those who were religious find in religion today even much more than before the Communist regime.†
- (31 b) Not all equally. Most Hardly the Roman Catholics, but the Reformed and the Jews were hit too. There was a strong general pressure against all religious faiths, there were, however, gradations.
- (31 c) The Communists interfered with the Catholics in the strictest manner because they believed that the Catholic teachings are ~~NE~~ basically against the regime and they found the Catholic Church politically the most hostile. The Communists did not display their hostility so much against the Protestants and the Jews, at least not to that degree, but they were just the same against the religious teachings of both.
- (31 d) Because they tried to destroy everything they thought is against communism, and so they wanted to substituted the religious doctrines with the doctrine of materialism.
- (31 e) They wanted to stamp it out completely. Unsatisfied with half solutions, if they had been able to ddestroy religion completely, they had done it, but they did not succeed on account of the resistance of the believers. In these circumstances there is no way whatsoever to use religion for their own ends.
- (31 f) In regard of the Catholic Church, it was the persecution of the leaders and not so much of the members of the Catholic Church. They attemped to pressure the believers, but no persecution took place

just because someone was a member of a Church.

- (31 g) Officially there was freedom of religion, everybody could go to church, including respondent, but actually the situation was different. In the case ~~of~~ of a student like respondent was, the Party secretaries knew which student went to church and stood under clerical influence. This resulted in disadvantages in scholastic life, for instance, in gaining scholarships or receiving marks at examinations, especially in Marxism.
- (31 h) Every Sunday.
- (31 ~~h~~) The churches were crowded with people of middle age and older, children and young people not so many. As to social groups, they were mixed and most of the people went Sunday to church. It is a fact that more people attended churches during the ~~of~~ regime than before. Perhaps they were not so much led by their religious conviction but felt the need of an escape from the world of suppression.
- (31 j) They were people unable to resist strongly enough the Communist pressure, though they were religious people. The Communists succeeded to use them for their own ends and the peace priest were ~~misguided and~~ ^{erratic} individuals.
- (31 k) They adjusted differently. The church leaders of the Catholic Church refused ~~the~~ cooperation and did not adjust themselves, and only a few of the priests did. Among the Protestant denominations some of the leaders adjusted to the demands and consequently many of the pastors in Protestant ^{parishes too;} ~~churches~~, but there were known cases that

the pastors in some ~~these~~ communities did not heed the orders of the bishop because they opposed them by conviction.

- (31 1) It is more important for those who have religious feeling and are used to go to church, and ^{it} means less to young people who have no religious feeling at all. Among the peasantry the religious feeling of young people is just the same as it was for their parents. Here again no strict rules can be set up, especially among the city population.
- (32) There were 105 Jews in the village of birth of respondent. The Nazis carried them off in trucks and of the 105 Jews four have returned at the beginning of the Communist regime. These are two couples who had small stores in the village, now they are employed at the state store.
- (32 a) At the outset of the regime, they were rather in favor of it, many became members of the Communist Party, but mostly for reasons to get a job or to make a living. Among the students the Jews were as passive to the regime as the non-Jews. There were a few Communists among the students, but relatively not more than non-Jews.
- (32 b) In his village, the Jews did the same what the non-Jews, they were indifferent to the regime and did not speak up in favor of it.
- (32 c) Jews must have the same opportunities as other people have, complete equality in every respect.
- (33) The best off were the leaders of the regime, and in the worst situation did find themselves the kulaks, since they were completely liquidated.

- (33 a) To the kulaks.
- (33 b) He would have liked to be a doctor and belong to the medical profession.
- (34) A trained technician with a college degree.
- (34 a) Because it meant security and a relatively better paid job.
- (34 b) He should have a very good training, to become outstanding, more than the average technician is. If the advice seeker had been a good friend of his, he would tell him not to join the Communist Party, but he wouldn't dare to say that to a stranger.
- (34 c) The children of Party members, the sons and daughters of workers and peasants, except those of the kulaks.

- (1) Never.
- (1 a) He was forced to be interested in it, but actually his interest was the possible minimum. He felt he is a student and had to be engaged in his selected field. To acquire medical knowledge takes up a great deal of time and besides he had no inclination for politics.
- (1 b) He didn't try to be active, and was an onlooker perforce.
- (1 c) ~~NEG~~ Negligible.
- (1 d) He did not.
- (1 e) Students in musical schools were generally not interested in politics and he was even less.
it
- (1 f) ~~HE~~/did not.
- (2) His main grievance was that he was not permitted to study.
- (2 a) (i) less important
(ii to vii) very important
(viii) not important
(ix)-(xi) very important
(xii) ~~HE~~ one more of his important complaints: the fact that life was built on lies and on falsehood and ~~on~~ the lack of confidence of man in man undermined social morality and this means complete futility of human existence.
- (2 b) The inadequate opportunities to advance, the suppression of thoughts, the subjection to ideas which were repulsive, and ~~then~~ then the low living standard, with no possibility of clothing and reduced quantity of food.
- (2 c) The oppressive economic policy, the interference in religious life, and the hopelessness to improve the living conditions of the peasants.
- (2 d) The lack of apartments and the insufficient supply of food and clothing, the whole policy of the regime, which was not in favor

of the working class, but claimed the right to speak in its name.

- (2 e) All the communistic teachings and practices, including the suppression of religion.
- (2 f) They nurtured high hopes the regime gave them, but when they saw what is going on, that there is a great difference between promises and reality, they became disappointed.
- (2 g) They were felt permanently, many people felt them all the time, including respondent. He was worried day and night whether he will ever finish his studies. He saw the injustice perpetrated upon his parents who found themselves in a catastrophic situation.
- (2 h) Yes, ~~and~~ with friends. It was the most frequent subject of conversation, but only with really good friends and relatives.
- (2 i) He could not change the fact that he was the son of a so-called kulak. He resigned to the fact that he couldn't become a doctor and tried to help himself by taking up the study of music instead of medicine. The only thing he could do was to study far from his native village, because the Communists were after him as much as they were after his parents.
- (3) Respondent was 17 years old in 1948.
- (3 a) He was a teenager at that time and did not give any thought to political parties.
- (3 b) Yes, to the Small Landholders' Party.
- (3 c) He was never interested in politics, but when he became conscious of it he was always against the regime. He ~~was~~ ^{was} in favor of it when

the Communists permitted and promoted the rising of talented people by giving them an opportunity for education. Most of them were people who otherwise would not have the opportunity to study at all, though they were talented and ambitious. They helped them financially and opened the way to higher education. Respondent is against all the other deeds of the Communist regime.

- (3 d) It never changed, he was against it all the time.
- (3 e) Very many people felt the same way, especially those who could see the great injustices made by the Communists. Those who did not feel the injustice and the repulsive class struggle, could more easily accept the conditions. And those who have advantages from the regime were certainly for it.
- (3 f) It is wrong to say that just about the whole population remained loyal. The extent of loyalty was proved by the Revolution, and before that the general passive resistance and the individual sabotage were well known. These were local and personal expressions against the regime and not an open ~~national~~ national movement, they could be controlled and suppressed locally and individually, or kept secret for ever.
- (4) The Russians through their Hungarian henchmen. The Hungarian Communists, the principal leaders of the Communist Party, represented much more the Russian interests than those of the Hungarian people.
- (4 a) The Russian rule could have been seen in Hungarian politics, in economic life, and in the cultural aims.

- (4 b) Within Hungary there was only one voice, and this was that of the Hungarian Communist Party.
- (4 c) Rakosi was Stalin's trusted man in Hungary. He was supported in the Communist Party by a group of Stalinists, but there were others too in the Party who were not so much in favor of Rakosi's Stalinism.
- (4 d) The Communist Party ruled the police as well as the government. At the village of respondent, the community council executed the law in such a way the Party wanted to do it.
- (5) The representatives of the Russian Soviet ruled the Hungarian Government and the Party.
- (5 a) It existed only for formality, lawmaking was a formal affair of Parliament. The bills introduced in Parliament were beforehand approved by the Party and the Government.
- (5 b) It was utterly ridiculous. There was only one party and the candidates were ...unknown....., nobody had ever heard of them. The nomination of the candidates, the lists put to election, both were a puzzle to respondent. The sad fact was that people were afraid not to go to vote, even knowing that elections were not real and free elections.
- (5 c) At the village of respondent, the community council had very great power. The community council executed all the laws of the Government and the wishes of the Communist Party. This council decided who were the kulaks of the village. There was no fixed

rule to determine who is really a kulak, and the council did it of its own. ^{At} first, in the village were two, then three, then six, and then ten, and later some more who were classified as kulaks. ~~X~~ The council's authority was so strong that no appeal to any other governmental office could be made. Those whom they picked out to be a kulak was a kulak for all the time. When Rakosi was asked to lay down the rules for the group to be known as the Hungarian kulaks, he could not give a definite answer, and finally conceded that this should belong to the authority of the village councils. So it could happen that in one village a peasant who had fifty acres of land was not a kulak, and in another village where a peasant owned only ten acres, he was classified as a kulak. The respective decisions of the local councils meant life or death to a peasant whom they classified as a kulak.

- (5 d) Yes, there were too many controlling organs. If someone wanted to move just for a short period to another community, long questionnaires in many copies had to be filled out for the police. These questionnaires were sent to different offices and all had to work on them. Since control of people was very strong, a large number of employees were needed in offices.
- (5 e) There were, and very frequently the press reported on them. Respondent has no personal experience in this respect.
- (5 f) Among the employees were, first of all, the old experienced professionals. The young employees were of peasant and working class origin. Respondent knew a friend whose schooling consisted of

eight grades of ~~grade~~^{grammar} school, and when he was twenty he became the district controller of the state shop. His father was a member of the Communist Party.

- (5 g) Young workers and peasant boys. They were sent to the Kossuth or Petofi Military Academy. The more talented were sent to Moscow military schools and upon their return they advanced to majors or brigadier-~~lieutenant~~-generals at the age of 28. They received good salaries and pleasant apartments.
- (6) Its members could continue their studies, and they had advantages in receiving jobs and in the jobs.
- (6 a) The members had to go to the meetings, to lectures and other activities, like balls with dancing, and it was expected of them that they play an active role, to be well prepared for functions in the Communist society.
- (6 b) Yes, they did.
- (6 c) The knowledge that if one wanted to advance, one had to be a member.
- (6 d) Usually young people did not dodge to join it.
- (6 e) Respondent does not know such a case.
- (6 f) Yes.
- (6 g) At high school in 1948.
- (6 h) When he was a student at the music school, he was a member of DISZ, the leader of an athletic group.
- (6 i) At the examination of admission it was taken into consideration.
- (6 j) He had to give some time to it on account that he had to do some administration work for the sport group. And the meetings took time, too.

- (6 k) Five hours a week, for reasons said before.
- (6 p) He could speak up in matters of routine work. The policy and conduct of the organization, however, came from higher up.
- (6 q) It was sponsored by the Communist Party and Party members ran it. Respondent believes that the age limit for membership in DISZ was 28 years of age.
- (7) Convinced Communists were members of the Party, but there were many just as being opportunists, because membership meant advantages.
- (7 a) Those who wanted to get positions or to keep their positions.
- (7 b) Those who believed in communism and were active proponents of it. But there were a very great many who used the membership of the Communist Party as a means for their professional advancement.
- (7 c) Respondent does not know.
- (7 d) To serve the Communist cause and the state. Members had to pay Party dues too.
- (7 e) Respondent knew a peasant who owned eight acres and another peasant who owned 24 acres and a third one who got three acres; they joined the Party for convenience, but it was known that they were not Communists.
- (7 f) Respondent does not know about it.
- (7 g) No.
- (7 l) No, at least he believes so.
- (7 m) He had great difficulties in his studies, but he never tried to gain advantages by joining the Communist Party.
- (7 n) Ambitious people who wanted to advance in life, many among them who had no background, then those who wanted jobs or were afraid

- ~~IX~~ that they would lose their jobs, especially those of middle age who had family obligations.
- (7 o) There was an influence exerted on the membership, since they received instructions on behavior. This could be seen when members of the Party talked with people, especially those who were convinced Communists.
- (7 p) The Party was run by the Central Committee in Budapest, and on the local level there were the local leaders of the Communist Party.
- (7 q-t) The Party influence was complete.
- (7 u) There was no direct influence whatever, only an overall pressure on the whole religious body.
- (8) Yes.
- (8 a) ~~But~~ Of the DISZ and, as an employee of the theater, he belonged to the Művészeti Dolgozók Országos Szövetsége. (National Association of the Workers in the Arts.)
- (8 b) It was advisable.
- (8 c) Respondent knew the children's boy and girl scout groups called "Uttorok Szervezete," an organization for children from grade school on until they reached the fifteenth year of age. Then they joined the DISZ. The high school students were members of the local DISZ. Respondent knows the women's organization, whose program was to educate the women of Hungary to be good Communists. Its name is Magyar Nők Demokratikus Szövetsége, (Hungarian Women's Democratic Association).
- (8 d) In general, in rural areas, including the native village of respondent, all organizations except the Communist party were

nominal. Peasants are no joiners of organizations. In towns they could ^{thrive} ~~live~~ much better, yet, the children's organization, the Pioneers, did exist in villages too, because it was compulsory. Children had to join them as much as in the big cities, because the parents were put under pressure. Children did like this Pioneer organization, but it was not ^{liked} ~~welcomed~~ by the parents because they were afraid this is nothing else but a preparation for the Communist Party activities.

- (8 e) To the above mentioned two organizations, the DISZ and to the trade union ~~HE~~ MUDOSZ.
- (8 f) The DISZ was the organization of students and young workers and peasant boys. It was a large national organization with many local branches in schools, factories, and educational institutions. It had local groups in villages too. The DISZ was called an auxiliary ^{the} battalion of the Communist Party, governed by/national committee and led by the national chairman.
- The MUDOSZ, mentioned above, was the trade union for all those who were engaged in jobs concerned with artistic work. It was a national union with many local branches.
- (8 g) It was advisable to join these two organizations which respondent joined because they promised advantages. He joined the DISZ in 1948 and the MUDOSZ in 1953.
- (8 h) He paid, first of all, the dues he had to pay. He attended some of their meetings. There the members were requested to take the floor and speak up in discussions, but respondent never did that. It was

expected that they take an active part, to show real interest in Union ~~work~~ activities.

- (8 i) The goal of the DISZ was to prepare the youth for useful Party membership. The purpose of the trade union MUDOSZ was to represent the interests of the members, but they never did anything, just send a few people to sanatoriums and summer vacations, really a very few.
- (8 j) Respondent was never close to any of his fellow-members.
- (8 k) The leaders of this DISZ groups were fellow-students of his own age. They were sons and daughters of workers and peasants. Most of them were well prepared students with knowledge, but there were some who went through short courses ~~before~~ before they entered college and therefore poorly prepared for academic studies. Most of them considered it as an advantage to be a member of the DISZ and did not take the initiative, yet there were a few radicals and sanguines who aimed at leadership.

When respondent was a member of the trade union MUDOSZ, he did not know anyone of their leaders, except the money collector who sold him the stamps for his membership book.

- (8 l) At the DISZ there were informers, assigned by the study department of the University and placed into the study groups formed by about fifteen students. ^{These} ~~These~~ were suspicious individuals, transferred from one student group to another, keenly interested in fellow-students' affairs, inquisitive, trying to find out the smallest details on private lives of other students, whether they

go to church, what they do, what did they say. Respondent, as a kulak's son, was especially observed and it was the DISZ which had a hand in his exclusion from the medical school.

- (8 m) He does not know about it.
- (8 n) It was generally known that membership in these organizations was compulsory and it does not make much sense to refuse them. They did not enthuse people and they were not popular.
- (8 o) Students had only the DISZ, and they all belonged there whether they liked it or not and were not asked to approve it or refuse it. There was another organization, the SHS, the Szabadsagharcos Szovetseg (Freedom Fighters' Association), but only very few students belonged to it. It was a military group for rifle practice and motoring.
- (9) The members were not Communists, they were not for the regime, in spirit and in soul they were not for the DISZ, or for any other Communistic organization, and the large, overwhelming majority of organization members belonged to them for reasons of pressure and compulsion.
- (9 a) It was not without effect. Generally, the youth can be impressed by ideas and by favors accorded to them. The Communists did a great deal to win over the youth, to make them a part of social life. They had privileges, they could study, they had sports, but what they saw in practical life was just the contrary of that what they learned at schools. Since they were encouraged to grow up fast and enter social and political life, they could see themselves how the regime works and what its results are, they became critical

and learned the contradictions between theory and practice. The indoctrination was intensive, but its effect failed, and the Revolution proved it.

- (10) Boys from workers and peasant families. Some of the leadership was recruited from the intellectuals.
- (10 a) There is a compulsory military service in Hungary for the 20-21-year-old young men. Some of the recruits were assigned to the AVO as others were to other military units. These boys served their compulsory military service in an AVO battalion.
- (10 b) The boys came from poorer families, they were children of workers and small peasants. They were young, 20-21; politically inexperienced and educationally not advanced. Some of the recruits who liked the life there became later officers, but the higher officers were without exception members of the Communist Party. Most of the boys who were members of the AVO left ~~the~~ this service after their years were up, as the boys left in other branches of the military service.
- (10 c) He does not know anything about that.
- (10 d) Respondent believes there should be made a differentiation between those boys who were assigned to service ^{with} ~~at~~ the AVO through the selective service act, and those who were voluntary members of the AVO. The AVO was a ~~part~~ ^{branch} of the military forces in Hungary. It had its own uniform, and its members never appeared in civilian dress. But the informers who worked for the AVO were civilians. At the village of respondent people knew who were the secret informers, spying at everybody in the village. They did secretly

their work. Nobody was sure about it, but he was suspicious: there was, for instance, one man, a peasant 33 years of age, who did not do his work at the field, but he could be seen everywhere, at the Party offices, at the village council, and at the office of the district AVO. He went in and out there, he had always money and had a motor ~~car~~ bicycle, too. He was a member of the Party but never spoke for the Party. He was intelligent by nature, but his schooling was not more than six years of grade school. The village people avoided him and tried not to meet him.

(11) Yes, his ~~father~~ father.

(11 a) In 1951 his father was arrested because he was a kulak. Fifty-one years of age at that time, he was taken into custody at night. The police came and took him to the police station where he was beaten up and the next morning tak^{en}ing with a bus to the jail of Kisvarda.

(11 b) Respondent's father was jailed at Kisvarda prison for a full month, but no formal charges were made against him. Neither was there a trial. It was never told him why they took him into custody and kept him for a month. When released, his father returned to his wife and lives in his village ever since. Before the father was jailed and after it, he received penalties several times. They were served to him by the local policeman and he had to pay the ~~penalties~~ penalties. Once it was because allegedly he failed to sow a certain sector of his field, another time because they found

stalk of one ~~straw~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ in his courtyard at the ~~the~~ ~~house~~ and, because back of the/ a third time his dog was barking. These kind of charges were made against those whom they considered ~~to~~ to be kulaks.

- (11 c) Another peasant, 60 years of age, who owned about 48 acres, was jailed for a similarly short period. His son, however, was imprisoned for two years. No charges was made against him, just because he was the son of a so-called kulak. The father was taken to the police station and there beaten up. They told him this happens to anyone who is making jokes of the system. Another small landholder who was denounced as a kulak was taken into custody too and the police told him the reason is: "you are a kulak".
- (11 d) His father, who came back mentally and physically shaken.
- (11 a) Some people who returned told their stories, but many kept silent because they were advised not to tell a word about it. Respondent's father was afraid to talk about the physical abuse he suffered, and only occasionally with a few words he gave indications of it to the members of the family.
- (11 f) Respondent knows especially about the kulaks. In his village all small landholders, who for some unexplainable reason, were charged to be kulaks, thought they were small landholders with properties not larger than 50 acres. They were completely innocent otherwise, perhaps their only sin was that they had a little property which maybe was better managed or more productive than the average peasant's property. These peasants did not engage in politics, they were

plain people who tilled the soil. They perhaps were a little better off than the average peasant in the village. The small landholders who were denounced as kulaks were never engaged in subversive activities, yet the fact that they had small landholdings was the only reason to be ~~denounced~~ persecuted.

- (11 g) In connection with the Rajk case there was a purging in the Party. The expulsion of the so-called enemies of the regime and the working class, from the large cities to small villages and isolated farms, was a sort of purging too.
- (12) Not to talk, to be silent, and never say anything against the regime.
- (12 a) If a specialist like an engineer or a doctor, for instance, does not engage in political talks, he may be safe. ~~But~~ But there is no safe profession or, for that matter, anyone in the Hungarian land, who is safe against denunciations. It happened that even an engineer was put to jail on account of sabotage, which he allegedly committed by using material of minor quality, though that was the only material he could use in his factory. There were people charged with sabotage because they did not produce the required minimum, and they were sentenced even so that it was impossible to produce the required minimum in the working conditions in which they ~~had~~ had to produce.
- (12 b) It has great advantages.
- (12 c) It helps. Party members and people in high Government position can be helpful.
- (12 d) It is the requirement for getting ahead in any position. A student must have a proletarian background and it is very difficult to

conceal the opposite unless through false documents and this works only until it is discovered.

- (12 e) Money helps to buy everything which is available for money, especially food and clothing.
- (12 f) Not always, if his origin is considered to be anti-regime, he is object of persecution at any time and for any reason.
- (12 g) Yes, those who are stigmatized as enemies of communism, the working class, or the Hungarian People's Republic, are always in danger.
- (13) Yes, there is a distinctive common feature in all of them, though their functions are different, their operations is based on the class system and the struggle of classes. The courts are affected by politics and their jurisdiction is politically motivated. This is true even in minor court judgments as it is in the attitude of the uniformed police.

(Respondent recalls a case when a young man stole a carriage wheel from a peasant. The father of the young man was a poor peasant and the boy did not receive any punishment, though he confessed the stealing.

- (13 a) Nowhere, because respondent is a class alien.
- (13 b) They work in the same spirit and work in perfect harmony.
- (13 c) Respondent does not know it.
- (14) There were.
- (14 a) In the agrarian policy about 1951 the Communists got tougher with the peasants. As the emphasis was placed on the heavy industry, the burdens on the peasants were more oppressive, but later the

situation eased again.

- (14 b) In the rural areas the first speech of Imre Nagy made a deep impression and the peasantry felt a little bit easier. After Stalin's death and Tito's independent policy the country felt a relief because it had repercussions on the Hungarian Communist toughness.
- (15) Hungary was considered and dealt with as an occupied country ~~XXXX~~ ~~XX~~ whose interest is subordinated to that of the Soviet Union. The Hungarian Communist Party received directions from Moscow and the Hungarian Government executed ~~it~~ them.
- (15 a) The important and principal decisions were made in Moscow concerning ^{economy.} foreign affairs and ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~. The Hungarian Communists tailored them for Hungary, but never abandoned or changed the pattern and the spirit of the instructions received from the Kremlin. The Hungarian Government was the executive organ in Budapest. No decisions were made what to do, rather how to do it in accordance with Moscow's wishes.
- (15 b) Because all Moscow institutions were copied in Hungary and the Communists wanted to sell to the ~~XX~~ Hungarians everything as a superb sample of perfection to be adopted in Hungary. The Communists confessed this openly and said that all happiness comes from Russia, they praised the Russian leadership and the Communist institutions as the most efficient, leading to the happiness of Hungary and the whole world.
- (15 c) Direct pressure was exerted by delegating Russian representatives

to the Hungarian Government. They were in the ministries, especially the War Ministry and the Ministry of Interior. Indirectly it could be seen that every Hungarian university or college had Russian lecturers, there were Russian institutes which propagandized Russian culture. They distributed Russian books, ~~SHOWED~~ showed Russian films, and tried to arouse interest in everything Russian. The Government itself tried to feed the Hungarian people with Russian culture, books, films, Russian guest performers, and by excluding Western influence in these fields, they pressured Hungarian intellectual life into a direction which was alien to the Hungarian people.

(15 d)

No.

(15 e)

The agriculture collectives were fashioned after the Russian pattern. The idea of the kolkhoz and the oversizing of the heavy industry were Russian influences for no other reasons but to control more easily the Hungarian economic life and to keep Hungary in subordination. In military affairs the influence was most pronounced because the Hungarian army and the ~~Hungary~~ military establishments are completely subordinated to Russian strategy. The ^aweakest was the influence in cultural affairs. In this respect the Russification of Hungarian life failed completely.

(15 f)

Soviet advisers were employed in Hungarian ministries and in the large factories. The uranium mines, of which the Hungarian people heard very little, were kept under Russian management and their exploitati^on was completely subordinated to Moscow's orders. It is

believed that the Hungarian uranium is one of the most considerable on the continent.

- (16) Absolutely not.
- (16 a) Yes, they do, because they learned to be passive, uninterested, driven by compulsion and fear.
- (16 b) His membership in the DISZ, what he did not like at all, and the membership of many people in the Communist Party. They don't like to be members, but they must be.
- (16 c) With close family members could he be frank and with friends, only with those in whom he was absolutely sure.
- (16 d) In front of unknown people or casual friends he would talk only about very personal and unpolitical affairs. He would never discuss with them any subjects of political implications.
- (16 e) Yes, but only after the first speech of Imre Nagy, when people realized that the critical spirit is not completely dead, since Nagy proved it. Ever since people started to speak up more candidly and even criticize the Government and some of its regulations. It was a slow process, first very cautious, but shortly before the Revolution the critical spirit reappeared and eventually it led to the Revolution.
- (17) There were.
- (17 a) Has no experience in it.
- (17 b) Respondent tried to protect himself by submitting a false certificate of his origin, but he did not succeed. ⁹ He can, if he succeeds in concealing the exact amount of grain he harvested and he could hide

a part of it before the grain was registered by the authorities. This could be done really only if there is nobody in the village who would denounce him.

- (17 d) He does not know it, but believes that these are very rare cases. If somebody was transferred to a distant village, this meant for him higher salary and better living conditions and it was rather an advancement than a sad fact.
- (17 e) In about '51 or '52 a ~~very~~^{very} strict order was published to prevent migration, when it was prohibited to leave the working places. If he can receive the management's consent and if there would be a great need for him somewhere else. It is conceivable that with influential Party friends at his side he could do something.
- (17 f) This is the case of respondent. There is little or nothing to do, unless he submits false evidence or a really very influential man intervenes for him.
- (18) Anyone who is satisfied with the regime ^{and} has no great expectations from life, and doesn't care of politics and social conditions.
- (19) Everything was imposed upon people. It was an accumulation of suppressed feelings, whether it was a peasant, a worker, an employee, or anyone else. And the pressure and the control was very strong. Nobody could do anything against them. The peasant was in opposition to the regime because he got orders what to sow^r and ~~use~~ plough, though he knew best how to get out the most from the soil. The worker cheated the state-owned factory because he

had to for reaching the norm. The peasant as well as the worker were forced into opposition, the peasant because he knew that the orders he received from the Government cannot be successfully executed and the worker because he knew that they are in the realm of ideas which cannot be materialized.

- (19 a) The passive resistance was the most general form of opposition and later on, when the pressure eased, anyone counteracted the regime the way he could.
- (19 b) The most suppressed people, including the kulaks, the large land-owners, the former officers, the manufacturers, the businessmen, and the high ranking officials of the public service. They were completely eliminated and declassified, and they suffered a complete economic annihilation.
- (19 c) At the outset, the largest part of the working class and employees, but then they changed their attitude and started to resist for material reasons. They found out that the Communist practice is something different from the Communist theories. A small part of the peasantry, who got advantages from the regime, were for it and less hostile.
- (19 d) It increased.
- (19 e) It was a personal matter. There were small groups which tried to organize some resistance and it could be learned ^{about} their failure as the papers described them. In some factories there was an organized resistance, but they were disclosed and the offenders were punished.

- (19 f) Probably there was an opposition in the Party because several individuals who were leading personalities of it disappeared later on, probably because they were opponents of some Party policy. Respondent does not know anything of the Army, but of students he is informed. The opposition grew after Rakosi's deposition and soon the writers came out with their demands.
- (19 g) The students, for instance, demanded the elimination of the Russian language and the reduction of subjects of a political nature. Then the writers, for instance, requested the permission to travel in foreign countries and the opportunity to write on subjects whose themes ~~WERE~~ are not related to Communist ideology.
- (19 h) A very large number of political jokes were in circulation. They ridiculed the Russians, Rakosi, the police, and the regime in general.
- (19 i) Respondent has no positive knowledge of them.
- (19 j) He does not know it.
- (19 k) Theoretically it was possible, but it was soon discovered.
- (19 l) Both these organizations functioned before, and prior to the Revolution they were revitalized to give voice to the ideals of freedom. The college students' movement started in Szeged and a few students having come to Budapest revived the MEFESZ which has grown then to a national movement.

- (1) Mostly from the foreign radios and from the Hungarian papers.
- (1 a) The foreign radios.
- (1 b) None.
- (2) Yes, he read some of them.
- (2 a) Of the papers he read Szabad Nep. Of the periodicals he read Irodalmi Ujsag. And then the Zenei Szemle (Music Review).
- (2 b) Not regularly.
- (2 c) He was interested in the literary, musical, and political events.
- (2 d) Almost every section.
- (2 e) Not particularly, because the radio sent the editorials of the Szabad Nep every morning.
- (2 f) The features on art were of particular interest to respondent.
- (2 g) Everything which was near to his professional aims.
- (2 h) Yes, at the college.
- (2 i) They were improvisations. ~~Another~~ Another student was in charge of the wall paper and anyone who wanted to contribute turned over his writing to this student editor.
- (2 j) These occasional contributions dealt with different kinds of subjects. Opinions concerning the great political events were expressed in them, but personal matters regarding some students were the most common. The articles on the wall paper criticized students, their attitudes and behavior. So, for instance, it could be read there that a certain student had shoes with rubber soles, which he got from some foreign country. It was publicized there that another student had an elegant suit, probably received from America, and so he is under foreign influence. Another student was scored

because he had been seen dancing American dances.

- (2 k) Yes.
- (2 l) The University library carried some of them, but Pravda took the first place.
- (2 m) He did not pay too much attention to them because he did not know foreign languages.
- (3) Yes, once a week.
- (3 a) He went to different movies, where he found the films he would like to see.
- (3 b) Only those which ^{he} thought have musical or literary merits.
- (3 c) Every Hungarian film had political meaning and he saw them almost all.
- (3 d) He likes moving pictures and was eager to see them.
- (3 e) He was very much interested in the Italian, French, English, Austrian, and also Russian films.
- (3 f) He saw the English film Hamlet, the French film Faust, the Austrian film Schubert. The Italian film on Verdi. And of the Russian films the Siberian Rhapsody and a ballet film.
- (3 g) Yes.
- (3 h) Once a month to classical plays.
- (3 i) At first, they tried to show political plays, but then they had to change their plans. The people wanted something else and first of all variety. A change came insofar that recently more classic plays were shown ^{than} ~~than~~ those of political significance. The new Hungarian plays had historical subjects instead of propagandistic politics. The political plays were unpopular and the theaters

stayed empty when they were shown. However, when the old and very popular operettas of Kalman, Lehar, and other musicals were shown, they ran for years, including the Czardas Princess and the Count of Luxembourg.

- (4) Yes, he liked to read books.
- (4 b) About 15-20 a year.
- (4 c) These were books he could get from the library: Uj barazdat szant az eke by Michael Solokhov; the poems of Pushkin; the biography of Liszt; and the biography of Munkacsy. Then he read a large number of pamphlets on medicine and agriculture. Of the books which were on index he read, by Harsanyi, two books: Aranyalma and Magyar Rapszodia. Both were lent to him by his cousin.
- (4 d) He was interested in them.
- (4 e) In accordance with his personal interests.
- (4 f) Those books in the library he would get easily, but no books on the index were available, including books which were on religious life. Books on religion could not be seen at all, except those which were against religion.
- (5) Yes.
- (5 b) He had not his own set, but he listened to the radio of his brother-in-law, which was a super long- and short^twave radio.
- (5 c) The Petofi and Kossuth stations, since both were the two leading Hungarian stations.
- (5 d) To the musical programs and the transmission of plays which interested him particularly.

- (5 e) One to two hours a day, but in summertime much longer. The time of the day was irregular, it depended on the program.
- (5 f) At the home of his brother-in-law.
- (5 g) Classical music.
- (6) Yes, and not only respondent did listen to them, but everybody in the village. Every peasant has today a radio and they are so much interested in the news that someone in the family listens all the time to foreign news in Hungarian. The peasants of the most isolated farms get their informations from foreign stations.
- (6 b) Some foreign broadcastings could not be well received, probably because they were jammed. Free Europe could be well heard, the Voice of America was jammed very much, and during the Revolution news were sent from Paris and Madrid in Hungarian language.
- (6 c) Because respondent as well as all the peasants were eager to get information.
- (6 d) Every day, but mostly in the evening and at night.
- (6 e) He tried to compare the foreign news with that received from the Hungarian radio.
- (6 f) He had more confidence in the straight reporting of news than in the propagandistic speeches and comforting pep talks.
- (7) He did never go.
- (7 a) He had to attend to his studies and was not interested in anything else.
- (8 a) Any kind of information which was more often the result of wishful thinking instead of reliable facts.
- (8 b) From friends and neighbors.

- (8 c) Some people believed to know who will be arrested and put into jail, however, it did not become true.
- (8 d) Less reliable.
- (8 e) More false rumors than facts.
- (8 f,g) He cannot recall any of them.
- (8 h) In the street when they met and in the evening hours in their homes.
- (8 i) There were, those who had higher positions.
- (8 j) Only at home where he had people in whom he trusted and they were in safety within the four walls of their rooms.
- (8 k) There were, those of whom he supposed that they had some special information. The parents of his friends had relatives who were able to get some news from other friends, usually well informed. He heard stories from them, and they were usually true, but not in every case. From strangers, who were prisoners of war or jail inmates, respondent had no opportunity to get information.
- (8 l) Never.
- (9) When he was in his native village, news could be got only from friends and relatives who were in the Party.
- (9 a) Only the foreign radios.
- (9 b) The Hungarian and the foreign radios.
- (9 c) He did not seek them particularly, because he was not interested in them.
- (10) A very small part of the newspapers was credible.
- (10 a) Through comparison of the foreign and domestic news, but it was left to each individual to draw his own conclusions.

- (10 b) It was never reliable and it was common knowledge that the Communist press is lying.
- (10 c) ~~THAT~~ That on sports.
- (10 d) That on politics and economics.
- (10 e) All were untrustworthy, except the Irodalmi Ujsag.
- (10 f) Yes, he liked to read the Irodalmi Ujsag, but it was not easily available. It appeared irregularly and in a very small circulation and as soon as it appeared it was sold out.
- (10 g) It was candid in its criticism of the Government and the regime. Respondent was impressed and happy to read the requests made in it.
- (11) Everybody tried very hard.
- (11 a) Every kind of people, educated and uneducated, workers and peasants.
- (11 b) Those who believed in and wanted the Communist regime to survive.
- (12) Through the foreign radio.
- (12 a) He had the most confidence in it, after having sifted all the news he had heard and gave to it more thought.
- (12 b) Through the radio.
- (12 ^c x) Yes, in the nearby villages, from the people who brought some news.
- (13) Yes.
- (13 a) He heard about the prisoners who came back from Russia. They told about the inhuman treatment of people, how they starved and how hard they had to work.
- (13 b) The papers publicized it and changed that the Americans carried it out in Korea.
- (13 c) According to the Hungarian papers, the Americans started the

Korean war.

- (13 d) He was, even so that he was rehabilitated.
- (13 e) The Hungarian papers wrote a lot about it, claiming that it serves the purpose of Western imperialism and it has aggressive aims.
- (13 f) They were presented in the papers as the result of Western instigation, directed against the people's democracies.
- (13 g) Respondent heard about some emigres who left Hungary before 1945, but he has no information what their lot is.

~~XXXX~~ The regime tried to reshape the Hungarians through political education. Through the distortion of facts and lies, Hungarians were exposed to propaganda and everybody had to find it out on his own skin. People knew that there was little truth in the claims of the regime. The facts that could be seen by everybody spoke against the regime. The Communists tried to make believe ~~it~~ that the West and America are in a terrible state of affairs, they can exist only through exploitation of the workers and through wars in the interest of capital. Russia is the only country against all these evils and through her building of Socialism she is instrumental for the rebirth of humanity. Russia is the ideal Hungary has to follow. Russia means peace and equality for everybody without exception. Russia, the bulwark of peace and welfare, should be looked upon as the protector of the proletariat and with her help the international proletariat will not only be victorious, but it will rule the whole world.

Respondent gave this Communist image of the world as it was presented to him and to the rest of the Hungarian people. Already when in Hungary, he knew that it is a fantastic picture of the world and false from beginning to end.

- (1) First of all the removal of Russians from Hungary, because this would mean freedom and independence. Then the introduction of democratic principles: freedom of press, speech, assembly, and freedom for the individuals in order that they exercise their human rights.
- (1 a) The freedom and the possibility to study without class distinction. Before the advent of communism, Hungary was far behind the Twentieth Century in respect of popular mass education.
- (2) Yes.
- (2 a) ~~It~~ It is essential that people should be able to express their views.
- (2 b) It is basically important for a society to progress in the right direction.
- (2 c) Yes, it is needed to neutralize in some way the extremes.
- (3) There ~~should~~ should be no restrictions. No government has the right to forbid its citizens to express their opinions.
- (3 a) Because the aim of free thought is criticism, and criticism is needed.
- (3 b) People should be free to express detrimental opinions, especially when the will of the majority is disrespected by the state. When opinions are freely expressed, the majority will not be wrong even if the state or its constitution is discussed.
- (4) Yes.
- (4 a) Yes.
- (4 b) Because the Government must stand any criticism and listen to the opinion of the majority and the minority as well.

- (4 c) Free and considerate criticism results in the molding of a majority and a democratic state should express the will of the majority.
- (4 d) No, there can be no exceptions because it would be against the democratic principle.
- (4 e) In a democratic country an armed uprising against the government is never justified. It is a government of the majority and the minority has no right to terrorize the majority's government. Yet, ^{in case of} ~~an~~ an upraising against a government is always justified ~~against~~ a dictatorial government if it is the will of the majority.
- (5) Respondent is in favor of it.
- (5 a) Because through a rationally controlled method the heavy industry is able to serve better the common welfare.
- (5 b) Large factories can be in private property and guided by the state. Or they can be state-owned too. It is the management that matters and not the ownership.
- (5 d) Private profit is good. It means a justified return for good management and successful production and people have the right to reap the fruits of their labor and skill.
- (6) No.
- (6 a) It endangers personal initiative in a field where it is very much needed. It would also endanger the function of a democratic state.
- (6 b) Respondent does not know it.
- (6 c) The light industry and small shops of artisans should have the opportunity to develop and the state should pave the way for their existence.

- (7) Respondent feels that he has not sufficient knowledge in this field.
- (8) If the planning is successful, respondent is for it, but absolutely against it if Communistic methods are applied.
- (8 a) There should be an overall planning by the state, consisting of advice, the initiation of industrial projects, agricultural improvements and education, and above all, the coordination of the national economy. Nothing should be imposed on people, they should be able to accept higher planning, or refuse it.
- (8 b) The Communists have imposed on people production methods ~~that~~ that were economically unreasonable. So, for instance, they forced the peasant to grow certain products, whether the soil was proper for them or not did not matter. They wanted to dictate even the weather and the rain which was needed for the respective products. The most beautiful theories cannot be translated into practice if they are not practical and concerned with details, with possibilities and setbacks. The same unreasonableness prevailed in industrial production. The regime wanted an oversized industry, and at the same time savings on material to such a degree that they punished for an alleged waste of raw material when this was not the case at all. They had not a fair idea of practical methods. This was true with the exaggerated norm system, too.
- (8 c) Hungary's economic production was subordinated to the needs of Russia. They ~~thought~~ thought what is good for Russia is good for Hungary too. The Russian production and its methods were highly praised by the regime and put as an ideal to the Hungarian people. If everything was fine in Russia, why have they to carry away

Hungarian products and exploit Hungarian economy? The fact was that the Hungarian state factories worked with a deficit and lost money on production.

- (8 d) There is no danger if it is intelligently done.
- (9) He is in favor of it in a democratic country.
- (9 a) Because they can function more economically and proper coordination means advantages.
- (9 b) No difference among them.
- (10) He is in favor of it.
- (10 a) Because people must make a living and ~~THEY~~ they have a right to it.
- (10 b)c) Cannot answer them.
- (11) Yes. There are.
- (11 a) Because there is a danger that inadvertently preference will be given to a certain ideology which may take the turn to compulsion.
- (11 b) The government should have no interfering power in religion, in human rights, in politics, because by interfering in favor of one view, the government will hurt the views of other people. If the government interferes in favor of one religion, for instance, the other denominations have reason to protest.
- (12) Yes, he has.
- (12 b) Military service and to participate in the burdens of the budget.
- (12 c)d,e) They are all duties.
- (12 f) It is not ~~case because~~ ^{correct in case of} dictatorial governments ^{because they} don't deserve support on account of their oppressive methods, hurting the citizens.
- (13) His opinions did not change.

- (14) Medical care had improved, there are more doctors today, but there are more sick people, too. The number of psychosomatic patients increased very much.
- (14 a) There was a complaint that the doctors could not give sufficient time to each patient. They were overburdened by the number of people who came to them and the doctors themselves objected to it, but couldn't do anything against it.
- (14 b) All workers and employees have free medical care.
- (14 c) The personal physician is able to give more time to his patient. While at the clinics, he has to take care of large masses. On the other hand, in the clinics there are a number of specialists to whom the patients can be sent for medical investigation without losing much time, especially in emergency cases.
- (14 d) The National Health Insurance is a laudable institution, but the state should not make a profit on it.
- (14 e,f) He had no answer to them.
- (14 g) Generally it must be said that today there are more physicians in the country than there were before, but many of the peasants are not covered by the insurance and they have to pay to the private doctors.
- (15) Yes.
- (15 a) The regime is trying to raise the cultural level of the population, but it does it exclusively in the Communist spirit.
- (15 b) Yes, more frequently.
- (15 c) It matters very much.

- (15 d) The city population has many opportunities. The workers and employees, and all those who wanted to go to such entertainment, could do it easily. In the villages and small towns there were less opportunities. Movies had been shown occasionally, and the village theater came along once in a while.
- (15 e) Yes, they take advantage of it, except when the entertainment takes political character.
- (15 f) The movies, the theater, and concerts were inexpensive. Tickets were available and everybody could afford them. The performances took place in the evening when people had time for them. In the villages the peasants went less to theaters and movies, but the younger people liked them, yet the opportunities were not too many. The theater ensembles were sent from the next city where a permanent theater was established. They toured the surrounding country and stayed for a few performances in the villages. Some of the village theaters were organized in Budapest. They had their ensembles which toured the province.
- (16 a) No.
- (16 b) Yes, today better.
- (16 c) Yes, better.
- (16 d) Today the peasants have more food for their own use. In cities only limited quantities of consumer goods are available at the fixed prices which are lower than the prices paid on the free market. Those who want to buy their food in the state stores at a lower price, have to wait in line. While most of the daily needs can be

satisfied on the free market, foreign products like oranges, figs, herrings, are not available at all.

- (16 e) Those who have the money for it can buy anything on the free market, except foreign products. ~~THESE~~ They are not sold because they are not imported.
- (17,a,b) No.
- (17 c) Yes.
- (17 d) During the war and after it there was a great scarcity in clothing, but in 1950 and later on more textiles were available and people could order clothing. They somehow managed to be better dressed than before.
- (17 e) Nobody is able to buy clothing today and in this respect there is no difference whatever between the groups of the population. From the average ~~XX~~ salaries of 1000 or 1100 forints a month nothing can be saved for clothing. In the country, where the traditional peasant costumes prevailed just a few years ago, they began to disappear. Ready-made dresses, bought in the state shops, substitute the peasant costumes. The peasant ~~WOMEN~~ women are unable to buy the fabrics for their colorful dresses.
- (18) It did.
- (18 a) By the enforcement of the Government and also through the norm system and the competitive regulations, workers had to do it by force if they wanted to earn the minimum of their livelihood.
- (18 b) Superficially it is advantageous, but it was common knowledge that the quality of the products was poor. They wanted to produce more and more at cheaper price, what they achieved at the expense of quality.

- (18 c) It was very bad that the quality decreased while the quantity increased, and this is to be considered bad economy.
- (19) They should be dissolved and organized on a voluntary basis.
- (19 a) Yes, they should, but only on a strictly voluntary basis.
- (19 b) Yes, they should be abolished, and among the peasantry should be no have-nothings, as much as there should be no very large landholdings.
- (19 c) The former owners should regain their properties with certain limitations. It is a fact that from the point of view of social economy the large estates have advantages, but at the same time they result in an agrarian proletariat. All large estates, over 1000 holds, this is 1400 acres, must be divided for the benefit of those peasants who have no land at all. These new landowners of small landholdings may unite in cooperatives, if they wish so. The production and the distribution cooperatives have great advantages for its members as well as for the national economy.
- The landholding policy of Hungary should be made by representatives of the peasantry and a committee of experts in agriculture.
- (19 d) The cattle should be turned over into private property and the inventory put to common use.
- (19 f) All estates should be restored to their former owners, but not those over 1000 holds. Everything over 1000 holds should be distributed to the peasants.
- (19 g) It should be to all smallholders, including the kulaks. It was the greatest injustice to create artificially classes among the smallholders. The kulaks were small landholders who worked very

hard to make a livelihood. They were not rich people, because they could never accumulate fortunes from their income, though their income was large enough to make a comfortable living if they were industrious enough to operate successfully. Most kulaks had not larger properties than ~~35~~ 35 or 50 acres, and many times even much less, not more than 10 or 15 acres. These small landholders were self-employed farmers who worked from their childhood on the soil they inherited from their parents. The group of the Hungarian smallholders is not more than three or four generations old. Respondent says that his ~~grandparent~~^{father} was an agricultural proletarian who did not own anything, but served to the large landowner as a simple farm laborer. Instead of receiving wages, ~~his~~ his grandfather received in payment a small strip of soil, which became his property. While he gave the largest part of his services to the landowner, he took care of this small strip which was his own. After a lifetime of service, some of these peasants accumulated acreage which happened to be sufficient to support their family. There must have been a law in Hungary which promoted this development because there is today a large group of peasants who own^{ed} not more than about ten acres. There is a smaller group which owns^{ed} about 50 acres, but there are very few who own^{ed} more than 100 acres.

The Communists tried to divide the small landholders and created among them the group which is called the kulaks. In fact, they are small landholders whose group was never clearly defined. Who is a kulak is rather an arbitrary definition. Not even

Rakosi was able to give a clear answer to the question when he was asked just who is a kulak. It was left to the local community council to determine who is a kulak in the village. Respondent says that his father was made a kulak just because he had a little bit more of land than his neighbors had.

(19 h)

They can.

(19 i)

The members can benefit and the whole country if the collective farms are in private property and it is left to the peasants themselves to operate it. What they need is expert direction in order to introduce improvements and modernize the processes. There are among them experts, one is better educated and skillfuller than the other, and in case they need a highly trained expert, they can hire one. The agricultural production cannot be directed from officers in a bureaucratic way, but the farmers who are closely attached to the soil on which they work can and must decide on the location how to operate the ^{farm} most successfully and most rationally ~~the~~. Collective farms on a voluntary ~~and~~ basis constituted by a number of smallholders have all the advantages which derives from the personal interest of the peasants and the operation of large estates.

(20 a)

No.

(20 b)

Neither sell nor ^{ferre} ~~transfer~~ them to individual farms, but they should be rented to individual farmers.

(20 c)

They should not be dissolved, but operated for common use.

(20 d)

They were unrationally operated. The machine tractor stations proved to be an expensive operation because too many machines were

installed, but not sufficiently put to use. There were rural areas where tractors could not be employed and ploughing with cows (??) proved to be much cheaper. Tractors are expensive machines and advantageous only on flat land and large areas. Even small hills, of which there are many in some parts of little Hungary, places obstacles to the use of large tractors.

- (20 e) It is very desirable because it means savings in working hours and manpower. And it reduces the production costs, but here again there are exceptions which must be taken into consideration. As a rule, agriculture should be mechanized and if possible, the problems of investment in machinery solved.
- (21) In factories the workers themselves should not have a decisive word about the management of the enterprise, because that is the job of experts, trained ~~experts~~ managers.
- (21 a) They should have the full representative rights of the workers, against the owners as well as the government. Their right to strikes should be complete.
- (21 b) They should be absolutely independent.
- (21 c) No.
- (21 d) The payment of dues and going to meetings was compulsory.
- (21 e) The ~~passive and negative~~ ^{character} of the labor unions was resented because it meant only obligations without rights.
- (21 f) They were very much needed because the labor unions were impotent.
- (21 g) The workers had elected their representatives ~~themselves~~ to the workers' councils with the purpose that they will really represent the interests of the workers. They were products of a democratic process

in contrast to the trade unions, which were Party auxiliaries.

- (21 h) They could be very successful if they could ~~be~~ function freely and independently.
- (21 i) In a socialistic state the management should be responsible to the workers and in an economy based on private property ~~they~~^{it} should be responsible to the owners.
- (22 a) No.
- (22 b) They should be made responsible for their crimes committed against the people and be punished.
- (22 c) The same as the leaders, but they should receive milder sentences.
- (22 d) Each and every one should be investigated in order to know how much they harmed other people.
- (22 e) All the leaders should be investigated and punished.
- (22 f) The officers should be thoroughly investigated and punished, and the lower ranks very thoroughly investigated.
- (22 h) A few AVH-men and policemen were murdered and some Communist Party leaders were beaten.
- (23) In the past little attention~~W~~ was paid to general education of the masses, now, however, great emphasis was placed on it.
- (23 a) It compared favorably with the system before 1942, yet the substance of education was repulsive.
- (23 b) No, there are limitations insofar that the children of the so-called enemies of the working class were excluded.
- (23 c) It is very bad.
- (23 d) It is very important that all children, without regard of their descent, should go to school and develop their talents for the

benefit of the community.

- (24 a) Yes.
- (24 b) All should be equally independent.
- (24 c) They should because they need financial support for undertakings they cannot finance themselves, for instance, the building of churches and schools.
- (24 d) They should, because the moral education of the people is of national interest.
- (24 e) No, they should have no rights of interference because there are several denominations in the country and ^{this} ~~these~~ would lead only to complications.
- (25) Hungary made very important contributions to culture and to Western civilization. In the year 1001 Hungary was among the first kingdoms which accepted Christianity under the leadership of king St. Stephen. The Church raised him to its altars as acknowledgment of his great deed. In the ^{XIIIth} ~~XIIIth~~ Century Hungary halted the invasion of the Tartars and in the XVth Century the invasion of the Turks; both overran Central Europe and through Hungarian resistance they were prevented to rule Western Europe. In 1848 Hungary was among the freedom fighters defying the Austrians and the Russians. The leader of the Hungarian Revolution, Louis Kossuth, was a refugee in America and celebrated in this country as a great freedom fighter. The Revolution of 1956 was one of the greatest events which started a chain of reactions.
- (26 a) Hungary was under the Hapsburgs an oppressed country, condemned to pay high taxes and subordinate her agricultural economy to the

needs of the Hapsburg monarchy. Through legislation and political pressures the independent economic development of Hungary was prevented.

- (26 b) Because many people could not make a living in Hungary.
- (26 c) It had, since the large landowners ruled the country. The largest, if not almost the whole land, was in the ownership of a few families and consequently an agrarian proletariat came into being.
- (26 d) It had a feudal society and the country could not develop, neither economically nor culturally because the large masses lived in poverty. It was politically and socially bad.
- (26 e) The Horthy-regime represented a constitution of a kingdom without a king, being neither democratic nor completely absolutistic. The Horthy-regime did not care very much of living standards concerning the large masses and so most of the people had to live in very modest conditions.
- (26 f) The inequality was very great because the ruling classes, consisting of the large landowners, the manufacturers, and the high officers of the Army, ruled the land and the small landholders and generally the peasantry as well as the workers and the employees were ignored in state policy.
- (26 g) Hungary should have stayed neutral because anything else was hopeless and senseless. The geographic location of the country does not permit to join any powers that have conquering ambitions in West or East Europe. Hungary is no military power ~~EE~~ today and has only

to loose in a war between two great powers.

- (26 h) Between 1944 and '47 Hungary was an occupied country that lost his independence. There were different parties for a short period, but soon after the Russians occupied the country the Communists took over completely through their treacherous methods. Before the war there was a short period of prosperity and after the war the conditions turned to the worse. Generally an uncertainty pervaded the country on account of the competition between Germany and Russia, and as a country between the two contending powers, Hungary was prevented in a free and independent development of her own forces and abilities.
- (27) Respondent feels competent to characterize only the peasants, whom he knows best. They are simple people, quiet and not too talkative. Very industrious, but in their material needs modest. They disclose common sense in private and social affairs, and they love their personal freedom as much as they like their work on the soil.
- (27 a) The character described before is quite different from that of people who have a superiority complex.
- (27 b,c) Respondent does not know the Russian and the American character.
- (27 d) As a result of the oppression by a foreign power, the Hungarian character was affected insofar that people ceased to be frank and learned to be insincere.
- (27 e) No, there are group traditions, though they gradually loose their prevailing features. In this respect the peasantry proved to be the most resistant.

- (28) Not necessarily. With democratic countries the borderlines are not too important.
- (28 b) If nations live in peace and mutual understanding, the borderlines have only administrative character.
- (28 c) Yes.
- (28 d) ~~TRANSYLVANIA~~ Transylvania, the Bacska, and all those territories in Slovakia where Hungarians live. These are territories which belonged to Hungary and for ^a thousands ^{years} ~~of years~~ Hungarians inhabited them.
- (28 e) Yes, it is Russia.
- (28 f) There are some natural differences.
- (28 g) There is a difference between the Hungarians and the Rumanians, the Czechoslovaks, and the Serbs and the Croats. It stems from the fact that Hungarian territories were given to them, and, furthermore, there are differences in character and national culture.
- (28 i) He does not know it.
- (28 j) The Hungarians are oppressed by the Rumanians.
- (28 k) Very well, both in Hungary and in Austria.
- (28 l) He does not know it.
- (28 m) Very well.
- (28 n) Yes, because everybody is a Hungarian ^{who} ~~is~~ confesses to be one, and the Jews do that.
- (29) It would be an excellent thing.
- (29 a) There should be complete equality among them.
- (29 b) The federation should be organized on a voluntary and absolutely democratic basis. A coordinated economy should prevail within

the larger community, while the members of it should keep their entity. The member states should have a united foreign policy, the tariff and money system should be common.

- (29 c) All member states are equal, including the Hungarians.
- (29 d) A Danubian federation would be the most advisable, including Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria.
- (30) Respondent has no personal experience with the Russians. However, his grandfather told him stories about the Russian people. He was in Russia as a prisoner during the First World War and he lived among them for three years. His grandfather told him that as human beings they are very good and pleasant people.
- (30 a) It is a mixed nation, consisting of numerous nationalities.
- (30 b) As with all people, probably there are good and bad people.
- (30 c) Respondent was taught in the school that all Russians are Communists, but he has no direct knowledge of that.
- (30 d) No.
- (30 e) Respondent was at that time at the village of his birth and the peasants got a very bad impression of them. They drank, plundered, and raped the womenfolks.
- (30 f) At that time very few Russians were in the country, where respondent lived. The Hungarian people had very little connection to Russian soldiers. They were looked upon as orientals and no fraternization took place. Generally, they were very much disliked.
- (30 g) Before the Revolution, very few could be seen, but when their armies appeared in the streets of Budapest, the hatred ^{for} ~~to~~ them

was strong, very strong.

- (31) As a theory it has merits. Some of its observations deserve serious study, but there are ~~are~~ great contradictions between the theoretical and political Marxism, especially when it comes to practical daily politics. Respondent was obliged to take up courses in Marxism and there he received instruction in general terms. According to his knowledge there is a difference between communism and socialism. Socialism is a more advanced stage than communism. Communism is characterized by class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialism is an ideal society in which complete equality prevails, no money exists in that Socialistic society and everybody earns as much as he needs for a living, a very high standard of living.
- (31 a) The fact that theoretically Marxism is for the benefit of the workers and the peasants.
- (31 b) The impracticability of class struggle, and the contradictions between theory and practice.
- (31 c,d) He had to learn Marxism for one year at the college, at the medical school, as a compulsory subject.
- (31 e) He did not notice any changes made. Through his own observation he found out that the Marxist teachings are impracticable and they cannot materialize. He had never confidence in them, because they taught class struggle and materialism. Being anti-religious, Marxism never appealed to him, because his religious feelings were hurt.

- (31 g) Lenin was a good Marxist until he did not put in his own thoughts into Marxism and deviated from theoretical Marxism. He applied Marxism to Russian conditions, adopting some basic ideas.
- (31 h) Stalin subscribed to some features of Marxism and supplemented them with compulsion and terror. He had murdered millions of people, which was not a part of Marxism and therefore he was a bad Marxist.
- (31 i) There is a right and left wing in social democracy; the left wing is close to the Communists and the right wing are followers of democratic principles to reach their aims. Basically they are Marxist, but differⁱⁿ methods of reaching the Socialist society.
- (31 j) Theoretically not, but practically the right wing Social Democrats refuse any dictatorial methods and base their program on strictly democratic principles.
- (31 k) A sincere democrat acknowledges the human rights and the equality of all individuals, without exceptions, and he wants them not only for himself but also for other people.
- (31 l) Hungary was never a democratic state, its system was never built on democratic principles.
- (31 m) Tito is a Marxist.
- (32) National communism means the realization of communism within the national borders of a country, regardless of international considerations or obligations to Russia or the Cominform or any other international Communist authority.
- (32 a) He does not believe it.

- (32 c) He tried skilfully to operate and to adopt a national communism, but his methods seemingly did not produce the desired results.
- (32 d) He is.
- (32 e) He would think there were some in the Communist Party, but they were silenced by the regime. The conflict between communism and patriotic feelings can hardly be bridged over, because a patriot could not apply terroristic methods against his fellow nationals and he has also to renounce international communism, since his thinking is aimed at his own nation.
- (33) Yes.
- (33 a) He aimed at a left-wing democracy in cooperation with other parties than the Communist Party.
- (34 a) Is bad, because it is built on dictatorial methods, on force, and he learned it at the college that Communism, which he experienced for so many years, is a forerunner of Socialism.
- (34 b) It is bad, because it is exploiting people.
- (34 c) It is bad, because it means the murder of many individuals and the disappearance of historic classes which had important functions in history.
- (34 d) It is bad, because it lives on slogans and produces an untruthful situation. It is a swindle.
- (34 e) It is bad, because it rules other people.
- (34 f) It is bad, because it proved to be a big lie; while it preached peace the armaments went on indefinitely, in an ever stronger extent.
- (34 g) It is bad, because it is a slogan which means a great deal of falsehood. The Communists themselves established capitalism, and

the worst kind of it.

- (34 h) It is good in that sense that it signifies a social group which is compelled to accept the golden middle way if it wants to play a role in society.
- (35) He believes that it is about the same.
- (36 a-f) They all get less.
- (36 g) They get according to their abilities that what they deserve.
- (36 h) Less.
- (36 i) More.
- (36 j-1) Less.
- (37) All groups were better off before 1944.
- (38 a,b) Coincide.
- (38 c,d) They conflict.
- (38 e) They coincide.
- (38 f) They conflict.
- (38 g) They coincide.
- (38 h) These are changeable factors with changing situations.
- (38 i) They coincided.
- (38 j,k) They conflicted very much.
- (39) Nobody except the leaders of the Party and the officers of the AVH.
- (39 a) All of the people. The whole population is against the regime, and if any Western power would be involved in a war against Hungary, it would get the support of everybody. It was the secret hope ^{the} of/Hungarian people that the Western allies will intervene in the Revolution and now, if such a help would come, the whole nation

would stand up as one man and would fight the Communist regime.

- (1) No question to ask.
- (1 a) There are too many questions which cannot be easily answered because they are too complex. The minute details are known only to people who are trained in specialized fields.
- (1 b) Much material, but only from people who know the answers.
- (1 c) Different kinds of people arrived to America and their answers will be very subjective and deficient because they will be caught by surprise in view of the fact that they never thought of questions like that. The questions come up suddenly and one needs time to concentrate on the answers.
- (1 d) Generally yes, but there will be many well-meant errors.
- (1 e) Respondent has no suggestions.
- (2 a) Yes, if it will be again a free country, but at the present time he has no positive plans.
- (3 a,b) No.
- (3 c) I recommend respondent for special interviews on agriculture and education, including the school system.
- (3 d) He could send some students if the interview would not be so long.
- (4 a) Yes.

Portrait of the respondent as to his personality, goals, and motivations:

Respondent was born and raised in a small village, located in one of Hungary's most fertile provinces, where peasant life maintained its long traditions. Of peasant stock, his parents wanted him to continue the ancestral occupation of tilling the soil, but his intellectual and artistic ambitions ^d left him to high^rer education. A thoughtful and sensitive young man, who studied music since his early childhood in order to become a musician, later he decided to enter the medical school, devoting himself to music as a sideline.

His father, owner of a farm of about 50 acres, was charged to be a kulak; he and his family, including his student son, were exposed to persecution suffered by this group.

Respondent's strong desire for a higher education suffered the first drawback at the medical school: he had been expelled from it because of his kulak origin. ^a Hunted by the fear of persecution, respondent took several jobs, such as a choir singer, then manual and office worker, in order to support himself, since parental help was not available, for his father's income from the reduced property that was left him was not even sufficient to provide the barest necessities for the parents. Being a talented musician, he was admitted to the Academy of Music in Budapest, hoping that his kulak origin will not be discovered and he can ~~make~~ make a career in the musical arts.

Respondent's formative years in the advanced period were deeply affected by the overwhelming feeling of the injustice to which he was exposed on account of his origin. Nonetheless, he discloses a deep sense for rationalization, coupled with ethical and humanitarian principles. Resigned to the fact that he could not become a medical doctor, his will remained unbroken and his ambitions unshaken concerning his future in the musical profession.

Respondent is trained in practical agriculture, he has the diploma of the agricultural high school. He grew up in a rural environment and worked with his parents on the farm, acquiring first-hand knowledge of peasant life and of agriculture. In his early adulthood he accumulated experience in city life and in the fields of academic education and musical arts. Serious in his character, he is attentive in his observations, sincere and trustworthy in his information.

I recommend respondent for special interviews in agriculture and education, including the school system.