(1) First I must say that I was arrested in February 1951 for conspiracy against the Government. Therefore I was not able to participate in the revolt being that I was still in prison. Although soon after the 23rd I was released from prison. I find the causes of the revolution to be two major ones as being the great tension created by 1. the spiritual oppression or the oppression of the human spirit by the regime and 2. the material oppression which the Government inflicted upon the great mass of people. In 1953 with coming of the Imre Nagy Government there was a certain easing of restrictions and within the channels of the party and the Government there was a possibility to judge the regime. In 1956 the same thing that is the freedom to judge the regime wanted to come out. Just writers and students did judge the regime, and now wanted to express their oppressed feelings concerning the material oppression that is the low standard of living and the main cause for tension that is the szellemi (spiritual oppression or the oppression of the human spirit).

(2) I feel the revolution began with the Rajk funeral. This was an occasion which offered itself to the people when they could demonstrate against the Moscow regime. The demonstration of the great numbers that turned out for the funeral was not in favor of Rajk or of his memory but as I said offered an opportunity for so many to come out and release their feelings against the system of Government. After this writers, circles and others began to judge the regime critically.

(2b) I find the constant oppression and restriction of the human spirit for the last few years the major cause. However about 1947 there were attempts and successful ones to do away with the small-holders party. Next the Social Demokrat Party was eliminated. Those elements which were not in favor of of the Communists and others we. imprisonedto create a "unity". Then the peasants and small land-holders and others, great taxburdens were placed upon them thus to bring the peasants to do what the Communists wanted them to do. In the factory, by reducing the wages, they were able to bring about the situation the Communists desired. The behaviour towards the church was manifest in two incidents. That is the

Mindszenty case and later the Grösz case. The latter perhaps, one might say, there were political considerations which could be justified but otherwise the attempt was to eliminate the church as a political partner in the maintenance of the Government. The Mindszenty case was one great cause for the mass of people to turn away from the Communists. In 1953 the Nagy Government, a kind of Malenkow type of Government or policies offered an apparent freedom. Criticism or judgement of the regime was possible on a theoretical or spiritual level, at least it was possible under Imre Nagy in a way to critizise the Rakosi regime. Then with the end of the Nagy government all the opposing opinion to the Government was eliminated and stopped.

(2bI) The death of Stalin was not effective in itself really to bring about any changes. In fact after the death of Stalin more severe terrorizing appeared in an attempt to stop any possible outbreaks. After the death of Stalin large groups of arrests were made. These people brought into prison, I saw these groups being brought in, they were arrested because they uttered a joke or said something about the death of Stalin.

(II) Really the premiership of Nagy did not offer that opportunity for the masses to express themselves. The interrogating methods were less severe but specific political charges, there were none.

(III) I can't give an exact answer, except that in the newspapers there were more objective news about Tito and Jugoslawia. However, there were no expressions that Hungary should follow the same road.

(IV) The 20th Congress is undoubtedly important to allow the writers' groups to operate and to begin in the channels available and permitted to criticize the regime.

(V) I did not see the immediate reaction of the people to the Poznan riots because I was in prison. However I feel it offered a direction or an example for the outbreak of the revolution in Hungary.

(VIII) I can't comment because I was still in prison.

(2c) In 1953 I feel the first step toward the revolution was the Imre Nagy's Premiership. A little freedom was allowed inside the regime for official criticism of the Rakosi methods but the 20th Congress opened the way for more freedom. This, I feel, was the changing point or the change of direction.

(2d) I felt, perhaps, the 20th Congress was somehow connected with, or the decisions of the 20th Congress were somehow connected with the Geneva Conference. That is that perhaps Moscow had made some agreement to give the Satellites some kind of separate operation from Moscow. But I did not think that such as did occur in October through the Revolution would follow. I thought there was an international agreement with the West to allow some kind of neutrality and more freedom for the satelite countries.

(2e) The role which the writers took was upon the occasion provided and it was an occasion for the outbreak. They used the given opportunity to attack the Rakosi regime and the old stubborn kind of Government, for it is important that they did this in printed form.

(2f) I can't say, because in prison I did not read the papers. We did not get any papers and I did not hear about such changes.

(2g) I only read about the Rajk funeral and the speeches given there. These speeches were so very different from previously uttered speeches and they offered an opportunity to criticize the Government.

(3) I feel that the terrible restrictions and oppression placed upon the human spirit, that is restricting what everyone thought, so that he could not express himself and could speak and express his thoughts only in the prescribed ways. For example: The ways were prescribed in the arts, in literature, in music. And secondly, the very low standard of living which was brought about by the restrictions, for the peasants the high taxes, for the workers the low wages.

(3b) Perhaps one might explain it this way. The system of control and police was an enormous one, which functioned well until that point where the members of the system were not trustworthy. All the way from the party functionaries down to the lowest party-member, each one said what he did because he was forced to say it or because of material considerations for himself and his family. When such people make up a system of control or policing in this forced way as soon as the higher controls are eliminated the entire system of control and policing will fall apart, as it did. Because the great majority did not believe in it. Even the so-called educators changed their minds ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and

changed their voice against their will when the revolution broke out. Many party-members were party-members against their will and against their convictions. So even before the Revolution the system of control was not one of complete security.

(3c) I can't give an answer because I was not there. My opinion would be that there was no desire for a revolution but rather the desire of gaining the freedoms and effectively securing these freedoms given.by the 20th Congress and obtaining these through the regular channels. This is not the revolution. In itself, I feel, they wanted to work inside the channels given by Moscow.

(3f) Naturally those individuals opposed the Revolution who held high placed Government offices and the party-members who were Communists because of the strong conviction and the ministry of internal defense. The situation with the army or Honved is uncertain.

(3g) With regard to the goals of the revolution, a person could either be for or against these goals, as they were given. Those who were against the goals of the revolution are mentioned (in probe 3f). However, there were neutrals only in the matter of fighting, those who did not participate.

This did not mean that they were neutral with regard to the goals of the revolution.

(3h) The most popular and the two slogans which were used during the revolution were 1. "The Soviet Forces must leave", 2. "Demand for general secret elections." The revolution wanted only these two demands to be met. It is not true that the revolution wanted more, that is what was heard in the West about the revolution. With these two demands the Hungarian people would have decided what kind of Government they want. My opinion is, that there would not have been a national Communist kind of Government. In no case would it have been a Jugoslaw kind of system. Rather, I feel, there would have been some kind of a Polgár kind of Government, a demokratic form as known in the West. There were other slogans which came up during the revolution with regard to land reform, desire to do away with some nationalisation wheress perhaps to keep the nationalized industry. Definitely the mass of people did not want to follow the same pattern of the 20th Congress nor the path of Imre Nagy. Also the slogans of demands came up:"Investigate the trade between Russia and Hungary" and the demand for neutrality.

(3i) Unconditionally, yes.

(3j) A hatred of the Stalin direction and even an end of the Imre Nagy kind of Communism and the separation ~~MXXXHS~~ from the Soviet Union.

(3k) The revolution itself did not define a program to be followed. The goals of the revolution were that after the revolution everyone, through a general election, could express his desire for a kind of Government he wanted. Therefore those people who where party-members, many of them where members only out of material considerations which drove them into the party.

(3l) Perhaps there were reactionaries in the revolution but the great mass, representing the revolution, was made up of students and workers.

(3m) Naturally order would have been reestablished in a very short time and the elections would have taken place under the parties that would have come foreward. I feel that something of the continuation of the 1945 elections would have evolved and a democratic order would have been established.

(4) Since I was a prisoner, working at a camp at the mine in Csolnok, on Oktober 23rd I was working in the mine.

It was on the 24th that we heard of the events of the 23rd. On the morning of the 25rd we went to work, went down into the mines and started a strike and also started a hunger strike which lasted until Sunday for 96 hours refusing to eat or work. On Monday night a Government deputation arrived at the camp and began to examine the prisoners. I was freed on Tuesday afternoon and taken to Budapest. On Wednesday morning, October 30th, I thought to join the revolutionaries but I found no opportunity to make such contact. Then I went home to my parents in Sopron. There in Sopron with other political prisoners we formed the political prisoners group. When on the 4th of November I heard that the Russians were coming to Sopron I went across the border in the afternoon of the 4th. There had been a terrible feeling of depression among the people. They were very sad. After the revolution, after I was freed, I could see the great change in the people as compared to before 1951 when I was imprisoned. I was able to feel that people were freer or more happy. In fact when we were being freed from our prison camp the people stood in their doorways when we were being taken out. They were happy, we could see. There was a feeling of ease of freedom. Myself I cannot express the joy that I was being freed into a non-communistic system.

(5b) In the mine we striked and carried on a hunger-strike.

(5d) No.

(5e) No, not during 1956 but during 1951.

(5f) Only that I was a member of the organization formed during the revolution of former political prisoners.

(7) The revolutionary council held the most prestige because it was the group which directed and centralized the interests of the revolution.

(7a) No, the unity was amazing.

(8(I had no specific experience, I can't answer.

(8e) I heard some things but of these I am not sure, therefore I don't feel I can present them as facts.

(9) About the events of October 23rd one of the civilian miners brought news, saying that a relative of his saw the demonstrators in Budapest. He told us of those events. In the second place a youth newspaper got to us with the demands of the Mefesz. In the third place on the 27th of October, those of us who remained in the work camp built a kind of radio and we heard the Kossuth radio from Budapest.broadcast news of the events.

(10) I don't know much about this being that I was in the mine work-camp. All I heard was that Gero escaped.

(10a) Essentially the party fell apart. The party could not bring out a united program during the revolution. The party fell apart simply because so many of the party members were members only for material considerations and not because of conviction or were forced because of their job positions to become members. At this occasion they did not stand with the party. The police remained in large measure but many of its members participated in the revolution on the side of the fighters for freedom. The other branches of the Government apparently did not operate. The Mefesz student groups remained in tact. They had been organized before October 23rd. They were the main directors of things.

(10g) I can't give any information for I don't have any.

(10h) The unity of the local councils depended on the composition of the membership. In the case of the Sopron local council which I know, It was a vascillating council during the revolution. The local council did not make any proclamations against the revolution.

(10j) I don't know of any such organizations.

(10k) Various parties in a very large number came to the fore.

The former political prisoners organization, of which I became a member in Sopron was a national organization and appeared to be a rather imposing group.

(10 1) On the basis of free elections held by the workers their interest would have been the running of the factories, however, since no work was done in the factories during the revolution, they had no specific work to do in that area. Between the worker's council and the Mefesz committee there was a liaison and a cooperation between the workers and the Mefesz committee. This cooperation was under the city council in the case of Sopron. The workers did not do anything independently on their own through the worker's council rather through these other groups. They cooperated in sending medicine and bandages to Budapest through Sopron. I believe a ~~FPOIE~~ Polgari that is bourgeois ~~MIDDLECLASS~~ democratic government would have evolved on the basis of elections and the coalition government something like that which came out of the 1945 elections. Only with the difference that the Communists would not have got the same number of votes, a much smaller number if any votes at all. Many so called Christian parties were formed during the revolution. These would have been represented. I believe there would have been a kind of democracy as is found in the West.

(11) Since I did not have close contact with the revolution I can't think very much about any details.

(11a) Very definitely and unconditionally it was profitable because it showed the West the true picture of the Satellite countries and the system there. The great mass of people, more than 90 per cent were against the system. Since the Soviet Union for a long time was undecided about taking action against the revolution it showed the weakness of the Soviet Union. The Hungarian Army became an enemy of the Soviet. Thus ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ even in the Soviet there would be a possibility of a revolution if there would not be such strict control. For example the Leningrad students demonstrated, I understand, in favor of the Hungarian Revolution.

(11b) I believe that the revolution could have won, because the first attack by the small forces of the Soviet troops in Hungary was repelled by the Hungarians. If the conditions would have remained the same the Hungarians would have won. However, the second attack by the Russians was so large that the Hungarians could not withhold. There were no inner conflicts among the Hungarians so we could have succeeded in the revolution.

(11c) The revolution could have won if the West would have behaved in a certain way, that is giving strong moral support to the revolution. I think of something like the situation in the Suez question where the US demanded France and Britain to withdraw. That is the US demanding the Russians with the same force to withdraw from Hungary. Yes, we did wait for help from the West, but it was a more definite stand and support from the UN that is to accept the neutrality of Hungary. There was no need for any armed assistance or an Army to come to Hungary until the second Russian attack. From the USA we hoped and waited for a definite stand next to Hungary against the Soviet. The Voice of the United States represented to us, through Radio Free Europe, indicated over a long period of time that such support would come. In fact, this particular voice the Radio Free Europe gave great impetus to conspiracies against the Government in Hungary.

(11e) Imre Nagy is a communist who saw the terror and the drawbacks of the system but he was not a stalinist. He imagined the system in some other form, for example

in 1953 he followed the Malenkow line, and in 1956 he followed the path of the 20th Congress. If he would have come to power he would have formed a national Communism. This is not was the revolution imagined. He imagined the maximum: a neutral Hungary, A stronger Hungary in the form of a Tito Yugoslavia but retain the economic connections built up with the Soviet, not in the unfortunate and unfavorable trade position ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ between the Soviet and Hungary.

(11f) The writers, the military in particular, Malater and the others around him.

(11g) As early initiators I would put the intellectuals or writers but the real beginnings of the revolution or the initiation of the revolution was begun by the youth, followed by the workers who attached themselves to the youth bodies. Then the intellectuals. Next the peasants who supported the revolution by bringing food to Budapest and to other cities, a very uncommon kind of supportfor the peasants toward the city people which indicated their wholehearted support of the revolution. Group VI had no part in the revolution nor group VII.

(11h) No.

(12) On November 4th when the Russian forces entered Budapest and it was evident that Western support was not coming, In any form, Hungary was being given to the Soviets.

(12b) I talked it over with a few friends.

(12a) With the Communists back in power I would have been considered an escaped prisoner being freed illegally.

(1) I finished middle-school in 1948 and in September 1948 I entered Peter Pázmány University for 5 semesters. During the Summers I worked at a gas station. In 1951, in February I was arrested and imprisoned. In 1953 from the prison I was taken to a work camp at a mine in Csolnok where I remained until 1956 and the revolution.

(2) A student and, of course, involuntarily I was a miner.

(3) I became a political prisoner in 1951 after five semesters at the University and naturally I liked my studies greatly. But to talk about some work I had, I believe it would be beneficial to tell you about my work camp experiences as a miner in the Csolnok mines. We were allowed in 1953 to make a decision to whether we wanted to go to a work camp or not from the prison and I made such a decision. I was taken to the Csolnok coal mines. There not only prisoners but civilians were working. It was important to have additional labor in the mines because there was not sufficient (much) help available to do the work, mining being the least attractive work and the fact that the mines were not so mechanized. Moreover from the point of view of safety we were required to work even in the areas that were very gasy together with civilian workers.

Our wages in theory were the same as civilians but in practice our payment was different. Many withholdings were made for the ministry of justice so that it may maintain such work camps and maintain the prisons. We had to pay for our keep in other words out of our wages. Those who worked in moving the coal out of the mine in the tunnels got about 900 forint per month.

(3d) In the mines the norm was more strict than perhaps in other places because if the norm was reached in a month that norm was raised for the following month for higher production. Although the production was raised, the quality of coal was very poor because the more one produced the more one would be paid. That is by the weight produced. That way rocks or unburnable material was produced. As mentioned we were required to continue our work even in those places where poisoneous gases were present. Many accidents occured as a result of this. Medical care at the mine was only that of first aid. Only in the most serious cases was sick-leave allowed and that only for a few days. In 1953 a miner could reach 2000 to 2500 forint per month. Such a miner with this wage worked at the coal wall where the coal was being mined. It was one of the highest paying jobs. In 1956 the same job earned 1500 to 2000 forint in rare cases.For us prisoners the feeding was not very much, enough to keep us going and

keep us alive. Food for breakfast consisted of half liter of black coffee and 60 decs of bread for the day. For noon we had a soup and a vegetable dish. For the evening we had some cold cuts perhaps, when available, fruit.

(3f) Eight hours a day.

(3g) Six working days but in a month we had one Sunday free. The civilian workers had two Sundays off. In our free time, as prisoners, the enterprise had us work above ground.

(3h) Overtime at various occasions was required when we were behind production and at such times we worked for sixteen hours with one hour between the two eight-hour ~~MMM~~ shifts for rest. This was only for the imprisoned man. In theory we were paid for the overtime but in practice they forgot to pay us.

(3i) May 1st, April 4th and the Miners' day. Certain church holidays, such as Christmas and Easter Sunday.

(3j) Paid vacations were available for the civilians a ~~GK~~ basic 14 days. The prisoners of the work camp at the coal mine did not get either pay nor their 14 days vacation, however, they were supposed to be treated as civilians.

(3k) I don't know.

(3l) The prisoners could not stay away. The civilians who arrived late where penalized. Those with unexcused absences were penalized by various methods, that is their loyalty pay or reward at the end of the year was taken away from them or when they missed a Sunday when they were to work, the same loyalty pay would be taken away.

(3m) In the coal mine the norm depended upon the thickness of the coal, also the air available in the shaft or tunnel There were norm fixers who set the norm of production each month and if the workers met that norm of production then it was raised for the next month. These production norms did not take into consideration the various problems of transporting or taking the coal out of the mine nor the fact there were no empty cars available for shipping or in the case of new tunnels or new mines there were no new tipples ready. It was important for a miner to produce over one 100 per cent of the production norm because thereby he would be paid a premium, an increase to his wages. This did not add to the quality of the production however, poor coal was produced.

(3n) As referred to in the above answer and as follows: those miners who had a party-friend or perhaps the miner was

a good party-member, they were given the good jobs in the mine, where they could produce over one 100 per cent and thus earn a good wage. In the newspapers these individuals were publicized as being the ones who produce more than the norm.

(3o) The coal miners had a medical insurance, offered to them by social insurance. As to how the doctors handled sickness differs from doctor to doctor. Many doctors did not give excuses to all the workers who went to them because even the doctors worked according to a norm of production and doctors were checked also. The miners, akkkx who most often were ~~XXXXXX~~ party-members always vacationed at the Balaton Lake where workers had certain resorts. But the other mine laborers had no such advantages or it was financially impossible. The Union did help them, that is these members,in the matter of vacations.

(4a) The civilian miners, in general, had attended school for six grades in elementary school. Those miners, who had specialized skills perhaps had attended either quick courses for these skills or learned them over a long period of time. People with various kinds of skills and

education could be employed in the mine because it was at the lowest social and work level and miners were always needed. There were some holder ~~MX~~ intelligencia employed who could not find work anywhere else as well as men from other occupations for the same reason. The age of the miners went from 18 to 65.

(4b) The relation between the workers and the superiors was that of enemies. This was ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ primarily on the basis of political division. It may be said the leaders were party-members whereas most of the workers were not. Party-members held the good jobs. In my particular case there was another division that of national difference between the Swabians and the Slovaks. The Slovaks were the party-members, they directed the mine and got the better jobs. Whereas the Swabians were the ordinary laborers and received poor pay. Thus they were enemies and there was great social distance between them. The mine officials dealt with the miners very severely and in harsh voice. For example if a man did not want to work in a gasy place then that man could leave the mine but he would ~~MMM~~ find no work elsewhere and would ~~X~~ find no place to seek grievances. Contacts between the miner and his superior were very limited and only those that were necessary from the point of view of both sides.

(4c) No.

(4d) Yes, in fact, there were some men who possessed better jobs which meant they were better connected to the party or party members unwillingly even with them we talked about politics and many of them did not agree with the regime even though they were party members. They were ordinary people blinded into the party membership. Some of the prisoners even did some work of enlightment as regards politics. Among them if we, as prisoners needed something, the ordinary workers would help the prisoners However, when we first arrived the civilians received us very coldly because they had been previously forewarned about us as being criminals and when they discovered we were political prisoners their attitude changed. There were very few convinced Communists among them in the mines They were those who held the best paying jobs such as the Aknász and the Lövész one who chopped the coal. Talking about politics depended upon the times, that is international events whether great interest was shown by the miners in political events in political events in general. But when the Genever Conference was held and the 20th Congress there was great interest among even the least educated miners. One needs to be aware of the fact that the work of the

miners is so exhausting that he has no time for other interests even though his interest in politics is limited to the extend to how politics could increase his wage earning.

(4e) Party members got the better paying jobs and the jobs that were more healthy in the mine.

(4f) The trade union was a big joke. It did not represent the interest of the workers. The trade union worked together with the party to get more work out of the workers. If there was any trouble in the mine the engineer would come down and he would be told of difficulties.

(4g) From 1953 on, from my own experience, no.

(4h) No.

(4i) The mine where I worked did not have it. The director and chief engineer directed everything and they were party members.

(4j) The ordinary worker in order to be a Aknász had to go to a school for a certain length of time and then party membership would be needed.

(4k) Yes. The leading positions of the mine went to ordinary miners who finished quick courses and were given these positions. They were not the old good skilled men and thus they could not exploit a good mine as it should be. Much coal was left in the ground or mines were improperly

tunnelled and mined.

(4l) The party secretary regularly visited the mine, went into the mine, tried to give directions to the miners. In this case, he himself, was a miner. Even though he did not have any connection with the company he did tell us what to do. Yes, he did give orders, which were crazy and not practi- NMIX cal. No, we could not protest to such action.

(4m) No.

(4N) The ones who came from workers families and here good point was party membership. In our case Slovaks were the ones.

(4p) It is difficult to say even the civilians talked very cautiously among themselves one to another. We always felt there were informers around. The men with better paying jobs in the mine were party members by virtue of this fact reported the reasons to why work slowed MMMMX down or reported the behaviour of workers.

(5) To go from one mine to another it may have been easier because miners were always needed but MMMXMMMXXXMX it was difficult to go from one factory to another but there were agreements among the enterprises.

(5b) A lawyer or legal consultant. for a factory if I would

have been able to finish my school. Before 1948 I wanted to be a politician and began my studies in the law faculty.

(5c) No, because of my middleclass bourgeois origin.

(5e) My extra money would go for travelling, entertainments, which is opera, theater and music.

(5g) I can't give a clear answer but if I could have finished school, yes.

(6) In the inflation we lived rather well. My father had a small independent business as a shoemaker Later, when he could not get any workers, he began to do the work alone and he could send me to school.

(6b) we could get food and clothing needs. But in Winter we could not get fruits. I had four suits of clothing. After the war my father bartered with goods to get food.

(6c) Tolerable, that is the minimum.

(6d) This did not occur in our family for my father was self-employed. It is relevant only as far as being taxed and my father being older was not taxed high but a lower tax was levelled on him.

(7) It is difficult to determine.

(7a) I don't know the family situation.

(7b) My father.

(8) About myself as an imprisoner in a work camp in the mine 900 to 1000 forint for 28 to 29 days.

(8b) 100 to 150 forint.

(8c) The regular coal miners had a garden (usually) which would give them some vegetables. Perhaps would have a pig. Sometimes they could earn some extra money during harvest time. This they would do during their free time or during their vacation. There was a loyalty reward on a percentage basis. But this was not much. Premiums were paid if over hundred per cent was the production. Premiums were important for those who had fixed pays such as the aknász or the lőmester, shooter. The manager of the enterprise would get enormous premiums.

(8d) Look at probe 8b for the prisoners.

(8e) The regular miners had enough perhaps by which he could buy a small pig or enough money with which he could purchase material for a shed but no more, to the Agnász after a long period of saving could buy himself a motorcycle.

(9a) 40 forint for my fathers' house rent an apartment of two rooms. In the case of the miners most of them owned their own house.

(9b) In Budapest where I went to school it was difficult to find a complete house. Shared space was easier to rent. New married coupes could not secure apartments. In Budapest water and gas was available. However, in Sopron my home-town there was not so much gas available.

(9c) Food took the largest part of the wages. This varied according to the times. With regard to fuel at times only a bucket of coal could be secured. On occasion no meat was to be had or had to stand in line for it or there was no milk. In 1951 the ration coupon system went into effect for foods.

(9f) My father got tobacco.

(9g) 1400 forint.

(9h) 104 forint

(9k) Not very much.

(9l) In Budapest for a student ticket about 3 forint a week 384 forint a year.

(9o) the largest part by the family in the state store. There was no black market.

(9p) In 1948 the circumstances were better and the proportion of a monthly wage required for food was less in 1948 than in 1956 because less money was received in form of wages in 1956.

(10) Up to 1948 the economic order was in rather good balance. In 1948no hardships, seemed to be normal situation. In 1948 when the political change occured the economic situation suffered a definite retardation. In 1951 the

crisis was reached, when the ration coupon system was introduced. From then on it was a stagnation at the minimum level of requirements.

(10h) Definitely no, because Hungary should have continued the development reached up to 1948 under an agricultural economy. Hungary could have developed into a kind of an Austrian economy as found today.

(10c) 1938 was the most normal. Agriculture was in a better situation than in Austria and better than in Germany.

(10d) One should separate agriculture and industry and it is seen that agriculture did not even reach the peak.of the 1938 level even in 1948. Perhaps in industry Hungary did reach the pre-war peak and beyond.

(10f) Imre Nagy allowed small business. But small business became so impossible by the tremendous taxation which took away the ambition for production and initiative.

(10g) I don't know.

(11) Among the workers and the peasants this was a most important. The intelligencia undoubtedly felt the low standard of living but they felt the intellectual limitations and restrictions placed upon them.

(11a) I give primary importance to the material conditions.

(11b) Hungary was shut off from the West even was shut off from the satellites with the exception of radio. Everyone knew the West was moving ahead very fast and we were being left behind. We had no opportunity to travel. The intellectual oppression had limitations which were severe The artists were either given titles, themes to follow by the party or by the regime. At the university we could think only in dialectical materialism. Attendance was required at the seminars, however, the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ lecturers and students did not believe what they were reading out of the brochures. At the university or at places of work or other locations the ~~newspaper~~ half hour was required, that is required to ~~XXXXX~~ listen for someone read the paper to all.

(1) I spent five semesters at the Péter Pázmány university in the law faculty. My middle-school was completed in 1948 at a state gymnasium. In September I entered the university. My studies were interrupted in 1951 when I was arrested on conspiracy charges.

(1b) I attended public school or state gymnasium.

(1c) In 1948 great education reforms were made from the elementary schools on up to the high schools. For middle-school Russian language was required. Religious education was stopped. Great many technical institutes were organized. The old books were taken out of the schools, new books did not come in form. At about a half year in 1948 (up to 1948) schoolteaching was normal. At the universities, in 1948, Marxist courses were introduced in the law faculties. In the law faculty the course of sociology was required which is really a course in Marxism. The next year history of Marxism was required and so forth. At the university Russian language also became required. The older professors had to change their courses over so that they would evaluate law according to marxism. Every professor at the beginning of the course dealt with dialectical materialism. The civil rights courses were changed over to Soviet right courses

Even the professors were changed. Only few of the old professors remained. Those who remained taught roman law or other such distant or neutral courses. Presently law courses were given by Communists.

(1d) No.

(1e) I wanted to be a lawyer.

(2) No.

(2a) I wanted to finish law school but was arrested.

(2e) I had the opportunity to go to school but I had difficulties at the university because of my origin being a middle-class.

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(3) (Observe question (1) in this section for courses.) Russian language was required at the university 1950 and military training was required in 1951.

(3c) My opinion is that it was a forced kind of teaching, however, for many as a philosophy many accepted the dialectical part, but few the materialism part. The whole of dialectical materialism was put to the studentsin the most favorable and in the most attractive way as a philosophy.

(3d) Yes, compulsory.

(3e) The MHK not required but it was desirable to participate for the record was kept those who graduated from such sports training.

(4) In the largest measure it was to win the youth. As they did say frequently the one who holds youth his is the future. All the methods were deviced to develop the relationship between Hungary and the Soviet and to put the new generation into the places of the old generation.

(4b) On a basis of the revolution it was completely without results.

(4c) No answer.

(4f) No. (4h) No.

(4i) I don't know devinitely.

(5) A shoemaker.

(5a) He did not change

(5f) About the same.

(5g) There were five. I had two half brothers and one half sister. However, after my sixth year they were not at home.

(5h) My half sister now is in the U.S.A. my two half brothers are in Hungary.

(5i) No, because I was in prison, or the work camp.

(5k) Hurt me.

(6) No.

(11) Rather well. My mother was stepmother to my half brothers and my half sister. There was no trouble, but after my sister married the family did not approve of the marriage there was some distance created between the sister and the family.

(12) Essentially no, because when I was at home I was only eighteen but we did talk about news and events. After my eighteenth birthday I was away at school.

(13) No.

(13b) No.

(13c) No.

(14) In many families there occurred a kind of break up of the family, a separation. The children were allowed more freedom and than the parents would want to allow or in some cases the parents became party members and the children separated themselves in a social distance from the parents. There was a tendency to break the family up or have it divided because frequently the family members had to work in different parts of the country in order to make enough money individually to keep alive. Thus the state encouraged the break up of the family. Religion was made a matter of indifference. Up to 1951 major breaks in the families did not occur even if political differences did come up within the family. The family ties were strong enough to hold the family together.

(14b) This was general.

(14c) Various kinds of entertainment; movie, theater, and concert with friends.

(14g) Yes.

(15) Weakened or loosened.

(15e) Yes, in general there was a dual education, the family and the school. The child saw things differently at home; if the parents were sincere, they taught their child to lie. There was no harmony between the school and the family education.

(16) I can speak about years up to 1951 when I was imprisoned and there was a definite change. There was not a strict dividing between male and female. Some of my opinions or reactions are not from personal experience, but from what I heard.

(16b) Marriage is held less serious, not the strong tie for a long time for life. Courting became easier. One generally heard of the increase of immorality beginning to take place specially in the large cities. This was not the fault of the parents, but rather the circumstances. The parents wanted to educate the child strictly. If the parent was a Communist then the parent did not try to balance the childs' behavior.

(16d) There were more loose sexual behavior then there used to be The reason can be attributed to the war and in the second place to the education given to the youth. In 1951, for example, one could read in a hospital: It is the obligation of the woman to bear children, for a girl it is glory. In Hungarian: "Asszonynak szülni kötelesség, lánynak dicsőség.

(16e) Prostitution was ended in 1949. Prostitutes were forced to go to work to increase manpower available but in this matter, illegal prostitution continued at the work places

which, of course, was worse.

(16f) Essentially less strict. The child born out of wedlock could easily find his place in the state founding home.

(16h) Unconditionally yes. The illegitimate child was not illegal in any sense and this illegitimacy was not to be made apparent anywhere.

(16i) Yes, and rather for the worse. The grant of equal rights to women so that they can go to work in the factory and in the mine was made merely to increase the manpower available. But this also meant that the husband and the wife together earned nearly as much as formerly the husband earned alone thus more manpower and more people are working for less wages. The respect for womenhood is disappearing, or fading. For a few women it was possible to take their place in politics but most of them can not.

(17) Morals fell.

(17b) The increase in stealing can be attributed in that it is the consequence of low pay received. Thus people steal from the plant or embezzle. But also stealing as a crime is a crime against the society.

(18) In middle-school.

(18c) Various kinds of entertainment; movie, diescussions, dancing.

(18f) Yes.

(18g) In the first place a deep understanding of one another and

having the same interests. In the second place the maintenance of this friendship and continuation of it even in tough times.

(18i) Schoolfriends.

(18k) If he would have been a convinced Communist, yes, it would have had affected our friendship. We would have separated because our ideas would have been completely in opposition to one another's friendship. It would not be possible.

(19) Hungary obviously was strongly religious. But in 1950/51 the people went to church in such large numbers rather as a political demonstration than as true expression of their religious feelings. It was the only way in which they were able to demonstrate in number against the regime. The danger among the youth has been that during their middle school years Marxism philosophy and thinking won many of them ~~XXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ they were not won politically. For state employees it was not forbidden to attend church but it was not encouraged nor favored.

(19b) My mother is strongly religious, however, I am not so strongly religious.

(20) The Communists took a uniform position against all religions but in practice a person could attend church. Seminars were

held for workers and school children, university students. Therefore there was a dualism between church attendance and the communist seminars.

(20a) The Communists attacked Roman Catholic church more strongly, because through the peace movement they could not achieve as many things as they were able to do so among the protestants. I saw more Roman Catholic priests in prison than protestant ministers. About the Jews I really don't know. With regard to the Jehovah's Witnesses I was in prison with more than 100 of them. They were in prison for not being willing to bear arms. But they were free before the revolution.

(20b) Ultimately the communists wanted to ~~XXXX~~ eliminate all religions as they have been able to do in the Soviet with only an apparent possibility of religion available in Moscow. Until the time they could achieve this they wanted to use the religious bodies for their own ends and inside the church get peace movement started. They also wanted to start with the re-education of the youth.

(20c) I merely heard about the peace priests that the made an agreement with the state. The idea was to move the entire church over into the communist orbid. I did not know any of these priests.

(20f) The church doors were open. The services were held which meant that it was possible to worship. But in small towns the situation was that a control system knew who went to

church and who did not. This was recorded on kåder sheet. In the bigger cities one could go to a more distant church. The danger existed even there that a person would be recognized.

(20g) Yes, someone who was warned about it and wanted to keep his job during the years 1948 - 1951. A uniformed police could

(20X not attend church or they would be recognized immediately. Thus attendance of church was connected to ability to keep ones church. Attendance endangered the cadre papers and the employment.

(20h) In 1948, during my middle school years regularly. After that not so regularly.

(20i) I don't know of any.

(20k) Yes, less. The kind of education received by the student or youngsters, the world view and philosophical outlook created less interest in religion.

(20l) I cannot give a definite answer because during this time I was in prison. But I do not believe so because the church was most cautious on the official level. Perhaps individually clerics did certain things, because priests and ministers were imprisoned by the state.

(21) I would first recommend that he should leave the country. However, if some kind of job is to be recommended I would suggest some physical work which is least susceptible to political questions. In my own case, if I would have been

freed from prison, I would have returned to the mine. This seems to have been the most secure place.

(21a) In a mine I would have been away from political consideration and since a miner's job is not sought after by many people I would have tried to find a job that requires not too much physical effort.

(21b) If one wants to advance and if this is desired by the individual then all one does is that he parrots the brochures and the phrases of the communists rather than try to be outstanding in his own skill or trade.

(21c) In physical work everyone had an ~~XXX~~ opportunity.

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(22) The best would be the state security forces; next, high state officials; Then the people and workers who were rewarded pushed ahead for advancement and even honors, because they were communist party members. The worst station was held by those who because of social origin had to find occasional work or those who could not go to the mine to work because of some physical ~~XXX~~ ailment. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

(22a) I belonged to the second group in my recent years as a miner, being a political prisoner.

(22b) Not to the better group. If I could have finished my lawschool would have wanted to get some kind of job as a legal advisor in a business and have some middle position.

(22c) I can't say exactly. For those who were outstanding athletes, these did very well. considering the situation in Hungary.

(22d) If the artist followed a prescribed line, given by the party

then he was in good grace.

(23) In any event there developed a new aristocracy in Hungary the security forces, police, the high state officials, party leaders, and the party functionaries. Here there was great distance between the new aristocracy and the mass of people with regard to social distance and financial renumberation in the form of wages and pay and also with regards to respect given by the aristocracy for the masses. This aristocracy did not respect the masses Then follow the next group, the workers, who had received much less pay and their social status depends on the kind of factory in which they were employed. Next the peasants. This arrangement from top aristocracy, workers, to bottom peasants is based on income but also on social reputation and respect. There was more respect in social status for the worker than for the peasant. In 1948 the best position was that of the worker. He had many advantages. This social position was given to the workers until a new aristocracy of officials was developed out of the ranks of the workers and peasants through fast courses of technology and through party membership.

(23d) Yes, just as at the mine the managerial positions at the mine and the better jobs in the mine went to communists or definite communist sympathizers and the rest of the workers had no contact with them socially and very

little or minimum contact at work. The same is true in the case of the army. the officers had their own separate club and did not want to mix with other military.

(23e) My feeling is that essentially there exists the same social differences as existed previously. The only change is that the content or make up of the groups is changed.

(23f) No, not good.

(23g) Yes, negative changes in general. In part these results are effects of the war. Then with regards to courtesy politeness, gentlemenliness, respect toward elders all are much weaker than before. The relationship between professor and students is different. The respect does not even approximate what existed before the war.

(24) For example, out of my experience at the work camp mine the Swabians.

(24a) At the mine, the Slovacs. The reason for this better position of the Slovacs came out of the war were the Swabians and Slovacs were enemies. Slovaks being Slaws, the Swabians the Germans they defeated ones, the Slaws then getting the better positions under the Communists.

(25) This is a rather delicate question and there are many different ideas. I cannot judge the situation accurately The connection of Jews with Communism is an individual situation I knew jewish students who were reactionaries. There were others they were communists. But if there was a communist

Jew he could get a leading or good job by simply being a party member. In the ministry of control they took over many places of commanding importance.

(25a) I can't generalize, but the majority became the followers of the regime and got better jobs. I must add that during the 2nd World War Hungary was not anti-semitic even the revolution did not have any anti-semitic slogans. Today anti-semitism is greater in Hungary and this can be attributed to the fact that so many Jews got leading positions in the government. A great number of Jews did not agree with communism and the communist regime left Hungary in 1948 and so that the greater proportion of Jews left in the country were communists. But with the revolution the Jews did participate in the revolution beginning with the writers against the communist regime.

(25g) Before the war people were not anti-semitic! In the war the German governments and the Arrow-Cross party were very anti-semitic but this did not reflect the feelings of the people at large at all. In comparison to this, anti-semitism did in-

(25h) crease. I do not hold that the Hungarians will in any way support any anti-semitic movement, nor will they in any collective way punish or judge the Jews.

(1) Yes, there was a time when in fact I was interested in a political career.

(1a) Up to 1948 quite a large extent. After that in a very limited way among close friends.

(1b) After 1945 the youth section of the small holders party. After Ferenc Nagy left the country I did not participate. However, later I started the conspiracy and was imprisoned.

(2) See (1b). I retreated from politics in 1949 but participated in an illegal movement of distribution of leaflets and other things, until 1951 when I was arrested.

(2a) The small holders party. Because they were presented in Hungary as the democratic direction; for the party contained those elements which were not left nor extreme right.

(2b) I think he was in 1945 small holders party.

(2c) No.

(2d) The same as today.

(2e) I was never a believer in terror nor dictatorship. I imagine a democratic form of government through free elections. These are things I heard about since I was in middle school.

(2f) II that in a qualified way In that I would allow the communist party to have a place in a democratic form of government that it would be a social party not that it would strive for dictatorship, the Stalin kind, and it could bring about social changes if it gained votes as other parties did.

(2g) Since 1948 a great majority of my friends felt as I did pure anti-communists. Many who were previously communists or had communist leanings now could see that the communists could not produce what they said on paper. Others left them because they were disappointed in them.

(2h) Because of fear. No one felt the Hungarian people on their own could change their own situation but they waited for assistance from the West. Some kind of an international intervention. The Hungarians continued in their jobs and kept their mouth shut because if they did not they would not eat and they would be imprisoned. They hoped for a change to come from the outside.

(2i) In general everyone was on a kadar sheet which recorded everything about each person which was important politically. This system of control, although these sheets were not a true picture of the people because many people learned to lie, it was an effective way to know who is what.

(3) At the university my origin from the middle class was taken into account beginning with the grading system. My college professors had before them my kadar sheet which influenced them in giving me my grade and I suffered because of it.

(3a) IV XIII IX

(3b) III I XIV

(3c) X XI XIII VIII

(3d) XIV VI

(3e) XV

(3j) Stalins' death.

(4) In general while Rákosi was in power Rákosi and the state control forces and party leadership. The party leaders have the highest paid jobs even in the countryside. The party secretary was able to influence everything in his own section.

(4b) The role of the Council of Ministers was merely a formality. The party functionaries sat in the council anyway and the council merely verbalized what the party wanted. One must not forget that the direction was always given from Moscow.

(4c) Rákosi and his group.

(4d) The same. It was a kind of show. Here anyone could express his agreement with the regime.

(4e) This was a kind of a theater, a show.

(4f) The bureaucracy developed very nicely even though they always talked about ending the same. In the mine previously five men did all of the administration. Now the mine where I worked 20 to 30 men carried on the administration.

(4g) I don't know.

(4h) Out of the good kaders, people taken out of the factories. Those who finished quick technical courses, the politically dependable ones.

(4h) From about the same group as listed in (4h). After 1945 the officers came out from the lower officers groups. These later were demoted and the higher military ranks were given to workers after quick courses. The advantage of military officer was his high pay and his high social standing.

(4j) From the same group as 4i and 4h listed above on the basis of the same system. In the mine the mine manager was a former miner but in skill and training he was not prepared to run the entire enterprise.

(5) Membership in the DISZ MK was necessary if you wanted to remain in the university as a student. This comes from my own experience, thus is ZMAZ its advantage.

(5a) This advantage was that a person had to participate in these seminars. In particular on May first participate in the demonstrations and parades.

(5c) A person could stay out but he would be uncertain MMMMMMI about his status at the university whether he would be allowed to stay.

(5d) Yes.

(5e) In 1948 I was a Mefesz member and in 1949 the DISZ was formed thus I automatically I became a member of DISZ!

(5f) No.

(5g) The general members had to be present at the DISZ SPONSORED affairs, seminars, demonstrations. The pamphlets printed

by the DISZ organization were edited on a low level because the same pamphlet was used for the ~~XXXXXXXX~~ peasant boy as for the university student.

(6h) The seminars were not regular at the university but during the week maybe two hours.

(6) It was an advantage that these individuals could get a job more easily and advancement was easier. Party membership was required in certain positions and certain jobs. Party membership required a lot of work.

(6c) Certain kinds of agitating jobs were required, attendance of party meetings, seminars and so forth.

(6b) Naturally those who held the party, ~~attendance of the party~~ to be correct, those who saw job advancement assured only by means of party membership.

(6d) At the university DISZ leaders or officers, five or six of them. It was necessary that they be party members because they were DISZ leaders.

(6f) They saw that there was a great difference between theory the idea and the practice. This was ~~XXX~~ seen by both workers and intelligencia. In the seminars they got to like the idea and after a longer time they saw that the party did not operate by the ~~XXXXXX~~ ideas. Or if they did try to operate by the ideas the ideas could not solve

(any problems.

(6h) No.

(6p) Yes.

(6r) The party leadership and ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ DISZ leadership was directed from Moscow.

(7) to no others but DISZ.

(8) I can't give exact figures but I feel that more than half were not convinced or Communists.

(9) Everything that went on in the DISZ was kind of a show. Disz was to be a supporting force of ~~XXXXXXX~~ the party. People did all ~~XXXX~~ this against their will.

(10b) The AVH was ~~XX~~ organized to eliminate the undesirable elements from society and to serve a security system. It was a terror system.

(10e) First on voluntary basis, later drafted soldiers who looked desirable were used as AVH guards. They worked for the AVH they themselves were not AVH!

(10h) At first he was investigated for reliability. Undoubtedly inside the AVH there was a system of informers. In itself a AVH was a comfortable life.

(10j) The police were subordinated under the AVH. The AVH could ask the police for arrested persons and insist that individual be put within their control. There was not a good relationship.

(10k) Until the AVH was separated, the AVH was more powerful than the party. But then it was put under the ministry interior for it worked together with the ministry.

(11) Yes! I was one of the people along with friends who were arrested for conspiracy. I started a group which I lead in Sopron. They were my class-mates ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and university students. This group was a member of a larger body related to the Gröger group. Our task was preparation of sheets, listening to the western radio, that of gathering arms and on the occasion of the intervention of the west either the support of the Western armies or some other movement to favor the west. In 1949 we were organized, in 1951 we were arrested for conspiracy. A regular trial was held before a judge. Investigation with the hearing conducted for each one of us. Then the information gathered from each hearing was put together as evidence. I got 12 years, other three got 12 years also, the rest got 10 years, 5 years.

(11c) Yes, until 1953 it was general. All suffered.

(11d) Those who participated in illegal politics(as point no. 1 point 2). There was undesirable elements were sentenced on ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ false charges. Number 3 the farmers, number 4 if their crop did not come in or if in the factory some trouble occurred a scapegoat was found on the farm or in the factory somebody from the engineer down to the worker.

(11h) No friends were deported but I understand Budapest people were taken to Hortabógy.

(12a) In 1951 accused of conspiracy.

(12c) For six months. For five months I was under arrest with the AVH then for one month I was put under the jurisdiction of the prosecution.

(12e) It was the minimum for life. A person could not move and frequently got sick. Food given for breakfast was two or three ~~dezi~~ dezi soup, for lunch three to four dezi of a vegetable dish, for supper three to four dezi soup. For each meal we were given 10 deka of bread. We got less food when more people were in jail, ~~when~~ when there were more escapees over the border who were caught.

(12f) Our conspiracy or affair was reported by an informer, a man who reportedly smuggled people ~~across~~ across the border. One of my friends in the group was to be taken over the border by him. These friends took this informer into their confidence too quickly and he reported the whole affair to the AVH. Thus we were arrested. Great majority of political prisoners were in jail because of such informers.

(12h) Yes.

(12i) Yes, the jail-guard ~~wrote~~ brought a regular form to me.

(12j) I could up to 1951 but after that the defenders were selected for the accused.

(12k) For 12 years for conspiracy by the county court of Györ.

(12m) Five years, eight months and nine days. I was freed soon after the revolution. The following prisons the Pest Vidéki AVH for 17 days, the Györ AVH for four and a half month, two months at the Györ prosecutors, then from October 1951 to December 1953 Marianostra national prison, then from December 1953 to the Csolnok work camp. I was freed on October 30, 1956.

(12n) Other internment camps I know of: Kistarcsa, Recsk, Budadeli. National prisons are the Budapesti, Vaci, Kalocsa for women, Jászberény. Work camps are: Csolnok, Oroszlány, Várpalota, Tátrabánya, Ormospuszta, Farkasjuk.

(12o) From my experience there is a difference between the health service given in the prison and at the work camps. The prison medical care is at a very low level nearly an aspirin kind of care. At Marianostra the doctor said to the sick patients in one case who had a stomach ailment at the prison that his job as a doctor was not to keep the person alive for any longer time than merely to finish the sentence imposed upon the prisoner. Prisons did have a hospital and many individuals in the prisons suffered from various kinds of stomach trouble as result of the poor food. Unhealthy conditions were created by placing 6 or 7 people in a cell where two or three should be. At the Györ AVH jail in the cells were 4 meters by

4 meters with no window for ventilation. In this cubicle 26 persons were housed with bunks going high. On the door leading to the prison hall there was a small opening shutter or a great kind of opening which was opened at night to get a little more oxygen into the cell. During the day the heat was unbearable. The air was stale. Those who were on the lower bunks during the day or night would be wet not only from their own perspiration but the perspiration of those above them as it dripped down through the bunks. During my internment by the AVO no medical care was available except a police doctor came in every two or three weeks. The prisoner could report that he was sick and he got a few pills which in reality had no effect. Those who were sick when they arrived at the AVO detention quarters could not continue medication even if they had their own medicine. Prison bathing was allowed once a week for three minutes in the following manner; we went in by groups to allow one minute water for shower, one minute for soaping and then the water was turned on again for one more minute. In prison we were given one bucket of water in the morning and one bucket in the evening in our cell which was to be used for drinking, washing of ourselves and our cloths, for all purposes we used it for. These two buckets per day was to be used for all in one cell. In prison the ventilation was a little window in the upper part of the cell. The air was not enough for

seven in the cell. There was no sunlights since the window was painted over with dark oilpaint. Each day we were allowed 10 or 20 minutes for a walk. The length of time depended of the whims of the guards. Food was father one sided. Fruits and fresh vegetables containing vitamins were non-existant for us. We were allowed vegetables dishes of beans and cabbage and meat at a minimum. When the coupons or rationing was in affect outside we got 25 deca bread a day. I f someone was sick to their stomage or had a bad stomach and could not eat beans or the other food was only after long pleading that they got a change in their diet if at all they got a change. Many ruined their stomaches. The heating was apparently a central heating but the pipes in our cells were cold in the wintertime. In 1951 clothing we received was not enough In Winter we got a linen cloth of clothing for underwear and outer wear. This linenwear had come from the prison work camps where it had been worn during the summers. While during the summers we wore the heavy clothing. That in turn was shipped to the prison camps to keep the prisonders warm who were working in the mines. We froze during the winter and boiled during the summer in our clothing. At the work camp medical care was primarily of the first aid nature. Although the doctors were interested in keeping the prisoners in working condition so that they would not miss any work. Because of

any internal sicknesses a prisoner could not get an excuse. Only in such cases where he was too sick to move was excused from work. Sickness that was external and could be seen, an injury or a fever that could be measured was treated. Otherwise they were not sick. For colds we were given pills to push down the fever which then was measured and we were told that we had no fever and were not sick. We returned to work. At the work camp bathing facilities were better although many times we could not get water. In the winter we had to bathe in the snow frequently. There were about 40 men in a barrack. Bunkbeds were used.

(12p) The discipline methods differ in the prison and work camp. Up to and through ~~194~~ 1952 methods also were more severe. For example; in the first degree of discipline was the szigoritott fogda a restricted detention. This was a separate cell. The person had to sleep on wooden bunk and one blanket would be allowed. If one would be even more restricted with food, a greater punishment, then food would be given every other day in the following manner; 25 deca bread and water every other day and half as much as food as normally given to the prisoners. This kind of restriction would run for a various length of days, 10 to 20, sometimes even 40 days. The absolute solitary confinement, which was called

sötet zarka which was a cell in which there were no windows and except it did have a window the window was covered with steel. Here a prisoner could spend 10 days or more. Up to 1952 Kurta Vas kind of punishment and discipline was used for periods of six hours daily. After that it was changed only four hours. Punishment was dealt in twelve hour lots or more meaning three days or four hours in the kurta Vas with a short iron. Meaning that a chain would be attached to the wrist and the wrist was taken under the knee and attached to the ankle. The other form of punishment was the Lànc whereby a 25 kilo chain with steel clamps be fixed to the legs or the ankles. This was used on those prisoners who were caught escaping. They would remain in this chain for a long length of time. Cothing was fitted to the chain that is with button up the sides of the legs so the chain would not be taken off. Another method of discipline was to take away certain privileges, the prisoners were granted such privileges as writing three times a month, allowing visitors to come twice a year and food packages were allowed twice a year. If a prisoner was disciplined restrictions were placed upon him ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ by taking these privileges away for two or three years. The same kind of discipline was used in the work camp. They were sent to the restricted house and the privileges were taken away for one year or more and other restrictions were

placed upon him also.

(12q) The prisoner had to find work after the release. I had to find work within two weeks but it was difficult to find work and many prisoners had to return to the mine, or to a mine because that would be the only place that would employ them.

(12r) This depended always on the individual case. With political prisoners it was a rare exception if they were not under observation. Up to 1953 the AVH had the power to call back a released prisoner and could sentence him again. It was the power ~~XXXXXX~~ visszakérés that is taking the prisoner back from another agency of the government like the police. This ended with Imre Nagy coming to power. Up to 1953 the prisoner, after he was freed, frequently was taken to an interning camp, internáló, a concentration camp.

(12s) Here again it depended on the individual case. Some had to report daily, others weekly or monthly. Some were ~~XXXXXXXX~~ limited to the hours to when he could be away from home or there was a restrictionon him, he could not travel on public conveyances nor appear in public. If he wantd to leave his residence ~~XXXXX~~ or take up another residence, he needed permission. A political prisoner was freed from prison, he could not settle near the Hungarian border even if his family lived there. Sometimes the court-sentence even stated that the individual could not return to Budapest if that was his home or some other town for

10 years.

(12t) Before 1956 no. However in 1956 rehabilitation was possible and one was able to have his case investigated. This was possible mainly for communists and social democrats who were connected with the Rajk case or the Solyom situation.

(12u) In 1956 in both ways as far as the Social Democrats were concerned.

(13) Do not meet with others, stay away from public groups, avoid saying anything political in nature. Even this advice is not too good because at work if something happenes in the plant prompt charges can be brought against an individual as a saboteur and be imprisoned.

(13a) The small business man, the independent farmer, and all state employees. Though even these are doubtful.

(13b) If he is careful about everything he says.

(13c) No, because if someone is suspect the ones who could help him, withdraw the help they could offer they would be implicated in someway.

(13d) Yes, in the case of being sentenced or in court cases this is recognized. No, it is not possible to conceal ones unfavorable background.

(13e) No.

(13f) In many cases.

(13g) Yes, the Jehovah Witnesses who were pacifists and were sentenced as such to prison terms in large groups.

(14) Yes, there were. In 1945 a severe terror and effort against war criminals. From 1948, 1949 up to 1952 the terror against the anti-democratic and the anti people groups of the society. In 1951 and 1952 were the darkest year of the terror. In 1953 it changed after the death of Stalin and Imre Nagy came to power. Prison care, methods of presecution and investigation were somewhat more human.

(14c) In 1956 to a certain extent the terror decreased. There were fewer death sentences and political sentences were shorter. For example: In 1953 an individual was sentenced 5 years for attempting to escape or leave the country. In 1956 this sentence was one year or one and one half years. In the more serious political crimes however, there was no decrease in the length of the sentence except that death sentence was withdrawn in most cases. In 1956 investigations were more rapid and more hurried not as long and drawn out.

(15) The Soviet played the directing role. In everything from politics to art it directed the execution of everything. For example: In our middle-school studies and at the university we studied the Soviet party history. Party functionaries carried out their work as Russian party functionaries did. The others received the instruction from the Soviet. In every trade and skill it was required to study the Soviet books and methods. In law school we had to study Soviet law courses. The Soviet

bricklayers were brought to Hungary to teach the Hungarian bricklayers how to lay bricks faster. Soviet locomotive engineer taught the Hungarian engineer how to operate a locomotive faster. Soviet doctors and artists came to Hungary to impart their knowledge and thus to create the great unity the one mold and pattern of thinking.

(15e) In the political area most strong. From 1953 on in the literature or in the literary field weak or least strong for the old Hungarian classics and works and these writers works were published. One could read them. The modern writer could work only under the Soviet influence in direction.

(16) For a time, going to church was a demonstration against the regime rather than an expression of religious feeling. This was perhaps the main reason why the churches were always packed. Among the youth the cosmopolitan behaviour and cosmopolitan cloth. The fact that people liked western films better and attended them better. When a western artist presented a concert it was a packed house. This was a silent demonstration against the regime for the fact when western pictures or artists the applause was louder and more prolonged for them than for Russians or Communists.

(16c) A person could not be sincere with unknown persons even among friends. One had to have established a long friend-

SHip and only then could one be sure. In the family if no politics divided them one could be sure.

(17) No.

(17a) Not likely.

(17b) No.

(18) The well established AVH and the informer system and the uncertainty, no one was able to say what he wanted to say everyone feared everyone else. The weakness of the system of the regime was that it could not get sincere followers for itself for convinced communists were only a minimum. Also it could not educate a sufficient number of skilled men.Moreover that it held political convictions more important than skill, increase of bureaucracy and the number of workers available for production was less. Furthermore no one was interested in the quality of production or work nor the conservation of raw material. Everyone was interested in his own wages, attempting to earn more. No one considered the materials used as his own. That belonged to the state and they were not interested in that. The quality of production was not important but the quantity of production was important. For example: In the mine a great deal of bad coal got into the factories and ~~XIM~~ into the locomotives and this caused much delay. In commerce there was no interest or ambition to get ahead.

In food production the peasant did not try to produce more because he would have to pay higher taxes or more taxes. He produced only the minimum required. Another weakness or perhaps cause for all of this that caused so much trouble in Hungary was the fact that Soviet experiences and methods were used and put into affect in a country where the cooperative methods were not applicable to the mentality of the peasant of Hungary. The same is true in the over industrialization of Hungary which was attempted.

(19) Illegal ways only and this was not open opposition. Perhaps someone in his own job could try to sabotage the work in some unperceivable or unapparent way if he worked more slowly as was the case frequently. Hearing of news broadcasts of the western radio was possible only among certain people. Those who most seriously opposed the regime were imprisoned that were people who had connections with the west. Flyers could be printed and distributed as another way of opposing the regime.

(19b) For those who in the past had better positions, that is the middle-class polgarság because of his status among the workers, opposition arose only later. In the case of the peasants at first the independent small-holders. Among the peasants the regime dealt with them group by group that is larger-holders getting to small and and tiny-holders. Finally getting to the kulak who held 10 - 15 hold. Thus at first, those who had a hundred hold lost their land. Then those peasants who had over 50 hold

and then finally the ones who had 10 or 15 hold. When the regime hit each group then that group turned against the regime. The same is true with th Communists. Thus each group was hit by the regime and reacted against it. The workers in the last years, when they saw that in spite of all the promises, the situation was not getting better but worse, became a more serious and definite opposition against the regime.

(19c) Chronologically in 1948 the workers waited and expected and had hopes of their lot becoming better and improved. The social democrates also cast their lot
Those who got land in 1948 were in favor of the regime but later they turned against the regime when they were ruined by high taxes. The new group that was formed from the lower social status was in favor of the regime. Those who were lifted up to AVH officers, military men, leading government officials were in favor of the regime.

(19g) The Rajk and Solyom differences but this was not strong and carried the Moscow line.

(19i) I am not able to speak about any definite method since I was in prison at this time. I feel that the Petöfi circle had a strong desire for liberty and freedom. The MEFESZ was formed by the students because it felt that the rule of the DISZ was damaging. Also the problems of the university student and the peasant were different. However, within the DISZ all were considered as one and treated as one. The MEFESZ wanted to make itself independent of the party.

(1) While I was free in 1951 through the official press and radio, but each had to be evaluated. BBC, Voice of America, and RFE. Up to 1948 the various embassies, in particular the American embassy had a bulletin service. To 1948 British consul news bulletin.

(1a) The western radio news.

(2) I can speak only about up to 1951 when I was still free. Then I did not read the Hungarian Daily regularly.

(2a) Szabad Nep, Magyar Nemzet, this was more objective in some cases. Dolgozó Vilag lap. 1953 the Uivelt Nep.

(2b) No.

(2e) Yes in school but its level was poor. It merely brought the articles of the school and it was not interesting.

(2f) Essentially the same articles.

(2g) Up to 1948 but I could not read them because I did not know the languages.

(3) Yes. Weekly at least one movie.

(3b) Entertaining films.

(3c) Mainly.

3e) Rather infrequently, more to concerts and operas.

(4) Yes.

(4a) Fifty.

(4b) Classical writers of Hungary and the world. The works of Anatole France, Bernard Shaw, Voltaire, Maupassant Huxley, Sheakespeare.

(4e) Hungarian writers Márai Krudy, Ady, Gyula Juhasz, Arpád Toth.

(5) Yes, Budapest radio.

(5d) Dance music. This was most interesting.

(5e) About two hours a day in the afternoon and evening.

(5f) At home.

(6) Yes, the news. Radio Free Europe, The Voice of America, music and the jazz broadcast.

(6b) In the afternoon and evening.

(6c) It was unpleasant that these broadcasts were jammed. Music was very pleasant. The London Broadcast was the most likeable, next the Voice of America and then Radio Free Europe.

(6d) In order: The BBC the most dependable, then Voice of America and then after a very long interval in this order Radio Free Europe. Those which were completely untrustworthy, undependable; the Spanish broadcasts in Hungarian language, those from Ankara and those from Belgrad.

(7) From trusted friends exchanged news.

(7g) The information sources were these; everyone could get information. Perhaps some people had a friend at a foreign embassy. Western communist papers came to Hungary, French American, and we would be able to read in them certain things the Hungarian press did not report. While packages were allowed to come from the United States these packages contained sometimes pictures, or magazines or other such

information. For those people who worked at research or technical offices or at the university offices which received western technical magazines. From these magazines they would be able to convey certain information.

(8) The reports of the Hungarian newspapers are not trustworthy at all and it turned out that they changed western news and domestic news was communist slant. In reading the newspaper an individual developed a technique by which he was able to establish some of the truth out of false reports.

(8d) Had to have an aversion to all reports then tried to evaluate everything.

(8e) Up to 1948 the older Polgar review like the Magyar Mem;et. However from 1951 on there is no difference between it and the others.

(8f) No.

(8g) Yes, not regularly. It was a well edited paper but it was full of lies and falsities.

(8h) No.

(9) Yes, because most of the simple people bought a radio to listen to western radio broadcasts.

(9a) While I was in prison the simplest miners listened to the broadcast.

(9b) Those who were strong party members those were not interested in western news or those who feared to listen.

(10a) I held it for a necessary evil. Necessary to finish the war. But it was an inhuman fact.

(10b) The North Koreans.

(10c) I don't know or did not know about this question. I was in jail.

(10d) We saw the whole problem in error through the Communist papers. It was said that Germany is a new rearmed country. The Hungarian people hoped that this was true because Germany would be a significant power against Russia and we felt that if Germany is not rearmed the Hungarian question will not be solved. When we came to the west we found that Germany was not as strong or as fully armed as we were led to believe and it was not the military power that we hoped it was.

(10e) The newspapers wrote about it. I was in prison at that time and the miners told me it happened. Everyone wanted it to continue however, everyone questioned whether it was just propaganda or whether there was a supporting force behind it. The Radio Free Europe was irresponsible and so doubts arose. Leaflets reached us. The result was that it weakened the regime strength. Everyone awaited a change soon but no support came forth to undergird the emotion built up in the people. It is a moral question whether it was right or wrong to build up this emotion.

(10f) It appeared that there would be greater consequences than actually there were.

(10g) By that time every one awaited results during both separate Geneva Conferences, but no practical results. There was a

desperate hope that there was some kind of secret agreement reached.

(10h) I thought the Hungarian national council held the emigration in a rather strong unity. I did not know that did not achieve any serious results among the emigration.

(1) At first there should be a change in the Hungarian foreign policy and change this direct relation or connection with the Soviet. Connections should be made with the nations of the world that now have no relationship with Hungary. Secondly economically Hungary should be dependent toward the west and not toward the east. Historically Hungary was always west oriented. Furthermore the elimination of the party system free elections, however, would give an opportunity to the communists as one of many parties. But I know they would not win very much, if any at all. The Parliament would then decide about the form of the state in general that which was begun in 1955 should be followed and continued. The end of the forced cooperative system and the examination of the wage system as well as investigation of the small business system, the land reform was necessary but a reexamination of it.

(1a) In the social area certain things such as social insurance continued to develop it and other things be retained such as vacations for workers. For the students the scholarship system should be kept which was rather well developed.

(1b) About the same as in probe a.

(2) Yes, but not in too great a number.

(2a) A very deleicate question. The danger is there are too many fractions.

(3) Yes, give the possibility.

(3c) No.

(3d) No.

(4) Yes.

(4a) Yes

(4b) Yes, in a dictatorship. If this uprising represents the will of the majority. But not in a democracy where everyone has the right to gain support for his beliefs through the regular channels available. Thus there is no need for force.

(5). The economic system should be rebuilt. For example such things as the Dunapentele Steel Enterprise is an impossibility when it gets the raw materials from Russia, since Hungary has no iron ore or coal to maintain such a steel enterprise. We build a system on which Hungarian economy could stand on its own and rather move over to agriculture away from heavy industry which is a detriment to Hungary.

(6) In the final analysis I approve in the case of the key industries.

(6b) To a certain extent, not the enormous enterprises but allow for individual initiation beginnings in the industry and to establish plants.

(6c) According to the view expressed in b) yes. But keep this in check by following the United States example of graduated progressive taxation.

(6d) Rather the nationalized bank.

(6e) Yes the state monopoly from the point of view to the state needs revenue, and those monopolies which were in the hands

of the state before the war.

(6f) Inforeign tradeand internal trade in general those areas where there is a need for individual initiation. I do not approve of this. The individual competion is eliminated.

(7) No. Essentially I am for private enterprise but not liberally and not for key industries.

(8) I don't approve of it especially because it proved to be a failure in Hungary.

(8a) The market and the need of the market.

(9) Ultimately the government and state interferes everywhere through taxes but in the area of commerce and industry the state should not establish limits to the developments of these areas.

(10) Yes, there are. For example; military service, taxation.

(10a) Progressive taxation taking into consideration higher income and greater taxes for these.

(10c) Necessary to the fullest extent.

(10d) In a democratic country yes, all laws.

(10e) Absolutely through social endeavours.

(11) There has been has been improvement in social insurance, medical care but there is an insufficiency of drugs. There is not enough contact with the west to get certain drugs.

(11a) Through social insurance more people are included, more groups receive medical care.

(11b) Yes.

(11c) In medical care the private doctor performs his work more sincerely and in a better fashion. Errors are apparant in the social ~~AM~~ insurance plan but the idea is alright inspite of the errors. Social insurance is more effective than before the war.

(11d) Same as probe c.

(11e) From my own experience no, since I had no need for medical care.

(12) I can say yes, but from experience I cannot judge that now there are many such priveleges available.

(12a) Before the war I can't say because I was a boy but in general in order ~~a~~ to answer probe b also; people attend more often.

(12c) The peasants have very little opportunity. In the city it all depends on the financial situation of the person.

(12d) A person has the evenings if he wants to attend.

(12e) In spite of the fact that the concerts and theaters are less expensive the question of attendance revolves around the financial consideration even though one ~~MAS~~ may have the time for it. Therefore in answer to probe e: No.

(13) This fluctuated with the times. In 1951 there were hard times. Various foodd were lacking for certain periods of time or missing.

(13a) I can't give an exact answer, because I don't know. However, I~~?~~

1956 was worse than 1948. But 1956 was better than 1951. which was a low point.

(13b) I can't compare the 1950 situation to 1956.

(13c) From the financial consideration.

(14) They do not.

(14a) No better than in 1946.

(14b) This I don't know.

(14c) The big difference is if one takes into consideration the ability to pay which is an individual matter.

(15) Yes it did.

(15a) After the war there were many factories that were destroyed and the subsequent strong industrialization program.

(15b) I can't give a definite answer.

(15c) Industrialization to this extreme point is a disadvantage.

(15d) They should rather have developed agriculture and exported such goods rather than the development of heavy industries for Hungary which country does not have raw materials, coal and such things.

(16) I rather doubt there is needed direction of skilled workers and I would approve of a factory council with factory leaders its main task would be the social benefit and welfare of the workers and perhaps this council with workers representatives would have a word in directing the factory.

(16a) The protection of the interest of the workers, wage matters vacation, insurance and so forth.

(16b) Completely.

(16c) It should not be obligatory but workers would be members of the union for their own interest.

(16d) Only skilled men who have the proper training, beside this the factory council.

(16e) This depends on the kind of the factory or enterprise whether it is nationalized or its relationship to other organizations. A private enterprise should make an accounting and be responsible to the workers also.

(17) They are not proper. The Hungarian peasant is not so equipped mentally that he would be interested in such cooperatives. If, however, some peasants voluntarily want to get into a cooperative they should be allowed to do so. I would, however, approve of a marketing and a buying cooperative being established. This would be on a voluntary basis also.

(17c) If the members want to remain voluntarily then alright.

(17d) If they want to disperse or distribute the land and the equipment among the members of the cooperative.

(17f) Yes. The upper limit should be about the limits of 1945.

(17g) It is hard to say. The land of the cooperative should be given to the members of the cooperative as private property and maintain the 1945 land-reform situation.

(17h) If he claims it, yes.

(17i) The prewar land situation, no. But the 1945 postwar land-reform, yes.

(17j) Divide among the members of the cooperative so that they may

begin to work.

(17k) The truck farm gardens owned by the cooperative be more difficult to divide. Perhaps here it should remain as a cooperative and the profits be shared commonly. Or perhaps the state could take over the gardens amd reimburse the members of the cooperative for the loss.

(17l) Especially in the first year loans will be needed so that the people may reestablish themselves.

(17m) The tractor station could remain in the hands of the state.

(17q) Yes.

(18) The church should be independent from the state. There should be an agreement concerning religious education in the schools. Religious education in the middle school should be required. The clergy should receive payment from the churchtax which the state brings in.

(18b) No.

(18c) Yes, because there is need for the churches so that the members of the state be given a moral training. Church-school should get state aid from church taxes.

(18f) to the state school.

(18g) The school should return to the churches but the land should remain divided.

(19) After the fall of the communist regime the party could continue to operate as a legal party if it is not a stalinist party.

(19a) The party member should be judged individually.

(19b) They should be judged individually and if they had committed any crimes against the people the proper punishment should follow.

(19c) The functionaries should be investigated individually as to their activities and functions. Those independent functionaries who have a job merely because of their party affiliation should be removed from their jobs if they do not have the skill or training for the job but merely the party membership.

(19e) The DISZ membership in itself is not so significant because it was required to a certain extent if you wanted to study at the university. Here the leaders should be examined and their part in the revolution should be considered.

(19f) Without exception every member of the AVH should be brought before the court. Then the judges decide about their work in the AVH A CHANCE TO THEIR FUTURE!

(19g) At the police the higher positioned police should be examined not by judges or courts. In those cases where the investigation proves serious offenses they should be taken into court.

(19h) In this case the question would be how they behaved after the revolution. If they reversed their feelings and convictions and maintain them they should be rehabilitated in spite of their previous behavior.

(20) In particular those events in which the Hungarian nation stood in the way of the eastern invasions which threatened Europe and western culture. The battles of Mohacs and Mohi ~~were xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the very significant 150 years during which the Turks occupied Hungary. Hungary participated in western culture and gave to western culture many individuals who have taken their place in that culture. Hungarian literary achievements have been translated into English to a limited extent and if more would be translated Hungary would achieve greater fame in the area of literature. Of the other areas of the arts music, painting etc. Hungarian artists occupy leading positions in western culture.

(21) We can but not in such a strong way as the chauvinists try to emphasize.

(21a) Yes.

(21b) Yes.

(21c) Yes.

(21d) To a certain extent it is changed but it does not mean that it has ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ followed or come near the Russian character, or can be compared to any other. Rather, one might say, that the Hungarian character faded, became pale or was ~~xxxxxx~~ suppressed. This national character would become pale if it had more contact with the west.

(21e) The peasantry. Here the respect for tradition, the maintenance of folkdress at various places is pronounced. Family ties are maintained more strongly.

(21f) Yes. Here a certain fading or paling in the degree of differences has taken place.

(22) I can't give an answer. I don't know history that well. I know only the last ten years.

(22a) Here I cannot give a definite answer because the present criticism was too one sided from the Communists. And that is all what I have heard.

(22b) Because of economic reasons especially in the case of the peasants.

(22c) There was up to 1945 or to the war period.

(22d) No.

(22e) I can't give a definite answer.

~~XXXX~~ This 1919 communist rule was perhaps darker ~~xx~~ than the present. This I base on the information given me of the experience of those who lived through ~~XXXXX~~ that terror.

(22f) Significant. Aristocracy and other social groups maintained a social distance. It was not possible to bring them together. In the area of social welfare was little attempt to raise the lower strato of population before the war.

(22g) It was an unhealthy regime.

(22h) It should have stayed neutral.

(22i) In 1945 to 1948 there began a development which looked as if it would change the country and bring about a democratic system. Social and economic change development patterned after the western countries. This period was better than before and better than the period that followed.

(23) In certain groups there are revisionist attempts but no great numbers can be claimed by these groups. However, in my opinion historical boundaries do not have any significance.

(23b) If it would have any claims it should not try to achieve these claims at the expense of the good relations between neighbors.

(23c) I don't think so. Perhaps only Jugoslavia.

(23d) No. They can find their place next to one another but there is need for education to curb chauvinism which the Horty regime endeavoured to educate and foster in people.

(23f) They can get along. Western orientation for the Hungarians is better. Rumanians and Austrians are West oriented and are not Slavs therefore Hungary can expect more from the West than the East. They can get along better better with Hungary.

(23g) They can get along well, better than the Slovaks and the Hungarians, perhaps.

(23h) Here the problem is a little more difficult because certain territorial claims are still advanced by Jugoslavia. Here an attempt to educate and eliminate the difficulties would be in order.

(24) A kind of Danubian confederation.

(24a) This Danubian confederation should belong into a united Europe.

(24b) Austria, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Rumania primarily on the basis of economic relations. Perhaps an extension

in cultural exchange. This is possible only if each nation will break down the remaining nationalistic barriers and feelings.

(24c) Since Hungary has a central geographic location it would be a transit point for commerce and communication. I don't think it should have any special prominent role.

(24d) Russia only if a change takes place in its present organization and then it would be divided into its various parts, the Baltic states, the Ukrain and any other parts. Thus after that one would not deal with Russia as a whole but with individual smaller nations, the divided parts.

(24e) Yes, if this becomes a national question, the minority living there are being oppressed in any way. But it would be unnessesary if chauvinism could be curbed.

(25) The Russian as a man like the Hungarian does not like communism. In Russia communism and the regime is kept in power with the same terror as it is kept in power in Hungary. Thus after the fall of the communist regime the Hungarians could maintain good contacts with the Russians.

(25d) No particular opportunity during the war I met one or two Russian soldiers who could speak Hungarian or German. These soldiers said that they did not like Stalin and the regime Their hope was that the system would change in Russia. The problem in Russia is that the Communists have educated the youth for some 30 years but this is no problem because this youth could be reestablished on some other basis.

(25e) The eneral opinion of the youth was that the German propa-

ganda exaggerated about the Russian soldiers. Propaganda achieved its aim in that the Hungarians awaited the Russians in fear. However, when the Russians arrived, they proved that the propaganda was not exaggerated but very correct. The behaviour of the Russian soldiers started a great hatred for even the Russian people. But in spite of all of this I feel if the system is changed in Russia and the strong eastern "wildness" manifest in the soldiers can be changed by education. Then relationships could be more cordial.

(26) First we have to examine Marxism as a historical phenomena Its significance is that it pointed out certain errors in capitalism and it can be viewed only as a critical force not as a creative force which could or can set up new order. Certain economic precepts in Marxism are true but do not speak of the political precepts. These economic oppositions are able to critisize the old but are not able to give new foundations. Philosophically speaking Marxism criticizes the old but does not give anything new. I do not agree with the political and social ideas of Marxism nor do I agree with the idea of the proletarian revolution and its necesseity. Naturally I do not agree with the precept that lifts out the worker class and gives them the leadership for the future .

(26b) The Hungarian communists had no independent opinions. They repeat Moscow and Marxism classics and accept everything without any judgement. They do not even look for new rules.

(26d) Yes, indeed. In the essence that he took over the teachings of Marx and Engel.

(26e) He changed Marxism's conceptions and put another individuality in it. Even among the classical Marxists Stalin lost his good properties. Marxism is rather a critic, whereas Stalin wanted to give something new which Marxism cannot do.

(26f) They are a group looking for direction but they are more inconsistent than communism. They could not develop their own individual view, whereby to criticize capitalism and communism. They were a group which served communism and took their place before the war in the rake of the communism. They prepared a way for Communism and the ultimate communization of Hungary.

(26g) No.

(26H) It means to respect the opinions of others and to try to achieve or bring to success your own opinions through the channels provided in the parliaments. A democrat finds it necessary to have opposition to operate. The ruling opinion with the other opinion is synthesized forms a new conception. Naturally it is difficult when a democrat meets a group which strives for dictatorship either from the communist left or from the right. Democracy is possible with the communists only if communism revises the Marx ian ideas but would not strive to the establishment or dictation of one line. Thus must eliminate the Stalinist line.

(26i) After the war in 1945-46 until the communist party with Soviet support through its troops did not begin disillusion of the citizen's parties or civil parties. This was a kind

democracy, however, that was limited by the Soviet forces. present in Hungary. Still this was the most democratic + government in Hungarian history. During this time the Soviet forces demanded with the portfolio of internal affairs in the cabinet given to a communist even though the small-holders party had won 65 per cent of the vote. The communists thus got a seat in the cabinet and the beginning of the dissolusion was on.

(26j) Tito is trying an individual road and is trying to adjust his own ideas with Marxism, moreover I condemn the Tito order!

(27) Tito recognized the Soviet danger to Jugoslavia. The Soviet wanted to colonize the satellites. Tito broke with the communists of the Soviet even though Tito is a communist. He ~~did~~ even saw that he could not stand alone as a country and thus had to attach himself to the west whereby he gave up part of his communism for western orientation.

(27a) No because the precepts of communism are internationalism.

(28) His individual policy and politics would have lost because he would have had to face an election if the Soviet ~~MMd~~ would not have interfered. The role of Imre Nagy was important only until discussions and conferences were held with Russia while these were needed and necessary.

(28b) No.

(29) My answers to ~~XMAX~~ these are not unqualified good or bad.
a. bad, b. bad, c. bad, d. bad, e. bad, f. bad,
g. good, h. bad, i. bad, j. bad, k. bad, l. I don't known
m. bad, n. good.

(30) Some kind of Christian characterized party.

(30a) Perhaps Bela Kovacs

(31a) ~~AX~~ lower. It is hard to say because many individuals lifted up. Most of them did not reach the promised level.

(31b) They got more support than the whole ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ TSz Cs.

(31c) Lower

(31d) Lower

(31e) Lower. Higher government officials got more or greater than deserved. Middle officials not so much.

(31g) Higher

(31h) Lower

(31i) Lower

(32) A through j yes.

(34) None, perhaps only the extreme mechanization of the United States compared to Hungary.

(35) The AVH, party functionaries, if they would fight at all. Perhaps party, military or police ~~XXXX~~ officers. Only a very small number of the ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ convinced Communists.

(35a) The rest of the country against the communists.and their regime.

(36) No.

1. What about the United States policy towards Hungary? Have they relegated Hungary to the Soviet Union and its orbit. Many people feel there was an agreement between the United States and the Soviet that the United States would not interfere in the Hungarian uprising. But most important, when I arrived in the west I found that the west or the USA believed that Hungary would be a national communist government if the revolution succeeded. Why was this so? This was not true. Why didn't the west know that Hungary was not communistic at all in its overwhelming majority?

(1a) I found these sessions very interesting and I hope I will be able to know of the results of the interviews or of the entire project. I would like to have these results afterwards. How can I get them?

(2) I can't think of anything else.

(2a) In that case, if there is a free democratic Hungary which is free from the Soviet.

(3) No, nothing.

The respondent is a clear thinking individual who, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ apparently through his earlier desires to participate in politics and very likely his experiences as a prisoner in the communist prison and work camps, was able to formulate his ideas into concise convictions. He seems to have been

influenced by his family background although to be sure belongs to the new generation in Hungary which bases its political opinions on a democratic government according to western patterns, particular the United States.
He is a particularly good looking young man, very likable, having his serious side but also his interest in jazz music gives us another extension of his personality. I felt he was a very cooperative individual and ~~HE~~ is able to see in giving answers to questions that solutions or answers are not either black or white, yes or no nor are they unqualified , because life is not like that, as he puts it. His answers are qualified therefore. He is motivated by desire to be free in his thinking, not be ~~WORK~~ dependant intellectually and to device his goals of life on the basis of his own judgement rather than preconceived notions which he must accept or follow for no apparent reason whatsoever whether or not they are to his liking. This is indicated already in ~~HIS~~ the fact that he was the leader of a group of students ~~WHY~~ which conspired against the government that was attached to other groups and to the Gross incident in Hungary 1951, whereupon he was arrested.