

- (1) One should know the depth of the struggle of the Hungarian nation to become as free as Western nations are. To this belongs also the knowledge of how the Hungarian nation manages to live - between conditions and possibilities.
- (2) On October 19th (or was it the 20th?), on the occasion of a meeting of the university students of Szeged, around 4,000 students founded the MEFESZ. Following this, there was another meeting on October 22nd at the School of Engineering in Budapest, where also some claims were voiced. Around the month of April, an incubation period was detected. A radio program, entitled "Saturday afternoon" a conversation among four card-players "jumps" into his mind. One of the players represented the opposition and his part was enlarged from Saturday afternoon to Saturday afternoon, and his tone became more courageous and his criticism more sharp. Current problems were discussed, every-day life problems, but the spirit became freer each week. On Wednesday afternoons, in the SAVOY Caféhouse, a circle of writers would assemble - Zelk, Benjamin, Kuczka, Őrsy - and they would circulate from table to table, from hand to hand poems they could not publish. That is were respondent saw Benjamin's poem "Egyetlen élet" (The Unique Life) and "Ki mondta" (Who said it?) The poem continues: "Who said that they are no devils?" It was apparent that illusion was made to the regime. If one were allowed to explain poems, one would say that the poems referred to were instructions how people should behave in stormy times, how they could help each other with their attitude. Another poem respondent recalls is: "Italboltban" (In a wine-shop where drinks are sold); it is a dialogue between two cynical workers - shows the high degree of despair people have come to.

It is interesting now that I think of it, respondent said, that this despair actually broke out when the reigns were slackened. In other words, the burden of the terror became apparent only when it was loosened. This is also true physically, respondent added, if one ties a person very tightly, he does not feel any pain because he becomes numb. The pain appears only when the ropes are taken off. An article which made a great impression on respondent is "A tenger vize sós" by Tibor Tardos. It describes the first trip abroad of a young man who gets drunk from the capitalistic way of life even if this is not said explicitly. He is in Vienna, and suddenly all the lights of the Kärntner Straße start to twinkle in his own eyes, he feels suddenly blinded by the richness and plenitude of life. And the conclusion of it is: if one gets once drunk, one never again becomes sober and the question following is: why should one become sober, why should normal pleasures not be allowed?! This being locked in must come to a rapid end, it stops progress. Hungary could be compared to a room which was not aired for ten long years. Let's open the windows! This motto was taken over especially by the young generation. Let's open the windows, let's breathe fresh air, let's taste life in its full intensity! The almost identical theme was sung by Tamás Aczél in "Oda Európához" (Ode to Europe). The writer actually made a trip and thought it to be his

duty to call the attention upon the fact that new countries open new horizons. Seeing the way of life capitalism has created, one has to ask oneself, in all sincerity, whether capitalism or socialism is the road one should take. The answer was that, as long as capitalism was able to create such a high standard of living for everybody, this is no more capitalism in the old and bad sense of the word. The writer saw long roads and his feeling was that at one end of the road Hungary should be coupled in, in order that Hungary also should live a European life. This thought was expressed during the Revolution which demanded a Western democracy.

In June, a poem entitled "A tomloézből Zsuzsának" (From the prison - to Zsuzsa) by György Faludi was published - the date of the poem was 1951. It is a love-letter, rather poem, to his wife but, at the same time, it describes the inhuman conditions in prisons. And everybody was aware of the fact that Faludi described the reality, during the Rakosi era.

The motto was that the Party will repair this state of affairs and that the Party is so strong that the uncovering of these mistakes will not weaken it, on the contrary. As a consequence, all the newspapers were filled with the horrible crimes committed by the Party in the past.

- (2b i) Stalin's death was the primary cause.
- (ii,iii) Would not have led to a Revolution, rather to a peaceful transition - "vér nélkül áttaneolunk".
- (iii) The 20th Congress was the continuation, so to speak, of Stalin's death. The motto was "After the 20th Congress one cannot let people be in the dark".
- (iv) The Poznan events did contribute to the Revolution.
- (vi) Not directly.
- (vii) Yes! One of the writers wrote that never are we going to be able to wipe off the red flag the blood and the blemish which loudly shout: Murder! After this, what can we believe in?!
- (viii) As a matter of fact, the Hungarian Revolution started as a peaceful demonstration of sympathy towards the Polish people.
- (ix) Along these lines he would add Gerö's speech in which "a counterrevolutionary mob" was mentioned and which was oil on the fire. Respondent said that, although he does not think too much about politics, as a matter of fact, if he wanted to be sincere, he would say that he does not think about politics at all, these past events put him to meditate and the result of this meditations is: The Communist system itself provoked the outburst of the Revolution, because, if the Revolution had not broken out, then, somehow unnoticed, the present form of Government would have slipped into a bourgeois democracy, which, of course, would have meant the end of Communism. To avoid this, a provocation was staged - this

was the incident at the Radio - the AVOs shut into the crowd which was demonstrating "legally". If they had let the points be broadcast, then there would not have been any place for a Revolution, and a peaceful transition would have occurred, which would have gradually wiped out Communism in Hungary.

- (c) During the Imre Nagy era, there was some hope that the system would change. Of course, if one knew the history of the Party as he, unfortunately, had to learn it, one would have seen that, during the course of its history, there were so-called backsliding steps, labelled as the new economical politics (NEP). After this an industrialization was again emphasized. In other words, the Imre Nagy period corresponded to the NEP period in the history of the Party.

To the name of the writers is attached the spiritual preparation of the revolt.

- (3) One simply could not stand anymore the political, spiritual, and economical suppression - the terribly low living-standards.

In the Hotel Astoria, there was a buffet where one could relatively cheaply get poor food. He often had lunch there, and often did he see elderly dressed in rags people come in,

and look around where a morsel of food would be left in the plates - they looked like hungry dogs. (Respondent was visibly touched when talking about these witnessed incidences, but he did not want to show it, and turned his eyes quickly away.)

It is such a relief, he continued, that in Germany elderly people live like human beings. Not that I would be particularly fond of the German nation, he smilingly added, although I do not hate nations, I always see individuals, but it is still reassuring to see that elderly people somehow don't have to live like dogs.

Talking about dogs, he suggested that somebody should write an essay about how Communism affected the animals that not only humans lived a dog's life but also the poor dogs did. I envy German dogs, he added, and I am not envious by nature and, as a matter of fact, hate to envy, but I can't help feeling sorry for the poor Hungarian dogs who don't even know that such a thing as meat exists.

- (b) The Revolution was definitely the result of a provocation - without the permission, without the approval of the regime the Revolution could not have broken out. There were times when, if somebody said a joke about the regime this was carefully written in his kader files, and now a demonstration was allowed! It just does not make sense.
- (c) They wanted to give weight to the demands of the Hungarian people and youth (free elections, the immediate leaving of the Russians and start conferences with the Soviet leaders, as equal to equal etc. etc.)

- (e) No. Starting from the very beginning, the goals were unanimous. ("Those of your respondents who would give a different answer are either degenerated or badly intentioned").
- (f) He cannot give examples from his own experience - it is true, though, that many people thought that it was slightly exaggerated that Hungary should fight the Russians. (He himself had similar thoughts and figured that if for nothing else but out of prestige considerations, Russia would not let this happen.) But it is also true that even the Communists - the great majority, anyhow - did not oppose the Revolution. Thus, in final analysis, only the AVH did and those who were in high positions and "whose souls were burdened by serious crimes".
- (g) Some of the janitors (they would not let the freedom fighters in - out of "wise forethought"). They were the worms of the society, that certain lackey-type.
- (h) "Hungarian-Polish friendship", later they became wilder, "Ruszkik haza", "Szovjet sereg menjen haza, Sztálin szobrát vigye haza"; "Vesszen Gerő", "Forró vizet a kopaszra" (Rákosi), "Ez a kérdés Pesten 'Budán, Hová lett a magyar urán?" "Magyar Kormányt akarunk, Nagy Imrére szavazunk". At one point, the electric lights went out and the people started to light the newspapers they had on them and suddenly thousands of torches were spreading light. It was an unforgettably beautiful moment, respondent said, one

felt some type of "cosmic shiver", one clearly knew that "History was in the making" and, at the same time, it happened to be aesthetically the most beautiful tableau. ~~While~~ While describing the latter, respondent's face became strangely illuminated and it somehow transmitted the beauty of the historical moment described. To bad, he added, that history cannot stop at beautiful moments, that it has to go on and produce bloodshed. Of course, the Revolution also had its beauty, but blood is blood and the dying human being is a gruesome picture. (Do I have to say now that respondent is an artist - a pianist. And do I have to add that it is good to talk to him.)

- (31) In the greatest degree.
- (j) Break with the Soviet Union and the whole Communist ideology.
- (k) The Communist party members were not communists either (see writers).
- (4) October 23rd. Demonstration from two to ten. At this hour, the mob he was a prominent member of, he charmingly said, received arms and he fought at the Radio till two o'clock at night. Then he went home with the idea that he would not want to take one again in his hands because if his hands might be harmed, then he would never become a concert pianist.
- (At the Academy of Music, military training was obligatory - they had three hours of it weekly. At the other universities, the number of hours was even greater. Starting from October 23rd the university and secondary school youth

took its "generals" from this subject.) October 24th - 26th.
 Together with other students he went ~~to~~ ^{from} barrack to barrack
 to talk ~~the~~ ^{into} soldiers ~~in~~ siding with the Revolution by say-
 ing that this has been done in other barracks, already.

(This ~~was~~ ^{proved} to be effective in many places.)

From October 28th to November 1st, he practiced his piano
 from early morning till midnight. It was a very creative

period in his life and he somehow did not feel ashamed
 for it. "Fighting is just not my bread" he ~~was~~ ^{said} to

himself. On November 1st, he left Budapest and on November 4th,
 he crossed ~~the~~ the border.

(a) He saw a fight between the freedom-fighters and the Russians,
 on the Calvin-circle.

(b) No.

(c) No. But, ~~it was~~ ^{any,} if he had seen ~~it~~ ^{any,} he definitely
 felt that he would have enjoyed ~~them~~ ^{human,} if the AVOs had been ~~is~~
 humanitarian feelings would have protested against it.

(5a) Yes.

(b) No.

(c) No.

(d) Yes.

(e) No.

(f) No.

(6a, b) For a couple of hours, he was a member of a student group,
~~was~~ ^{founded} on the spur of the moment, ~~which~~ ^{which} received arms from
 soldiers. Before getting the arms, they were ~~throwing~~ ^{throwing} stones
 at the radio building.

- (7) He cannot answer this question concretely but he feels, and is sure, that there ^{were} ~~was~~ no conflicts or disagreements among freedom-fighters. ||
- (b) Extremely profitable.
- (8a) Those troops who had been in Hungary before did not want to fight, that's why the Soviet leaders had to call them back.
- (b) The armed cars around Budapest were supposed to assure the peaceful leaving of the civilian officials. This was the official explanation. Fact is, ^{though,} ~~is,~~ that the majority of the Russian civilians were taken home by planes.
- (e) In front of the Hotel Astoria, he saw three Russian tanks which ~~was~~ had Hungarian flags, in the morning of October 26th.
- (f) Every road led to them, this was ^{clearer than} ~~xxxxxxxx~~ daylight, ^{so,} ~~is~~ this is superfluous to ask/ Starting from October 23rd to November 4th, they did not have any influence at all because the Russians themselves knew that the Hungarian people had revolted against the regime. After November 4th, the Mongolian troops (by that time he had left the country) did not know what it was all about and were looking for the Suez Canal and Americans; after the Revolution was defeated, the political situation turned to the worst. He means that, according to news gotten from home, it is worse than it has ever been. And that's ~~is~~ a lot to say.

- (9) In the first days he tried to be everywhere personally but then ~~if~~ he learned the news from ^{the} Radio (domestic and foreign) and from newspapers.
- (a) They informed the people and kept its hope high. They published the claims which were widening by the minute.
- (b) About the bloodshed in front of the Parliament, about mob violence.
- (c) BBC and Voice of America.
- (10) He never spoke of this before - never heard about it either. He is ashamed now ~~xxxxxx~~ not to have inquired about it.
- (a) The leading part of the Party did collapse.
- (b) The Party buildings were destroyed. ~~xxxxxx~~ Either sided with the Revolution or ~~xxxxxx~~ stayed passive.
- (d) Many of them were killed but many more escaped, unfortunately. - The majority sided with the Revolution.
- (g) Did not know.
- (h) Did not know.
- (j) Did not know.
- He is genuinely sorry for being so stupid, he apologized.
- (k) Revolutionary and Workers Councils.
- (l) There must be people who would give me this information. He is ~~not~~ ^{doubt} flunking this exam, ~~xxxxxx~~ his father ~~xxxxxx~~ told him: ~~xxxxxx~~ "Look around", "what are you ~~xxx~~ ^{doing} anyhow", well, his father did not ~~xx~~ understand him, but, and he smiled, he has a that I do.

(r) Communist would have been swept away by the Revolution and xxxxxx probably a Western democracy would have been installed.

(11) Oh God, yes. He has nightmares ever since, he is in a terrible situation, he knows that he has to flee and somehow his legs don't help him. He somehow suspected that those corpses would not let him sleep for the coming years. ^{What a relief} ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~, he added, not to be despised by me for not being a hero, although people who really matter in his life don't despise him. If they would they wouldn't matter to him. ^{Isn't strange, though} ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~, he continued, that a son of a doctor should be so deeply impressed by blood. Apparently he is not the son of his doctor father. He burst out laughing at this, and corrected himself by saying that it is obvious that when he was conceived, his father was not a doctor. He laughed even louder at this construction and said he ~~xxxxxx~~ better abandon it.

(At this ^{queue,} ~~xxxx~~ the coffee was brought in and it was done, as usually, with ^{quite a} ~~xxxx~~ ceremony/^{surrounding} ~~xxxxxx~~ it. He couldn't watch it without laughing and I couldn't help laughing with him. When it was finally poured, he commented ^{while} watching little gestures done by others, "One feels so far away from home. Of course, I am not so far away from home when I watch ~~it~~ with somebody who has similar ^{thoughts} ~~xxxxxx~~ as I do, in connection with their Germans really blow up in significant ^{matters,} ~~things~~ ~~xxxxxx~~")

this would make me laugh, if I were not alone nothing them.

But if I am not given the possibility to laugh, I feel terribly alone and terribly homesick. "Mahlzeit" he said and swallowed his atrocious coffee. After this procedure which he accompanied with a tortured face, he almost smashed his cup. I had to catch it in mid-air; when I stopped him he said: What's wrong with you don't you have any slavonic blood, every artist has some, don't tell me that you are becoming civilized?! I assured him that I would not have minded him smashing my own cup but I couldn't very well face the German proprietor of the house, after a smashing done in cold blood, or any other type, for that matter. But I, solemnly promised that, once in my life, I'll meet him and at that solemn occasion will be sure to smash one thing or another.

- (b) No. That bloodshed was in vain and, according to his opinion, it was not useful from the view point of the whole world either, because the latter did not learn anything from the "morale" of the story. And anyhow, why should a nation shed its blood in order to teach others?! If the West had learned something, then it should have helped, and, after it not doing so, it cannot call itself Christian anymore either. The West would only find out what this was all about, if it were to happen on his own skin. But, of course, he quickly added, he doesn't want this to happen because his standpoint is a humanitarian one.

(c) Hungary alone could not have been victorious.

(d) On a moral basis. - And the West should have expressed in one way or another - economical blockade or ceasing of diplomatic relations - its attitude on this matter.

Furthermore, the government of Imre Nagy was a legal government and had declared its neutrality. Thus the Russian attack was directed against a neutral state, so why couldn't the West look at ^{it} as it looked at Austria? Why couldn't Hungary be included in the ~~territory~~ ^{category} of Austria?

~~file~~
(11 e)

Among the communists, he is the most realistic politician and in addition to it, is Hungarian which is unique - the Hungarian Communists ~~were~~ ^{are} no Hungarians.

(11 f)

The writers had prepared the Revolution and Maléter and Király distinguished themselves in the fights.

(11g V)

The students started it and then they fought together with the workers.

(11g I, IV)

(The workers together with the soldiers.)

(11g III)

The intellectuals did not participate directly in the fights.

(11g II)

The peasants supplied the capital with food and also ~~took~~ ^{part} in the armed fighting.

(11g VI)

Irresponsible elements did not exist.

(11 h)

Yes, they played the part of the first gear ~~in~~ in starting the motor.

- (12) When the first period of the Revolution ended.
- (12 a) Those who ~~partook~~/^{part}in ~~reference~~/^{any form} could have expected to be sent on a study-tour to Siberia.
- (12 b) With his parents and friends.
- (12 c) If allowed, he would have graduated from the Academy of Music-it would have been his last year.

(1) He studied composition and piano at the Academy of Music. His teachers were Pál Kadosa, Ernő Szegedi, János Viski and Ferenc Szabó.

(1a) He did not have any occupation, in the sense that he would have earned money. His father kept him. He earned some small sums by accompanying singers or by performing for the Radio. He would be paid about 90 forints for a solo-number and once received 250 forints for playing with the Philharmonic orchestra.

The stars like Annie Fischer (piano) or Ede Zathureczky (violin) would receive between 2,000 and 3,000 forints for a radio performance.

There were so-called philharmonic scholarships and every performing artist was put in a category - one, two or three and for about 800 forints he is talking about category three now the one he might have been considered for, ~~the~~ the artist had to concertize about four - five times per month, either in ^eprovincial towns ~~in provincial towns~~ or eventually in Budapest either solo or philharmonic performance. The concerts, both in provincial towns or in Budapest, would be taking ~~in~~ place either in factories or in concert halls, in Budapest, in the Bertók hall or at the Academy of Music or in the Erkel Theater (the great names would be mainly scheduled for the Academy of Music).

(2) None.

(3, 4) Not applicable.

(5c) His chances of getting ahead were very slim. This was a matter of frequent discussions between him and his father. His father repeatedly asked him why ^{he} would ~~he~~ prepare himself for a ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ career where his ~~getting~~ chances of getting ahead were so slim? His answer was that he is not fit for anything else but play the piano or compose ~~and~~. - He really hated to aggravate his father but the career, ^{choice} in his case was really not a matter of ~~his~~. The career had chosen him, rather the vocation had chosen him and he had to follow it, whether ~~the~~ ^a career was in the future or not. Musical life, as known, is concentrated in cities and every single position (professor at the Academy of Music or at a provincial conservatory, ^{soloist} ~~soloist~~ at Radio) was filled. Hungary is not ready to employ its musicians. That's why it always exported them. The supply is too great and the demand too limited. (The Academy of Music had about 400 - 450 students, from whom about 10 - 15 would graduate each year; graduate from composition, piano, violin, viola, harp, organ, wind instruments. (I especially asked the respondent to enumerate the subjects the students of the Academy would graduate from because I knew that the order would be relevant, as far as his musical predilections for different instruments were concerned.) In recent years, the greatest possibilities were opened up by the so-

called "Solfege" teaching positions. Solfege is the modern method of teaching singing, introduced by Kodaly. (Respondent said that, when he mentioned the serious musicians before, he did not mention Kodaly because the latter is an international name and ~~it~~ does not need any mentioning.)

Beginners did not have much occasion to concertize in the West, not at all, and to Russia and to the Satellite countries only those were sent who had made a name already for themselves.

- (5d) In Hungary people did not aspire to succeed, all they ^{was to} wanted/keep the jobs. The battle for the daily bread was indeed gigantic.
- (5e) He would practice, concertize, travel.
- (5f) In Hungary one couldn't even dream about these things.
- (5g) His thoughts were not permitted to go in this direction - in the direction of getting married and having children etc.

- (6a) His father is a doctor. He made a good living ^{till} ~~in~~ 1949. From then on, the conditions ~~mentioned~~ deteriorated till 1953. In 1953, ~~was~~ some improvement was visible but it deteriorated again in 1955/^{and} especially and 1956.

- (6b) His father sent him monthly 400 forints. To this ^{and} 140 forints of scholarship would be added, ~~this~~ just about covered his food expenses (he did not pay for his housing because he lived at his grandmother's place.) His mother would supplement ~~the~~ ^{the} food by

sending him huge ~~fx~~ packages.

(6c)

His father was making very good money but he had many expenses. He kept his son, "his no good son", his daughter (respondent's sister was a medical student in Szeged); and his father, in addition to his children, kept his sister, whose husband ^{had} left the country illegally around ~~1945~~ 1950. This sister had two small children and it is only natural that his father took care of her and her children. (Her husband had left because he got mixed up in some political affairs and was imprisoned. Strangely, although he was condemned for a good number of years, he came home after a couple of months and three months later ~~he~~ suffered a nervous breakdown. It turned out that the AVOs had made an informer out of him. That was the condition for his release. But the man couldn't take the nervous strain and was on the verge of becoming insane. His brother in law, respondent's father, advised him to leave the country and promised him to take care of his family. The man did, went to Canada, became a ~~jam~~ chauffeur and had a very bad accident. He is still living as a cripple, as a cripple of the AVO.) Coming back to respondent's father's income he did make pretty good money because he would send out about 2,000 forints monthly.

(7a) His father's salary was around 3,500-800 forints as a chief doctor in a clinic.

(7a, I, II and III) respondent cannot answer.

(7b) It was relatively much better.

(7c) The salary quoted was the average salary for a good doctor in the provinces. (In Budapest a good doctor would make about three times as much.)

(7d) His father.

(8) For a, b, c he doesn't know anything concrete.

(8e) He doesn't think so because, during the last five years, he has gotten one suit and ^{the} reason for this is not to be found in the stinginess of ^{his} ~~the~~ family.

(9a) He didn't pay for housing, he lived at his grandmother's place. Whether she had a rented apartment or whether she owned it was a question the respondent did not know the answer to. It had never occurred to him to ask her.

(9b) Decent - he had a separate room, furnished with his piano. His parents had a piano, a Bechstein, rather he had it because he was the only one in the family who used it. It was a beauty. The last day ^{when} ~~when~~ his mother feverishly packed, and asked him whether ~~she~~ she forgot to put something into his rucksack, he said yes, my piano. His father said, "this is no time for ~~for~~ joking." ~~He~~ He didn't know that his son, this time, was not ^{must} ~~to~~ have been joking. Life ~~was~~ extremely hard in order for him

get up and leave his piano and pianino. As a little boy, he engraved his name in the leg of the Bechstein, he who has no sense of propriety at all wanted to show that that particular object belonged ~~to him~~ exclusively ~~belongs~~ to him.

- (9c) He spent every cent he had ^{on} ~~for~~ food.
- (9d) Nothing. During the last five years, he bought himself a raincoat and a pair of shoes.
- (9e) He doesn't know.
- (9f) He didn't spend any.
- (9g) 400 forints.
- (9h) Every student of the Academy could go to theaters, operas, concerts without paying.
- (9i) Since 1952, he did not go to a barber. He tells always he also can cut his hair badly, there is no need for a barber for that (respondent has curly blond hair and I must say that he doesn't do a very good job in cutting it because it is quite long. ~~He~~ does look like a pianist.)
- (9j) Nothing. He did loan them, ~~found~~ ^{found} them in the Academy of Music, ~~found~~ ^{found} them in the pockets of his colleagues.
- (9k) Nothing.
- (9l) 25 - 30 forints ^{per} ~~for~~ month.
- (9x) Didn't pay.

- (10) It was deplorable. An example: Hungary, an agricultural country, had to import flour from ^{France} ~~France~~ and Brazil, because the Hungarian products were all shipped to the Soviet Union.
- (10c) As far as he knows, in 1938 the country ~~was~~ ^{was} led well economically. The pengo was better than the mark is to-day. ~~Whether~~ Whether the Horthy regime was good from ~~another~~ ^{peasantry's problem:} viewpoint (the ~~present~~ ^{present} ~~question~~ ^{question} the unsound landreform) is another ~~problem~~ question.
- (10d) He feels that they might have ~~been~~ ^{meant} great improvement, if they had developed in the direction they originally were intended to (landreform, the confiscation of the lands of the churches, ~~etc.~~ ^{etc.} ~~etc.~~).
- (10f) The re-emergence was permitted especially in the heart of the city, in the "belváros", but the "maszkosok" were heavily taxed.
- (10g) He feels ^{that} there were no changes. ~~There~~
- (11) He feels that the deterioration of material conditions played a great part in the outbreak of the Revolution.
- (11a,b) In his case, financial improvement would not have solved the problems because, in artistic areas, the pressure was extremely great. (Compositions could not be edited unless ~~they~~ approved by the Musicians' Union, "Zeneművész Szövetség". A kollektiv work was going on, everybody had to put his two cents in. This is the

course of the directed art. Not only was one not allowed to publish at home but one could not send one's compositions to other countries. "The work is not optimistic enough" Ferenc's Szabo remarked about one of his submitted compositions; other similar remarks were "the composition does not express the joy of the people living in socialism" or "he writes cosmopolitan music and ~~then~~ tries to acclimatize the Western spirit". Starting from 1945 to 1955, modern Western composers (Sztravinsky, Honegger, Hindemith, Schönberg) were not performed in Hungary. As far as his grievances were concerned, he was mainly afflicted by the misery in which the people lived. The knowledge that many people had to go to bed without having eaten supper, and the fact that many families were obliged to live in shops, was difficult to bear.

- (1) He graduated from secondary school.
- (1a) From 1939 to 1956 rather 1957, he is now studying in München, at the Academy of Music and hopes to graduate there next spring.
- (1b) Public.
- (1c) A terrific amount of time was wasted on so-called obligatory courses. At the Academy, he had weekly two hours of Russian language, three hours of military training, four hours in Marxism-lectures and seminars and two hours of gymnastics. In case a student would be absent for four hours, he could not ~~have~~ justify, disciplinary action was taken and, at the third disciplinary action, he was dismissed from ~~school~~ school. There was a terrific amount of reading connected with the study of Marxism but the students divided this among themselves, namely each took turns in reading different ^{paragraphs} ~~xxxxxxx~~, making notes and distributing ^{them} to the others. In other words, they tried to make this in ~~oct~~ nation as painless as possible. Nevertheless it remained the fact that the ~~xxxx~~ precious day was chopped up and that very little time was left over for the subjects, each of them ^{were} ~~xxx~~ really interested in, in his case, for practice. There were days when his schedule was the following ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~: from 3 to 10, from 12 to 1 and from 3 to 5. Aside from this, superfluous subjects ^{lowered} ~~xxxxxxx~~ the level of the Academy-it

was sunk to that of a secondary school. Even the subjects in the major fields were not chosen well, in his case, for instance, there was too much history of music. He knows perfectly well that other musicians had lived and that without their work in counterpoint he could not compose the way he does. Nevertheless it is true that he is living now and that he has to say something in music today, and too much time was stolen from him.

(1e) "Is there anything in life but music," he asked laughingly; as a concession to me, he agreed that theatre and literature also exist. Painting and sculpture do have their place but besides these there is nothing else which really matters.

(2) Yes.

(2d) Above average.

(2e) In 1951, at the entry examination, he received the greatest number of points, so the Board of Examination somehow had to accept him, despite his family background.

(3) Yes. See above (1e).

(3a) They were intensely disliked.

- (3b,c,d) see above (1c).
- (3e) Not directly, but the MHR's goals were actually military.
- (4a) The teaching of the Marxist-Leninist ideology was emphasized. The following slogans were written in the hall of the Academy of Music (Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola): "One cannot be a good musician, unless one is a good marxist" "The parts the Marxism played in the arts" and then illustrations would follow.
- (4b) It was completely ineffective that 13 years children ~~in~~ ^{fought} the Russians; it was good, in the sense, that it did develop a critical sense - everybody went around with open eyes; ("except you"! my father ~~always~~ always said.
- (4c) If a teacher was a Communist, he was more hated than if he hadn't been one.
- (4d) At old age when one is senile.
- (5) He is a doctor in a clinic.
- (5a) No.
- (5f) They were well off.
- (5g,h) Parents, the two children (he and his sister, who is now a student in medical school) and his grandmother.
- (5i) His grandmother has died since.

(5k) ~~throughout~~ Disadvantageous -if he had been the son of a worker, he would have gotten three times as much scholarship as he ~~actually~~ did.

(6) ~~Relationship was~~ The relationship was good, but not intimate. ~~xx~~ Sincerely speaking, there was a rift between fathers and sons - he feels that the lack of intimacy between the two generations was ~~g~~ general.

(12) Of course.

(12 a) About ~~the~~ current affairs - there were no discordances along these lines.

(13) No, he did not have any trouble but, if I would ask his parents, then they would answer that they definitely had troubles with him. On second thought, he feels that the education could have been more modern, less conventional and less conservative.

(13a, b, c) In spite of the answer given under (13), he ~~xxx~~ says: no.

(14) The "connection" was good but

(14 a, b) it wasn't as ~~intimate~~ intimate as it could have been, had they had the same mentality. To give an example: during the summer, they would go to the lake Belaton and he would lie for hours in the sun, like a dinosaur,

play with the sand, watch the sun's reflection on the water, his father would suddenly burst out: ~~and~~ ~~say~~ "Do something, at least swim!" It would have been difficult to explain to his father that he actually was doing something, that the millions of impressions which ~~stung~~ ~~his~~ ~~skin~~ ~~and~~ ~~went~~ ~~even~~ under his skin ~~would~~ eventually be expressed in his music.

(14c) Piano playing, piano playing, piano playing - reading, attending operas, concerts, theaters and movies.

(14g) After having fulfilled the heavy requirements of his timetable, yes. It is also true, that the students of the Academy could leave the place of the crime "only with the permission of the directorate". If a student would leave Budapest for a weekend and be caught, ~~he would receive a disciplinary~~ ~~action~~ ~~would~~ ~~be~~ ~~started~~ ~~against~~ ~~him~~.
 action would be started against him.

(15) ~~xx~~ They loosened ~~xx~~ he is thinking ^{now} /about the increased number of divorces. The system ^{willingly} /wanted to break up the institution of the family. ~~willingly~~ ~~xx~~
 They usually separated families by assigning the husband or the wife as the case might have been, to a different town. He definitely ~~xx~~ had the impression that communism wanted to break each type of tie, that it wanted to create homeless individuals without any real

attachment, he would watch people in streetcars when they would go home from work in the evening or go to work in the morning and somehow they had an aimless look. If they had been asked: "What for?" they could not have answered. That's the reason life in Hungary was so depressing beyond the fact that people were dressed in rags, beyond the fact that they didn't eat as much as they should have, the general lack of idealism was apparent.

- (15a,b) Of course, their being dependent on each other has increased.
- (15c) He doesn't see any ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ essential change.
- (15e) Big changes have occurred in rearing ... no, respondent corrected himself, this isn't the right way to put it. One should rather say that rearing was not possible. The parents did not meet ^{their} ~~the~~ children, they both would go off in the morning to work, come home late at night and the children were reared in schools and mostly in the streets.
- (16) Yes. They became freer and more libertine. But this, he says, is a turn to the good. Previous attitude was unnatural.
- (16a) ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ The marriages between students increased. This ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ is bad because the increased worries impede the studying - from one misery one makes two.

- (16b) The number of dudes, and the corresponding numbers in females, increased. Whether male or female, they were^a strange composite of loud clothing, presumptuous manners, and insolence. There is no doubt about it that the great majority of the younger generations developed in this direction and it is only natural that they would have distorted each manifestation, including courtship.
- (16e) Yes. What manifestations did this take? At dawn, especially Sunday mornings, from each apartment one man ^{or} woman departed who did not belong there.
- (16f) They only feigned severity.
- (16h) He doesn't know about it.
- (16i) Yes, towards the wrong direction. They overworked ^{taking into} them without/consideration that structurally, organically, they could not take the heavy load.
- (17a, c) The general state of moral deteriorated greatly. He is thinking of the great number of divorces and stealings. (In factories, one would take away whatever one would get hold of, whatever was moveable.) - There was a so-called ten-forint movement, which ~~was~~ ^{meant} that the aim was to inflict at least a ten-forint loss; a streetcar conductor told him that people would take off the leather of the seats "they would make nice slippers out of them", he would see

them do it and not bother them. - According to respondent, stealing is not a Hungarian characteristic and it is solely explained by the low salaries.

(18) He did not have a bosom friend in Hungary, he had only colleagues. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I know more about him than his best friends did/ ^{it suddenly occurred to him} Of course, I didn't ask him anything - "Didn't I?"

"Not in the sense of interrogating me, anyway ~~xx~~ you seem to know me, without my giving any answers. It's true, he added, that if you hadn't known me I couldn't have given you the answers. But to continue his ideas on friendship are that, as long as everybody has to solve his problems by himself, and as long as life is so short and music so long, it is a superfluous waste of time that a person should burden another ~~xxx~~ with his complexes.

(18g) The real friendship ^{proves} ~~xxxxxxxx~~ itself in difficult times - /the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Revolution ~~xxxx~~ it turned out that Hungary had no friend thus - ~~xxxxxx~~ Free Europe and Voice of America - ~~xxx~~ should not /~~talk~~ ^{have talked} but acted.

(19a) ^{he} Catholic, ~~they~~ had the same attitude toward religion as his parents did.

(19b) He believes in God.

(20 b) Yes, Communists wanted to eradicate religion:

"~~the~~ Religion is an opium". On the other hand, materialism is also a religion, ~~the religion of the materialist~~ They deducted everything to this material and on the other hand, to the spirit. In final analysis, they talk about the same thing but labeled it differently.

(20c) They were not ~~sure~~ ^{by} e. This is in ^{by} no way a branding, maybe they wanted to help the situation of the churches in the satellite states. They were weak - had no backbone. people ~~from the point of view of the character~~

(20f,g) Party members could not attend church services and others had different disadvantages from attending - thus, it is entirely possible that many of the people did not attend out of fear. Generally, more people attended church services than before the war; from every stratum: middle class, workers and intelligentsia, maybe as a reaction, maybe as a "inspite of" attitude.

(20k) Another question he cannot answer. Fact is that religious controversies were rare among students, they ~~did~~ rather discussed politics.

(20l) Respondent thinks that Mindszenty played his part before his arrest - that is the reason he was arrested for - under the form of circular letters which warned the people about the machinations of the regime.

(21a) Let him become a refugee, because life in Hungary is no life and, as long as he is asked, he doesn't have

the heart not to give the best advice.

(21b)

Not applicable.

(22)

Best: the AVOs, the leading party functionaries and the leading public functionaries - about ten-fifteen thousand people, the worst: the workers, the white collar workers, the fate of the engineers and doctors was somewhat better.

(22a)

Middle class.

(22b)

In - none.

(He dislikes people intensely, when in group, he told me before. We were talking about Americans and he said he wishes he would meet one at time and not in groups because it definitely falsifies his ideas. Something happens to people when they are together which is not ^{to} their advantage. In connection with this, we met in Feldafing a group of Hungarians who came out to camp. We started to talk to them and after a couple of minutes, respondent simply turned away. When we met again, he said icily "I don't have to apologize for my behaviour for leaving you alone with that band, but I just couldn't take them, although individually they are decent boys. Together they behaved like wild bulls." The only beautiful collective manifestation he saw was that of the demonstrating crowd on October 23rd. Never before and maybe never after it are Hungarians going to attain that height.

Maybe October 23rd was so beautiful because people didn't think exclusively of themselves, they thought of their neighbours, too. Everybody was revolted in the name of everybody else, too.

- (23) The upper tenthousand, ~~lower~~ workers, ~~lower~~ peasants, and ~~lower~~ the progressive intelligentsia.
- (23b) No - everybody had been sunk to the same low level.
d,i
- (23g) Before the Revolution, ~~the~~ bad manners, arrogance, insolence, impoliteness, vulgarity culminated.
- (24) No - the majority was the one which suffered equally.
- (24a) The sportsmen and the first class artists.
- (25) Communism had ruined many Jews - the merchants - that's why they left the country in a great number in 1950.
- (25a,b) Some withdrew and some went along, but this is not characteristic of Jews, this is just as characteristic of any other religion. So, why treated ~~the~~ the Jews separately?!
- (25c) Of course.- They were withdrawn.
- (25d) Many of them played important parts (see Acsel, Zelk), they were in the first rows of the university students, and many ~~of~~ were elected members in the Revolutionary councils. He just ~~does~~ does not understand

why this Jewish question is taken separately. During the Revolution, there were only communists or anticommunists, suppressors or suppressed.

(25g) There was no anti-Semitism during the last ten years in Hungary. The people was not Fascist and it was not Communist. The vital problem in Hungary is survival.

(25h) There is no separate Jewish future, there is ~~was~~ a Hungarian future (if there is one) and in that Jews are certainly included.

(In connection with the above, I would like to add an "incident" ~~is~~ about near the Starnberger lake ~~is~~ respondent told me/during our walk/ namely that one of his grandparents is Jewish. His father was considered half Jewish ~~throughout~~ ^{during} Nazi-times and had to hide. Although he and his sister were 75 % Christians, their parents thought it advisable "to hide" the children in a monastery. The children were not told the exact reason for their ^{"sejour"} ~~sejour~~ but somehow they sensed that they should be afraid to be punished for a crime they did not commit.)

Copy 7

- (1) Yes, he would like to find out what the lowest limit of human baseness is.
 - (a) About 10 %.

- (2) His interest in politics was under the aegis of hope - till the Revolution.
 - (2a) No.
 - (2b) No.
 - (2e) The history of the Communist party greatly influenced his opinion about Communism.
 - (2f) (ii)
 - (2h) Bayonets were all around. The regime collapsed because it wanted to loosen the chains. This was the greatest "faux pas" of communist politics.
 - (2i) The part they played was uncanny - they decided fates.

- (3) The misery of the others, the complete spiritual suppression, his own low standard of living.
 - (3a) In his eyes, as far as the others were concerned, numbers 15, 5 and 6 were most painful, although the other factors were also almost as painful. As far as he was concerned, the most painful grievances were 12, 10 and 7.
 - (3b) No. iv, viii, xiii.
 - (3c) No. v, vi, x.
 - (3d) xiv, ii, vi.

- (3e) xv, iii, v.
- (3g) There was practically no other subject of conversation.
- (3h) One should have wiped out the regime, that would have been the only solution.
- (3i) Oh God yes, the interminable party meetings.
- (3j) Certainly, if, in the evening, the ~~AVA~~ AVH knocked at the door of his neighbour and not at his own.
- (4) The "grands seigneurs" of the Kremlin.
- (4a) The fact that they fought with arms for their power when it seemed that Hungary would slip away from the bosom of ~~his~~ its "great friend."
- (4b) It nodded.
- (4e) Propaganda trick, who else could have won but the one and only party?! "Only the person who wants to vote against the Party should enter the polling-booth".
- (4f) It was gigantic; the whole state apparatus was expanded in order to check everybody step by step.
- (4b) He doesn't know.
- (5d) He was not a member of the DISZ - by some lucky accident his name did not appear on the list of those who were invited to join.

- (6) He kept even further away from the Party than he did from the DISZ, he had no acquaintance who would have been a Party member or even a potential Party member, he avoided the Party and its followers like the plague.
- (6a) Those who had been Fascists and those who wanted to keep their job but did not have the necessary background for it.
- (6f) Because the regime couldn't provide, even for them, the necessary minimum! If the Party member happened to be one of those rare birds - an idealist - then he was disappointed when he realized what the Communist politics put into practice meant!
- (6h) See (6).
- (6i) He thinks he might have, after having graduated from the Academy, but this question was not one of those which would have worried him.
- (6r) The Kremlin.
- (6t) It changed according to how the wind blew. "Marxism is not a dogma but a "living guide for action", which means that every phenomenon can be explained in thousands of ways, thus it actually means weather-cook politics.
- (7) No!
- (8) 3 %.

- (9) On the basis of the preceding answer.
- (10b) To defend the state - to stop the minutest ~~anti~~ ^{anti-} party rather ~~anti~~ state manifestation with the help of the most rigorous terror.
- (10d) They came out from the camp of people who had been arrested and maybe condemned and who were released with the condition to become informers.
- (10e) As strange and unbelievable as it may sound, some people probably aspired to become AVHs and thus reported for this service.
- (10f) The sum of the society.
- (10g) Disproportionally high salaries, with special food and clothing shops at their disposal.
- (10h) No, see the case of Gabor Peter.
- (10j) They tolerated each other with the understanding that the AVH was the top organization.
- (10k) "They played the same cards" the AVH was the armed outfit of the Party.
- (11) No.
- (11d) Anybody without any consideration to religion, age, sex, ~~sex~~ social status.
- (11g) No.
- (13, 13f) Keep his mouth shut.
- (13c) At a high level, but without any guaranty of ~~sex~~ complete security.

- (13d) No. These are not the view points of the AVH.
- (13g) Yes, the Catholic church, especially the priests.
- (14b,c) Yes, the terror loosened after 1953, it became again stronger at the end of 1954 and again loosened rather was loosened in 1956.
- (15a) Moscow played a leading part, whatever was considered essential was decided upon in Moscow.
- (15d) No.
- (15e) Maybe it was the strongest in the political-economical life and less strong in the cultural life although it was rather "virulent"^{there}/too but the effects of this were not so tragic for the population of the country.
- Each year, there was a so-called Soviet-Hungarian month during which ^{Russian} artists came to Hungary and Hungarian artists were sent to Moscow. Some of the names he remembers ^{were} ~~was~~ the pianist Gilels, Sztjatoszlav Rihter, Nyikolajeva, David und Igor Oistrach, the violinists, - father and son, the folkloristic dance and singing group of Moisejev and Piatniczky, the ~~ensemble~~ Obrakov mar: ette theatre, the basso Mark Reisen and the composer Novikov.

- (16c) No, only in a narrow family circle.
- (16d,e) One could ^{talk}/freely about the weather but it was not advisable at all to mention political and economical subjects or anything connected with the West. Before the Revolution, as said before on the basis of the ^{one could freely talk} Party decision/about the remedy of the great mistakes committed in the past.
- (17) There is no possibility, whatsoever, the laws are prepared with the greatest circumspection.
- (17b,c) No.
- (17d) They couldn't do anything.
- (17e) They couldn't do anything.
- Questions b, c, d and e can be only asked in the West. In Hungary they are senseless.
- (18) The strong point - the Soviet bayonets, the weak point was the loss of the great dictator. That's where the troubles started for the Soviet Union.
- (19bc) Publicly no group opposed the Party but, basically, aside from the Party functionaries, everybody opposed it.
- (19d,e) It increased but ^{in a dictatorship} this can be ~~only~~ fully realized ^{only} ~~and~~ when the first shot is fired.

(191,j,1) The mistakes were being remedied with the approval of the Party, as a consequence of the political thaw. But the writers didn't stop here and were followed, in this direction, by the students.

- (1) Radio-domestic and foreign, mostly foreign "Voice of America", "Radio Free Europe", and newspapers, magazines and word of mouth.
- (2a) Yes, he did read: newspapers and also magazines, Szabad Nép, Ludas Matyi, Irodalmi Ujsag, Hétfoi Hirlap, Muvelt Nép, Színház és Mozi.
- (2b) Regularly.
- (2c) Because there weren't any others.
- (2d) Cultural news, rather articles, (music, poems, theatre ~~criticism~~ and film reviews).
- (2e) No.
- (2j) He saw leaflets, he found in the forests of the Bakony, during the Rákóczi era. Later on, he read in the newspaper that the balloons of the Radio Free Europe were responsible for them.
- (3) About 3 times per month.
- (3a,b,c,d) Since 1950, Western films were brought in: French, Italian, English and Swedish. Most vividly in his mind is a Swedish film: "Sie tanzte nur einen Sommer". It is a pure film not in the sense that it wants to un-veil how rotten this world is, but in the sense a poem is pure. The outstanding French films, according to his opinion were Ozonviz előtt, Királynő a feleségem,

Tiltott játékok.

The Italian neo-realistic trend was mostly manifested in: Roma, nyílt város, Nincs béke az olajfák alatt, Békében élni, Holnap már késő, Roma 11 óra, among the opera films: Puccini and Verdi.

Hungarian films which definitely meant steps ahead in the history of the Hungarian cinema were:

"Körhinta" in which the problem of the collective farms is handled. It showed what the land means to a peasant. "Ges száma Kortérem" made after the 20th congress, showed how miserably the workers lived in Hungary.

"Liliomfi", after the play of Szigligeti, presents the wanderings of a provincial acting company.

"Egy pikoló világos shows what a difficult problem sexual adjustment is for adolescence. "Dollarpapa" is about an American uncle who comes back to Hungary and whom everybody considers a millionaire. It turns out that he has been a sandwichman in New York. The movie wants to show how corrupt the society, during the Horthy regime, was. Actually in Hungary with each film, something had to be shown. Some deformity, some problem had to be pointed out. L'art pour l'art was an unknown concept.

(3e,f) Of course, at least once each week, starting from 1950. Many Shakespeare plays were presented and some of Shaw's plays like: Caesar and Cleopatra and Pygmalion.

Among the Hungarian writers undoubtedly the most gifted was Illyés: Faklyaláng and Dossa are beautiful plays. Respondent did not go to see Communist writers' plays like Háry, Hubay and Kálmán, neither did he see the plays of Russian Communist writers, but he did see Gorkiy's "Ejjeli menedéklely" which was most impressive. Modern Western writers played were Sartre, and Garcia Lorca.

Many articles were written about Sztaniszlavszky, but respondent's impression is this was more of a show and that Sztaniszlavszky was not taken too seriously by Hungarian theatre people.

- (4) Yes.
- (4a) About twelve.
- (4b) Ortega: Tömegek lázadása (The Revolt of the masses); Spengler: Untergang des Abendlandes; Julien Benda: Az irástudok árulása; Mereskovszky: Leonardo da Vinci, Vele vagy ellene? Nagy Sandor.
- (4d) Oh yes, they would be handed down from friend to friend. He had to wait 6 months to read Spengler's book, for instance.
- (4f) See (4b)
- (4g) Yes, for instance Axel Munthe's: San Michele.

- (5) Yes. He listened to music - records (opera and philharmonic) then to the concerts of the Philharmonic orchestra of the Radio; he did not listen to entertaining music (operettas) or bad jazz (Hungarian) ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{or} gypsy music.
- (5b) Yes, but he doesn't know its name. It was a Hungarian radio.
- (5e,f) About one hour, and at home.
- (6) Yes.
- (6a) See question no (1), in addition to it Rome, Paris, Bratislava, Beograd. He listened to music and news.
- (6b) About an hour, in the evening.
- (6d) ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ BBC was reliable and Radio Free Europe was not.
A propos, the least the American Government could do is ~~to~~ stop the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe.
- (7) Yes.
- (7h) At home, ^{at} /school etc. wherever reliable people would be.
- (8) ~~xx~~ The contrary of everything was true.
- (8a) Sport news.
- (8b) Political.
- (8c) It was uniformly at a low degree, with the exception of last year.
- (8d) Übung macht den Meister.

(8e,f,g,h) He did read: Irodalmi Ujsag, Szahad Nep, Hetfoi Hirlap.

(9) Of course

(9b) Those who were coward.

(10a) The atombomb is one of the most humanitarian arms, it helps ~~to~~ bring war to a speedy end.

(10b) The North Korean, instigated by the Communists.

(10c) Nonsense.

(10d) It is going at a very slow ~~pace~~ peace.

(10e) They had a good effect on the peasants.

(10f) The revolution of Berlin was the fore-runner of the Hungarian Revolution.

(10g) Quatsch!- big dinners, sparkling receptions, no result. The Big Four played mannequins, they were photographed from below, from above, from the right, from the left ~~and from the~~ etc.

(10h) Respectable struggle.

- (1) The question should be reversed. It should be asked:
What would you keep?
- (1a) The landreform, to a certain extent, and the nationalization of great enterprises and banks.
- (2) Let's say, yes.
- (2a,b) Yes - with exception of the Communist Party, as its work is directed against undermining any form of Government which is not communistic - (sometimes it undermines itself without realizing it), its functioning should not be allowed. If allowed to function, this would be similar to a situation where a doctor would want to cure a wound and not cut out the nucleus of puss.
- (3) No limitations.
- (3c,d) No. - If the government commits mistakes it has to take it upon itself to bear criticism, and if it cannot correct the mistakes, then a new government will have to take its place.
- (4) This would be fair.
- (4a,b) If the government functions to the satisfaction of the majority but it commits minor mistakes, these ~~expressions~~ would not entitle the population to uprising against it.

- (5) The cessation of collective farms and compulsory deliveries, autonomous farming, and getting the individual interested in the production.
- (6) He approves of it.
- (6b) State capitalism would be more efficient than private capitalism. ~~Of course~~ this state capitalism should not imitate the Soviet models/and it should not be dictatorial. This way ^{though} ~~of the~~ ^{egotistical} ~~aggravated~~ conceptions of private capitalists could be avoided.
- (6c) Certainly, smaller enterprises should be in private hands.
- (6e) It is absolutely necessary, in some economically backward countries.
- (7) No.
- (8 a,b) The government planning is ~~absolutely~~ absolutely reasonable, in theory, but, in practice it has not worked out in Hungary.
- (9) Private life.
- (10) Of course.
- (10a) According to income.
- (10b) Unfortunately it is necessary.

- (10e) It would be nice if those who have brought them would also obey the . - He is thinking about the leading communis^t strat^{eg}y.
- (10e) Unquestionably it was to assure a human life, working possibilities and the right to emigrate.
- (11) It deteriorated strongly although wider circles could take advantage of medical care. The introduction of the norm system (a fixed number of patients had to be seen by the doctor, during a certain period of time) was most painful to conscientious doctors, one can imagine how thorough^{the} examinations ~~and~~ conducted under such conditions were! ~~if~~ ~~the~~ Instead of treating teeth, for instance, dentists would ~~pull~~ pull them out, because of the lack of ~~the~~ available time.
- A special communistic illness was the high blood-pressure, due to ~~the~~ ^{excessive} worrying, excitement, overwork and consumption of much coffee and alcohol.
- The number of the tuberculous patients has also considerably increased, due to bad nourishment and a ^{intake} small ~~amount~~ of calories. Extremely frequent were the nervous break-downs - ~~It is~~ ~~strange~~ strange ~~that~~ that these nervous break-downs did not occur to artists; with the power of their imagination, the latter category could make believe that ^{it wasn't} ~~they~~

living where ~~they were~~ ^{it was}. The number of abortions was extremely great, the high point was during the summer of 1956; around 100-200 women would come in daily to the clinic for this type of "treatment."

- (12) ~~There were~~ Agencies were in existence which, through the Trade Unions, distributed tickets to the workers. This is as it should be but, in practice, this meant that the ~~xxx~~ unfortunate workers had to run from the factory to listen to the operas of Wagner. This is comparable to starting the day with the heaviest meal. The program of the opera was excellent, but the repertory was smaller than before the war. The operas not given were Richard Strauß "Salome" and Benjamin "Electra", Britten "Peter Grimes", Respighi "The Flame", Puccini "Manon Lescaut" and "Turandot". Russian operas like "Boris Godunov" and "Hovanscina" by Moussorszky, "Prince Igor" by Borodin ~~was performed~~ ^{had been performed} also before the war. Sometimes foreign artists would perform as guests, like Mark Reisen, a singer, and the ^{conductors} musical ~~director~~ Vittorio Gui and Francesco Molinari Pradelli.

(12b) Yes.

(12c) Generally every stratum of the population does have opportunity to attend theaters, concerts and operas.

(12d) Yes, if they want to live faster.

- (13a) ~~Maximum~~ uch worse than before the war and than in 1946.
- (13b) Starting from 1950, the situation deteriorated continually.
- (14) People go around in rags.
- (14a,b) Starting from 1948, the situation has deteriorated also on this score.
- (14c) There are not great differences, everybody can buy only the absolute minimum.
- (15) Yes, following the exaggerated industrialization politics.
- (15c) It produced great damages and resulted in the lowering of the standard of living below the minimum.
- (15d) One should have emphasized light industry.
- (16) One should ask the workers themselves, although, if the capitalist, whether private or state, is decent, then there ~~is~~ ^{are} no problems ^{as far} as the workers are concerned.
- (16d) Either state or private capitalism, depending upon how big and how important ^{the factory is} /viewing the whole economic life.

- (17a) They are all bad, they are the consequences of a forced politics.
- (17b) There is no need for them.
- (17c) Without them.
- (17f) There should be a limit on land-holding around 200 acres. One person doesn't need more.
- (17g) Yes, till 200 acres.
- (17h, i, j, k, l) No. +
- (17m) Doesn't know the subject.
- (18) They should live peacefully, side by side.
- (18a) Yes.
- (18b) No.
- (18c) Yes.
- (18e) Yes.
- (18f) He believes that it might be public.
- (18g) The lands should not be returned to the church, but the schools should.
- (19) If they have not harmed anybody, then let's not harm them.
- (19a, c) No, they should be checked individually.
- (19b) Most severe punishment.
- (19e) Nothing.
- (19f) Popular verdict or mob law.
- (19g) Individual examination.

- (19h) Some made good for their sins - see Maleter who, incidentally did not directly contribute to the pre-Revolution misery of the population. Let's assume that a person would have harmed his fellowman: then one should not take into consideration whether he is sorry for it or not, but punish him severely. This is not a Christian thought but it is definitely important for the restoration of order.
- (20) The Revolution of 1956 had a significance only from the view point of world history, although it was not successful and although from the view point of the country, it now has a negative sign. (The terror was restored in its full intensity.) Hungary was the strong hold of the West not because it proposed to do so and not due to its many virtues but because historical circumstances forced her to do so. The Hungarian nation gave poets - Ady, József, - painters - Munkácsy - musicians - Liszt, Bartók, Kodály - to the Western culture.
- (21) Yes.
- (21a) In being a personality.
- (21b) In being cultural.
- (21e) In being a humanist and a humanitarian.
- It is the trait of the big nations that they are

egotistical to a certain degree (they look at events through the mirror of their own sphere of interest). And it is very difficult to make this mentality coincide with the practical manifestation of love.

- (21d) It lost some of its colors, due to strong pressures it was pushed in the background. Of course this doesn't mean that if this reign ceases, the Hungarian would not regain his whole individuality.
- (22) There were very few decent governments and respondent honestly hopes that the best Hungarian government would be installed after the cessation of Communism. Up to now, no Hungarian government expressed the true interest of the miserable Hungarian people.
- (22f,g) The social and economical differences were very wide during the Horthy-regime but, in spite of this, respondent believes that the catastrophic situation created by the Communist regime surpasses the miseries of the past one.
- (22h) Placed, unfortunately, in the shadow of the Great Germany, Hungary could not pursue an independent politics. From 1941 to 1945, there was a boom due to the war, from 1945 to 1948 there was a strong upswing and starting from 1948 an economical and political deterioration was detectable.
- (23) Political boundaries are not important at all, the only road is a United Europe within which one nation should represent a color.

- (23b, e, f, g, h) The differences, the conflicts were always instigated and, unfortunately, will probably be always instigated.
- (24) See (23). The solution would be a federation with neighbouring countries ~~entirely~~ a United Europe.
- (24d) Russia does not belong to Europe.
- (24e) He does not believe in any forced "solution".
- (25c) They are just as oppressed as any ~~people~~ other nation from the so-called popular democracies.
- (25t, h) They would like them, but not from so close.
- (26) Marxism is antiquated.
- (26z) The criticism of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{initial} capitalism.
- (26b) Nothing else makes sense.
- (26o, d) Lenin is a utopist with a torrid head ("fórrófejű"). He developed Marxism further.
- (26e) Stalin falsified Marxism, he is the greatest and most genial dictator of our history.
- (26j) Tito is one of the greatest opportunists of our century. in a way he is excused by the fact that his machinations serve also the interest of his nation.
- (26f) The Hungarian communists are not Marxists—they are simply the representatives of Moscow.

- (26g,g) Social-Democratism is not Marxism. It is a transition between the right and the left and their position depends upon what the momentary situation demands.
- (26i,g) Respect for the human rights. On this basis there are very few democrats in this whole world, unfortunately.
- (26h,i) Never.
- (27) It means the same thing as Soviet Communism, only dressed up in national colours.
- (27e) The two concepts are in conflict, due to the fact that the idea of communism is only a means for Soviet imperialism.
- (28) The free election would have decided.
- (28b) He doesn't know, he is not a fortuneteller.
- (29a) Good.
- (29b) Bad.
- (29c) Bad.
- (29d) Nothing.
- (29e) Bad.
- (29f) Could be good.
- (29g) Could be good.
- (29i) It is strange to include this in this list - why should a man be bad or good just because he has 70 acres?!
- (29h) He is a good writer.

- (28j) Doesn't know him.
- (k) Doesn't know him
- (l) Good soldier.
- (m) Well intentioned ~~xxxx~~ auntie.
- (n) Hero .
- (30 a) To answer this question, he would have to know the parties and leaders.
- (31a) Less.
- (b) More.
- (c) Less.
- (d) Nothing.
- (e) Less.
- (f) Less.
- (g) More.
- (h) Less rather nothing.
- (i) Less rather nothing.
- ~~(31)~~(32) The artisans, tradesmen and clerks were better off before 1948.
- (33) Coincide.
- (a) Coincide.
- (b) Coincide.
- (c) Coincide.
- (d) Conflict.
- (e) Coincide.

- (33f) Coincide.
 - (g) Conflict.
 - (h) Conflict.
 - (i) Doesn't know.
 - (j) Conflict.
- (34) He was afraid that the USA would not help Hungary in its War of Independence.
- (35) Exclusively the AVH.
- (35a) Everybody else.
- (36) No.

(1)

How does it feel to arrive at New York by plane?

After I described, to the best of my ability, the sensation of getting lowered into a sea of light, he said: "How many years do you suppose it would take not to look down when one arrives and continues to read the New York Times; if that moment were to ever come, then I would feel completely cosmopolitan.

"Some of us refugees", he continued, "go around like porcupines. They sting. It is only in defense that they do it, mainly because they don't want to be stung. I chose not to sting... For a day and a half, you have put questions and yet I didn't feel that I was interrogated. If I had felt it, I would not have answered. And in the bus this morning, I know I was being watched." Before I could answer anything he said: "Don't protest! If in Hungary we haven't developed anything else during the last decade we certainly have developed a sixth sense. If we did become sensitive animals, why not let us forget that we have this sixth sense?! Why watch us, why?? If they were communists among us, I am sure that they are not going to found a Communist Party. Let our senses become less sharp, let us enjoy life. We have many problems within ourselves overcoming our envy, for instance; during our walks, we saw children play tennis and I spontaneously thought: God, what a happy nation

where children grow up on tennis-courts. I don't want to be envious, I don't want to kill my soul just because I have seen so much misery around me."

- (2) "Tell me about Bartók's life in the United States."
(I happened to have translated many of Bartók's letters and read them all of course, so I, luckily, could answer this question. What impressed me most was the conclusion respondent did not draw from this unquestionably sad seven years of Bartók's life in the US, his last seven years. He didn't say that the US, due to its lack of culture, did not recognize Bartók's tremendous value, etc. All he sadly said was):
"What a shame that Bartók was not the type of man who could get ahead". By contrast, respondent described a concert he attended the previous night in München. It was the Philharmonic Orchestra of Philadelphia conducted by Ormandy. He described how spell-bound this hard-to-move German public was and then added: "Unquestionably Ormandy is a good musician but it does take quite a bit of push to be at the head of such an orchestra, doesn't it? How lucky for him that he has it, but it is, by no means, an attribute of the musician - if the man has it, so much better for the musician, though."

- (3) "Do Americans always harp on insignificant details?!"
I was twice interviewed how I liked that miserable lunch. (Respondent is referring to the lunch served in the house Seeblick the previous day.) I told you that all I needed to make the pleasure complete would have been Khrushchev on television. How much more can one talk about one lunch? If this is an indication of how things work in America, then I start to understand its foreign policy.

Last immediate problem, rather question: "How can the Negroes fit culturally into American society? Their music is primitive, and barbarian, how can Negroes fit into Western culture, without hurting it?"