

- (1) You should realise that it is absolutely impossible for the world outside to understand conditions in a country under Communist dictatorship.
- (2) I think it started in February 1956 after the 20th Party Congress. But in a way it started with Stalin's death in 1953. The relaxation of the Communist terror decreased fear of the Communist regime and enabled an increasing measure of criticism of it. In 1956 the glorification of Rakosi ceased altogether. Also the regime of Imre Nagy between 1953 - 1955 had far reaching effects. I am ^{familiar} ~~experienced~~ with these effects personally because I was in the army and benefited from ^{them} ~~it~~. As a person with bad Kader I was assigned to a labor battaillon but two weeks after I began my service I was transferred to the regular troops which was a great advantage because service in the labor battaillon was very bad. Those in the labor battaillon had to do hard work and in addition they received also the regular drill.
- (c) Although I have noticed the relaxation, frankly, I was sceptical and I must say that I did not believe in a real turning-point until the revolution had started in earnest. This I would say was on the 24th of October. To show what I mean: On October 23rd at noon I got my international driving license. This I needed in order to carry out my plan to leave the country. With two of my friends, both bus-drivers like myself, [REDACTED], a

former baron, and [REDACTED], we had planned for some time to escape from Hungary. Actually we had ~~set~~^{set} the date for our escape for the Saturday of the week of the revolution. This shows how skeptical I was, and how little I believed in relaxation.

(g)

I remember one article in particular. It appeared in the Szabad Nép in April 1956. It was entitled "Who is a Kulák?" I was interested in this article because I was labelled myself as a Kulák and as such I was unable to become a university student. The article in question maintained that young people of Kulák origin are no more barred from the university. This gave me the idea to write a letter to the Communist Party Headquarters and also to the editor of the paper Szabad Nép. I described my situation and asked for the redress of my grievances. The paper did not publish my letter nor did I receive any reply from the editor but I did receive an answer from the Secretariate of the Communist Party in which they promised an investigation of my case. A little later from my home town Kecskemét I received a letter from a Communist Party Secretariate explaining that much as they regret they cannot help me because my Kader did not change. They pointed out in particular that my father is still hostile towards the regime. What they referred to was the fact that my father was a Social-Democrat and both my parents were very religious. My father was arrested in 1948 for signing a so-called Mindszent-circular letter in which the undersigned protested against the nationalization of the Catholic schools.

- (3) As I have said I was viewing the relaxation with scepticism but I can understand now how this relaxation was a major factor in the outbreak of the revolution. Nevertheless I would like to point out that the revolution was entirely a spontaneous. I was surprised by this spontaneous outbreak of hatred against the Communist regime. The immediate cause of it probably was the armed conflict during the day of the 23rd of October.
- (b) In the control system of the regime there were a great many people who were not actually Communists but were acting under compulsion. In the moment of the revolution these people withdrew, that is to say remained passive. I have seen many cases of such an attitude. For instance, on October 23rd I saw a policeman to hand over his gun to a student. Also great many people who were supposed to support the regime took a wait-and-see attitude because they were uncertain as to the outcome of the events.
- (c) Students who started the demonstrations on October 23rd were anxious to put their demands into practise. As a bus-driver I was on duty on October 23rd and I have overheard the people and among them students talking about the purpose of the demonstration. No word was said about using force. I think events on the 23rd began as a peaceful demonstration.
- (d) The peaceful demonstration turned into a fight when the AVO opened fire on the demonstrators.
- (f) The people who opposed the revolution were those who occupied higher party functions. Many among them also

were not Communists but they were afraid and concerned over the consequences of the rising against the regime. Then, too, the many informers were scared. In general I would say that the people opposed the revolution were those who were afraid of the ~~weakness~~^{vengeance} of the people.

(g) The people who were neutral were those who were afraid. I think there were more people afraid among the intelligencia than among the workers.

(h) "Down with the AVO murderer", "Ruski go home",

B R E A D for the Hungarian people ROPE for Rakosi". I don't remember too many of these slogans.

(i) I think the revolution was directed against communism.

(k) I think the reason why some Communists joined the revolution is that there were few fanatical Communists in Hungary.

(l) There were all sorts of people among the rebels. I would like to point out, however, that people called by the Communists as reactionaries were not ~~actually~~^{necessarily} necessarily reactionaries. For instance, my friend, the former baron, [REDACTED], no doubt was labelled by the Communists as reactionary but I know very well that ~~he~~ he did not think of regaining his estates and was no reactionary at all.

(4) On October 23rd as I have said I was on duty as bus-driver on th line 39 which ran between the inner city Vörösmerty tér and Pasaréti ut in Buda. My working hours on that day were from half past two to eight twenty. Around half past five, however, I was

unable to move with my bus. I had to stop for instance for one hour on the Margat Bridge because of the demonstration marching towards the inner city. All people on my bus sympathized with the demonstrators. I waved to them too. I felt enthusiastic. I even suggested to my conductor on the bus that we, too, should join the demonstrators. We stayed on the bus, however, and succeeded finally to get through the bridge and reach the terminal. When we arrived I asked my superior what we should do. He said there are no instructions therefore we should continue thereon and try to get back to the inner city. So we started back toward the city but we could not get too far because the students stopped us. I should not work for the regime, they said, instead I should help the demonstrators. They filled the bus to capacity and they told me to drive them to the city. The students were singing, shouting slogans, while the regular passengers got off the bus. The students hoisted two Hungarian flags on my bus. First I got scared and I told the students that they should understand my position. I am an employee and I would not like to get into trouble. The students heeded my words and they accepted my proposition that we should return to the garage. In the garage the students talked to the dispatcher and very calmly and modestly they demanded that all busses should be allowed on the streets and help the demonstrators by carrying people to the scene of demonstrations. The students talked also to the director and to the party

secretaries on the premises who insisted that they cannot give in to the students' demands because they have no instructions. Meanwhile one of the students jumped behind the wheels of one of the busses and drove away. I did the same and drove away with another bus and so did the other bus-drivers while the students were jumping on the moving busses. Three, four busses ~~were~~ ^{thus} left in the garage and we were driving toward the city picking up many more demonstrators on our way. We were heading toward the Radio Station. Several blocks from the Radio we had to stop because we could not move ~~and~~ ~~we~~ in the big crowd. We all got off and I left the bus there. This was actually my story how I joined the revolution. Later in the night while fighting went on at the Radio I have heard demonstrators calling for car-drivers. Someone noticed my bus-driver uniform and said "Here is a driver". I was told to drive a truck to the Lampartfactory to pick up ammunition. When we arrived to the Lampart factory the rebels were in control of the place. We loaded the truck with ammunition and I drove it back to the Calvin ~~Place~~ ^{Square}. The ammunition was distributed among the people who were standing around with rifles in their hands. During the night I ~~was~~ made two more trips on two different trucks. In both instances I was to drive to RESTSZENTLÖRINC to the Artillery Barracks there to fetch ammunition for the guns the rebels got hold of. But only one of my trips was successful. On my second trip I was fired on by the AVO. I turned back. The

boys who were riding with me got off and dispersed while I thought it was late enough to go to bed and I drove home on the truck. I left the truck on the street. Next morning it wasn't there. As for me I left my room around seven o'clock. I was living in the vicinity of the József Köruth. I heard shooting and I was walking in the direction of the shots. Soon I found myself in the famous ~~színház~~ movie house and I joined the fighters. Arms were given to everyone who came. New arms arrived in trucks on the side streets. We were shooting in the direction of the ^{József} ~~Corvin~~ Körut where Soviet tanks appeared from time to time. I had a sub-machine gun and two hand grenades. During the morning I fired at a Russian armored car. I aimed at the tires but ~~if~~ I missed. Around noon it was quiet. News have circulated that the Russians got scared and withdrew from the city. The revolution was victorious, we were told. I left the place and went home to have lunch. I lived with a family where I rented a furnished room. After lunch I left the sub-machine gun and the two hand grenades in my room and was back on the street to find out what is the situation like. I met that afternoon my two friends [REDACTED], with whom we were planning ^{since} to leave Hungary. But we came to the conclusion that the revolution was victorious, we will not leave. I took my two friends to my room and showed them my sub-machine gun and the two hand grenades. Then we went back to the
 Corvin - köz . The streets around were quiet.

People with arms were standing around. Inside the movie house were about two or three hundred. Guns and ammunition was plenty. We took turn in standing guard around the corners. I stood guard from nine to ten that night. After ten I left and went home. Gun fire woke me up that morning on October 25th. I took my sub-machine gun and my two hand grenades and went back to the Corvin Köz . When I arrived I saw that the rebels in the meantime have got~~ten~~ hold of two anti tank guns. Fire was heavy. Russian tanks approached the street crossing both from the direction of the Danube and ~~from the direction of~~ ^{József Körut} ~~from the direction of~~. The rebels were firing on them both from the Corvin Köz and from the Kilian Barracks across the street. I met my friend [REDACTED] in the Corvin Köz and we both took part in the morning fightings. There were many soldiers in uniforms among the fighters. Officers with national cover arm bands gave instructions. Pál Maletter, commander of the Kilian Barracks came over to the Corvin Köz several times. I threw hand grenades from a second floor window of a house overlooking the boulevard. I stayed with the Corvin Köz group until October 27th but during night time I returned to my room to sleep. After 27th I rode the streets but did not take part in the attacks against the members of the secrete police, in the so-called virtues against the AVO I have registered also in the Corvin Köz as a freedom fighter and I received a card. Such cards were important at the time

Everyone was trying to get a card which ~~approved~~ that he was on the side of the revolution. I spent much time in the Corvin Köz. During these days it became a famous place, newspaper men visited us. I was with my friend [REDACTED] most of the time and we explained to the newspaper men what happened during the fightings. The Corvin Kóz group did not dissolve, I mean, not even after the revolution seemed to be victorious because no one felt safe until the Russians were in the country. I went back also to my ^{place} ~~base~~ of employment, to the garage of the Budapest bus system. I wanted to know what was the situation there. I did not resume work but I received 2,000 Forints as an advance on my future salary. In the plant a revolutionary committee was functioning. On November 3rd I visited my parents in the vicinity of Kecskemét in

I made the trip on a truck which was sent by a revolutionary committee to pick up food. A policeman went with us. Outside Budapest the Russians stopped us. We saw the Russian checking point from far away and I threw away two hand grenades I had in my pocket. But since the Russians were searching only for arms ~~ix~~ we passed the checking point without incidents. I spent the night with my parents. Next morning, on November 4th, we learned about the Russian attack on Budapest. I was anxious to return to the Capital. My parents implored me not to go. I finally decided to stay. It is hard to say how miserable I felt. My only hope was that the West and the

United Nations will come to Hungary's rescue. On November 7th my parents finally let me go and I returned to Budapest. I told my parents that I must go because in my room in Budapest I have arms and ammunition and I must dispose of them. The real reason of my leaving for Budapest was however, that I was anxious to fight the Russians. The fighting was over when I returned, at least in the section of the Capital I was living. When I returned to the Corvin Kőz it was in ruins and abandoned. I was anxious to get in touch with my two friends. I could not locate [REDACTED]. I was told he disappeared on November 4th. For some time I thought that ~~that~~ he was dead but now I know that he is in Australia. I found my other friend, [REDACTED], at home. He did not take part in the fighting. For a while we were hopeful that the United Nations will help but when nothing happened we decided that we will carry out our pre-revolutionary plans and that we will try to leave the country. On November 16th with my friend [REDACTED] and two others we left Budapest and we hitchhiked to the frontier. On November 17th we crossed the border to Austria.

(5) Not applicable

(6) Covered by question (4).

(7) The university students because they were the greatest heroes.

- (a) I don't know of any.
- (8) Some of them were brutal and wild, others behaved passively. I remember seeing the crew of ~~the~~^a Russian armored car standing around, smoking cigarettes, and looking embarrassed.
- (e) Yes, during the fightings at the Corvin Kőz
I saw a Russian soldier go over to the rebels. He was one of the crew who escaped from a burning armored car. He wept and he said he knew what it was all about, that the Hungarians are fighting for their freedom, he wants freedom, too, he would like to live in Hungary. The Hungarian freedom fighters gave him civilian clothes.
- (9) During the revolution from the radio and by word-of-mouth.
- (a) I was interested in the newspapers, leaflets were more interesting though.
- (b) Mostly concerning the Russians, the AVO members, and the fate of the Communists.
- (c) We listened to Free Europe Radio. This was possible because there was electric current throughout the revolution.
- (10) From my own experience I have no informations.
- (a) The Red Cross and the Public Utilities.
- (b) It disintegrated. In Budapest no one talked about the Communist Party.
- (jkl) I have no personal experience.

- (m) A Western type democratic system.
- (11) Yes, especially now since my aunt came out from Hungary to visit Germany. We talked a lot about the revolution and I am filled with bitterness. Also I feel that a new uprising will take place.
- (a) Yes, it was useful, mainly because it threw the entire Communist ^{world} ~~work~~ movement into confusion. . Even the convinced Communists were shocked into thinking about the terror and injustice of the Soviet system. Reaction among the students in Soviet Russia was also strong. In the West and all over the free world the Hungarian revolution undermined the Communist parties, weakened the Communist sympathizers and fellow travellers.
- (b) Out of its own strength it could not have succeeded.
- (c) Yes, I expected help from the West. I thought the revolution rendered such great service to the West that we deserved the help. I expected help also on humanistic grounds. I could not imagine that the West should sit idly by while the powerful Soviet Union is crushing the revolution of a small nation against Communism. I expected political help, that the United States will exert pressure on the Soviet Union but I expected also armored help through Yugoslavia rather than Austria because I think Tito is very much afraid of the Soviet Union and he is sympathetic towards the United States. Of course, during the revolution I did not think of the details could 've been rendered or

whether it could have been possible at all. I still believe, however, that since Hungary was a member state of the United Nations the expectation of help was justifiable since we were victims of aggression. Most people thought the same way as I did. I should like to mention, however, that I had some doubts, too, mainly because I knew that in Yalta the Americans

gave Eastern Europe to the Russians.

But at the same time I thought the international situation has changed considerably since Yalta. Thus perhaps my hopes were greater than my doubts.

- (e) I think Imre Nagy is a very good Hungarian. He took upon himself the burdens of premiership in a very difficult situation because he wanted to help the Hungarian people.
- (f) I can think right now only of Maletar.
- (g) Students, young workers, ~~intelligentsia~~, workers, intellectuals, soldiers, peasants, irresponsible elements.
- (12) I said before how I decided to leave Hungary. I am studying now in Munich and would like to become a veterinarian but I am thinking also of going to the United States and perhaps join the American Army.

- (1) I graduated from the gymnasium in Kecskemét. Because of my bad Kader I was not admitted to the university. I am skilful in drawing and I had jobs as ~~craftsman~~ draftsman between 1950 and 1952. I lost these jobs, however, because of my social background. I was a truck driver in 1952/53. I was in the army in 1953 to 1955. From 1955 to 1956 I was a bus driver in Budapest.
- (2) As a ~~craftsman~~ draftsman I had two jobs. The first one in Kecskemét. I did not like this job and I was anxious to get a job in Budapest. With the help of a secretary of the head of the personnel department I was able to get a qualification which proved me as reliable. Thus I received a job in the Budapest Industrial Building Designing Institute. They found out my bad Kader, however, and I was fired. This is how I became first a truck driver and later a bus driver.
- (e) In the Kecskemét office where I worked as a ~~draftsman~~ draftsman conditions were very poor. But the Budapest office was in every respect of a high standard except that we were overworked.
- (3) I would prefer to talk about my job as a draftsman because I like this better than the jobs I had as a driver.
- (a) The Kecskemét office as I have said was poorly equipped. The Budapest office on the other hand was one of the best equipped in the country.
- (f) We worked about ten to twelve hours a day. Overtime was

compulsory.

- (g) We worked six days.
- (o) I had no benefits whatsoever, worth mentioning.
- (4)
- (a) There were all sort of people, young and old, and of different social background.
- (b) We were all afraid of our superiors. There was an intimate relationship, however, ~~among~~^{among} equals.
- (f) Did not represent the interest of the workers.
- (i) Insignificant, it would not have made much difference if it would not have had existed.
- (l) The party secretary kept his eyes all the time on us.
- (p) We knew that there are secret informers among us. We had evidences of this. For instance, if some one stayed longer in the buffet or went there too often his name was posted on the office ~~newspaper~~^{bulletin board}. Such informations were evidently ~~made~~^{based} on the observation of the secret informers.
- (5) Possibilities for changing jobs were very poor.
- (b) I would have become a doctor. I was very much interested in medicine. Also I considered it a good profession because it was lucrative and politically relatively safe.
- (e) I would like to travel, learning languages, read both for research and amusement.
- (g) No, I would not have wanted my children to do the same kind of work I was doing.

- (6) Under Hungarian conditions I was considerably better off than the average.
- (d) Nevertheless I felt that I was exploited by the state. I did not feel that the reward for my work is adequate.
- (7) My income in 1950 was 1,000 Forints including overtime money, in 1952 2,000 Forints, in 1955 1,600 Forints.
- (8)
- (a) In 1956 my actual pay was 1,600 Forints.
- (b) 1,480 Forints.
- (c) None.
- (d) 120 Forints.
- (e) 3,000 Forints from my income.
- (9) See attached list.
- (10)
- (c) I remember the economic situation in Hungary before 1941 as one remembers the good old days.
- (d) I think there was a deterioration in spite of the fact that the total production was greater.
- (f) I think it was a dirty trick to lure the private capital out of hiding.
- (g) I think they were worse.
- (11) Material conditions I think played a very great role.

- (1) I finished the gymnasium in Kecskemét in 1950. I wanted to study medicine but was not admitted to the university because of my social background.
- (d) I attended night course in a drivers school.
- (2) No, I did not.
- (3)
- (c) When I went to the gymnasium there were no outright ideological subjects but marxist interpretation was studied within the courses of history.
- (4) The main objective was to kill off Western idealism, ridicule the idea of God, falsify the history of Hungary and Hungarian literature. For instance, in the history of Hungary the element of class ~~struggle~~^{struggle} has been emphasized and in the history of literature great writers and poets were portrayed as fore-runners of Communism. In general we were made to believe that the victory of Communism is a historical inevitability.
- (b) It is effective but only temporarily.
- (c) We were not enthusiastic about Communism but it brought something new which we received with interest and curiosity. To speak about myself I was a Communist, too, for about half a year in the 7th grade of gymnasium. I was deeply impressed by the criticism of feudalism and capitalism. Also the materialistic interpretation pleased me. I never saw God and we were taught that whatever we don't

see does not exist. I sometimes had the feeling that I could become a good Communist. Comparing, however, the facts of life under Communism with Communist theories helped me to realise that Communism is something that cannot be put into practise. More and more I had to think of the falseness in Communism. Also materialistic interpretations did not satisfy me. Instead of materialism I was more interested in idealism. I am not religious but I believe that a God exists. It is clear to me that something like God must exist but I do not believe that the Roman Catholic religion was originated by God. Nor could I believe that Jesus Christ was God's son. The history of the church does not fill me with enthusiasm. There are many injustices in the church and its past. I do pray but I can think of God outside the church, too, and this I call also a prayer. I would like to add that my disillusionment was effect^{ed} also by the fact that I could not enroll ~~x~~ in the university. I expected more from the Communists than I have received from them.

(d) To sum up what we liked in Communism I would say that it gave many answers to young people who were searching for truth. It helped us also to realise how much injustice is in human society. We no doubt liked the idea of equality.

(e) We could not understand why a regime which calls itself superior must apply terror. Why is it necessary to apply force if the Communist system is so good.

(f) The Communists themselves must have realised that forcing

the Communist ideology has detrimental effects on education and teaching. They have reduced recently the ideological subjects.

- (g) I think youngsters today are different from those in my days because they ~~have been~~ ^{are} indoctrinated very early ~~and~~. When they become more susceptible to ideas the Communist ideology does not affect them as a novelty. They are used to it. It becomes monotonous and therefore it has lesser effects. That's why ~~the~~ ^{the} young people are cynical. They are then what we call ~~awake~~ ^{blase}. There must be faith and understanding in the meaning and beauty of life. ~~They~~ ^{They, the Communists} killed off the appreciation of ~~of~~ ideals.
- (i) It is seemingly effective at the elementary school but I understand that later actually this is proving less effective.
- (5) My father was a shopkeeper.
- (a) The Communists took away his business in 1945. He was working as a physical ~~business~~ ^{worker}. In 1950 he became a bookkeeper.
- (d) Yes, after 1945 till 1947 we had domestic servants but they were no servants. They were treated more as members of the family. These servants were partly employed on our little estate.
- (e) We had about 40 hectares of land, half vineyard.
- (f) Relatively better off.
- (g) My parents and five children.
- (h) My eldest brother was an economist. He finished his studies before 1945 and went into the wine business. He has a job

now in one of the state owned industries. My second brother is a professor. He is a linguist. My third brother is an engineer and has a job at the public utilities in Kecskemét. My younger brother is right now a medical student in Budapest. He applied for admission before the revolution but he was rejected. This year in February, however, he received a letter from the university informing him that he can be admitted. This made him very happy.

(i) I was living alone in 1956 in Budapest.

(k) It hurt me.

(6-10) Not applicable.

(11) The relationship was the best.

(12) Yes, we talked about political matters.

(13)

(a) They objected to my becoming a motor driver.

(b) They thought I got mixed up in bad company.

(c) We had many debates but there was no estrangement on that account.

(d) They used to ask me whether I go to church. My mother sometimes wept because I was not going. It hurt me but I was not really reprimanded. During the time when I was sympathetic to Communism there were many bitter debates between my father and me but I must say that I

don't owe my father that I ceased to be Communist. I have settled this issue with myself. I must repeat that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ this conflict did not cause an estrangement between my parents and myself. I considered my parents a petty bourgeois type. They resented new things, did not understand the modern life ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~. I think also that I was a sort of black sheep of the family.

(14)

(a) It remained close in spite of what I have said before.

(b) I don't think that our family was a typical one.

(c) I spent most of my leisure time with girls.

(g) I had little free time. Party seminars and these activities took up most of my leisure time.

(15) I think they have loosened.

(e) Parents care much less for their children than before. Partly because they have no time, partly because they don't care. Relations between parents are often not good. Pressures, problems of every-day life are too great.

(16) Yes, they have changed.

(a) They marry younger than before.

(b) There are changes. Courtship now involves sexual relationship. Many marriages are made after very short acquaintances. Pleasant ~~sexual~~ ^{sexual} relationship is considered a basis for marriage. Deeper human understanding does

not play a role. Founding of family is no motivation. The wife is a permanent girl-friend ~~without~~ and is less expensive than a girl-friend without marriage.

- (c) I am critical of the new forms but I don't believe that easy marriage is necessarily bad provided there is a spiritual harmony.
- (e) Prostitution although not legalized was more wide-spread than ever but since it was not controlled it was more dangerous.
- (f) Less severe.
- (g) I am in favor of birth control. I think it is widely practised. Prophylactics are easily available. In 1956 abortion was legalized.
- (h) There is no discrimination against illegitimate children.
- (i) It has changed but the status of women I think is worse than it used to be.
- (17) The general state of morals has deteriorated.
- (18) Both of my friend were those whom I have met in my childhood. But I made a few other friends, too, but not too many.
- (a) My two best friends about whom I have already talked were doing the same job as I did. They were bus drivers.
- (c) We amused ourselves. We went out together with our girl-friends.
- (d) Not much.
- (e) No, it did not change.

- (f) With one of my best friends who is now in Belgium I am in touch by correspondence.
- (g) Companionship, intelligence, versatility.
- (h) It was not easy.
- (i) Friends as a rule come either from the same region or from the same school but not very often from the same job.
- (k) It would have affected. Mutual alienation was inevitable. Actually it happened to me, too.
- (19) My parents religion was Roman Catholic.
- (b) See above question (13)(d)
- (20) The objective of Communist policy is to liquidate religion.
- (a) It was directed above all against the Catholic church because the Catholic church was the strongest in Hungary. It was a greater force than any of the other religions, united the people more closely than the other religions.
- (b) I think the Communists tried to exterminate religion.
- (c) They were people without character.
- (f) No, one could not. People in better jobs ~~were~~ endangered their position if they attended church services.
- (h) I went seldom to church, perhaps twenty times a year.
- (i) Older people more frequently.
- (k) Religion to young people means less. The youth is cynical, lax. Great many young people consider the forms of Catholic religion rather naive. It does not satisfy them.
- (l) In a way it did because the church was the only place

where no ~~praise~~ ^{praise} was heard of the Communist regime.

(21) Doctor. It is a beautiful profession and also lucrative.

(22) The best off were the high party functionaries, artists, sportsmen, doctors, veterinarians, the technical intelligencia, smaller plant managers, and skilled workers. The worst off were people living on pension, small white collar workers, and unskilled workers.

(a) I was a skilled worker.

(23) One class is ^{formed by} ~~the~~ Communists in the higher jobs and party leadership, the upper tenthousands, ~~xxxxxxxhigherxxx~~ then the good job-holders form another class. The exploited masses form the third class and they are the majority of the population.

(b) Of course it is a great change.

(d) Political and economic barriers ~~is~~ divide the people. The privileged ones held themselves aloof from the exploited.

(e) There is greater social equality today.

(g) People are not polite, they have bad manners. But that is also a democratization of relationships among people. For instance, people within the same plant ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ holding equal jobs addressed themselves "Te".

(24)

(a) The Germans suffered most, also ^{the Serbs} ~~the Serbs~~ and ^{Croats} ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ during the anti Tito campaign.

- (25) After 1945 the Jews had great say in the country. During this period the Jews did many nasty things. Later ^{on} life became for everyone difficult whether you were a Jew or not. It did make little difference whether you were a Jew or not.
- (a) In general the Jews adjusted themselves better.
- (b) Jews got hold of great many positions, especially in the AVO. There is a general mistrust towards the Jews. I think, however, that there were few true Communists among the Jews. They were mostly opportunists.
- (c) Among my friends there were several Jews. They were all against the regime.
- (d) As far as I know a fairly good number of Jews fought in the revolution. There was no anti-semitism during the revolution.
- (g) ~~Anti~~ Anti-Semitism decreased under Communist persecution. People learned what it means to be persecuted.
- (h) Sporadic outburst of anti-Semitism possible but I don't see any danger, any general danger, of anti-Semitism.

- (1) I was not particularly interested in politics.
- (2) As I have said I sympathized for a while with Communism, when I was in the seventh grade of gymnasium.
- (b) My father belonged to the social-democratic party.
- (e) As a child I have heard a great deal about the Communists. ~~but~~ They were described as godless people and I had the worst opinion about them. But later I have changed my opinion. When I sympathized with Communism, ~~the reverse~~ ^{other} stage ^{change} ~~came~~ when I was disillusioned for good.
- (f) I choose number III.
- (h) People obeyed, mainly because of the rule of terror. Then, ~~too~~ it is just human nature that people can be broken when force is used against the masses.
- (3) It hurt me most that I was made to feel all the time that I do not belong to the honored part of the society.
- (a) iv, x, viii.
- (b) v, iii, xv.
- (c) iv, ix, xiii.
- (d) vi, ix, xiv.
- (e) iii, v, ix.
- (j) The social security services, medical care provided satisfaction.
- (4) The party, ^{or} ~~ALL~~ I would say, the group of peoples, commissars, who served blindly the Soviet interests.
- (f) ~~immensely~~ ^{immensely} great. Bureaucracy ~~was~~ before 1945 ~~was~~
~~was~~

as far as I know was smaller.

- (h) People in government service were those who came from the Soviet Union as Communist exiles. Then the new workers' and peasants' intelligencia. Finally the dubious characters.
- (5) It has advantages, both in the schools and in getting jobs. The first question always was when you applied for a job: "Are you a member of the DISZ"?
- (a) The drawbacks were that if one became active in the DISZ one was considered a candidate for the party membership. I call this a drawback because many ~~xxxxxxx~~ who were active actually had no ambitions to become members of the party.
- (b) One did not have to join but in gymnasium, for instance, we all became automatically members in 1948.
- (c) If one showed complete passivity or declared that he does not want to become a member it was possible not to join the DISZ but it had serious consequences. One was labelled as a reactionary and thus became a bad Kader.
- (d) Yes, I belonged.
- (e) After the war I first belonged to the Madisz and to the Apoz. When in 1948 the DISZ was formed I became automatically a member.
- (f) In 1954 while serving in the army I became DISZ secretary. I have had this position for a year. It was quite funny how I became a Disz secretary in the army. The lieutenant liked me. He was a Communist but a rather cynical man. I

could say anything in his presence about the Communists and the Communist regime. He explained to me that although he does not think much of the regime he does not believe that it will change during his lifetime because the Soviets are too strong. It was he who chose me to become the secretary of the DISZ when order came that such a position should be created in our unit. I did not do much as a secretary. I called a meeting every month. Mostly we told stories and joked, also we built a sport field which earned me quite a distinction which I did not expect. One day I was ~~mentioned~~^{surprised} to receive the distinction of a so-called "good secretary". The whole thing did not mean to me anything.

- (6) A party member could get easier good jobs and also his advancement was better and faster.
- (a) Everyone in leading positions however small had to become a party member, especially those who were seeking advancement but I think there were very few who were convinced Communists in comparison with the great number of party members.
- (e) They changed, they withdrew, also they became nasty. The party membership demoralized them.
- (f) The dissatisfied were either the opportunists who did not receive what they ~~is~~ expected to, or among those a few who became Communists by conviction, dissatisfaction set in when they realised the falseness and injustice of the system.

- (h) I was not a party member.
- (p) I could not have joined because of my bad Kader. Of course, had I committed a series of base acts like denouncing my family, or father in particular, calling him a reactionary, a churchgoer, if I would have discovered a plot, I mean if I would have been doing such things for some period of time I probably would have qualified for a party membership.
- (r) The Russians, Moscow, ran the party.
- (7) I belonged to the Hungarian-Soviet ~~Societist~~ Society. It was a general vogue to belong to this organization because it was good to belong to some organization.
- (c) I did not know exactly what was the purpose of this organization. It did not even interest me. My duties consisted of paying dues. I belonged also to the trade union but this was automatic because of my job.
- (g) People in general ~~felt~~ ^{felt constant} hostility towards these organizations but I took them for granted. Perhaps I should make an exception in the case of the DISZ. The clubs of the DISZ were mostly popular. Boys and girls met there and had a good time. Whenever I went to the DISZ club my parents were always very unhappy. There was a general erotic atmosphere in the DISZ clubs. As I have said boys and girls had a good time there.
- (1) These mass organizations functioned because the party

wanted them to function. They could have hardly lived without pressure from above.

(m) The people cursed it because all what the trade unions did was to collect dues.

(8) I think very few, about 5 to 10 percent.

(9) The answer is simple, because there were very few true Communists.

(10) (b) When the AVH arrested my father they ~~hadly treated him~~ ^{treated him very badly}
 Also one of my friends was tortured to death.

(e) There were those who volunteered, then party members upon instruction or pressure, and frightened people, especially ~~which~~ people released from jail.

(j) The AVH was built in within the police. The AVH did not trust the police.

(k) The AVH was the armed wing of the party. The party dominated, ~~by~~ the AVH as ^{everywhere}

(11) I was taken to the AVH headquarters when I was in the eighth grade of gymnasium. The charge against me was that I pulled out the DISZ necktie of one my

class mates

and told him to throw it away. I was asked at the AVH whether this was true. I said: "Yes". I tried to explain that this was a joke. They beat me up and told me not to

make such jokes.

- (a) The greatest shock was the death of one of my friends, in Kecskemét. He was a boy of 17. He was one grade below me, He was accused together with three or four of his friends of planning to throw a hand grenade on the AVH building. This was only a plan. Someone must have told about this plan because the AVH arrested the boys and they found, I mean the AVH found, hand grenades and a pistol. The boys must have gotten hold of ^{those} during the second world war. My friend, the 17 years old boy, was the leader of the gang. The others were released but the family of ~~the~~ ^{the} leader of the gang did not hear about the boy for four years and then his mother was notified that he died. The story was that he was so badly beaten up that he died in the AVH hospital.
- (b) My father was arrested together with 16 others in 1948 when they signed leaflets issued by Cardinal Mindszenty in which the undersigned protested against the nationalization of Catholic schools. I have known other cases when the AVH arrested people. I have known one of them ~~who~~ who died shortly after he had been released because of maltreatment he suffered during his ~~detention~~ detention.
- (d) The people who got arrested were mostly kulaks and in general people whom the regime did not consider reliable.
- (g) I have seen the design of the AVH prison in Kecskemét. The prison was formerly a monastery of the Franciscan order. The cells of the AVH, after the monastery was rebuilt were deep under ground. In kecskemét the people called the AVH building the "blue house" because people

were beaten ~~xxxxxxx~~ blue in the AVH building.

- (12) Not applicable.
- (13) I would advise not to become friends with anyone, not to say an opinion on anything, not to get mixed up with any anti-regime activities. He should not listen foreign broadcasts and should participate in every required ~~activity~~ activities. Thus he my stay clear, perhaps, of trouble.
- (c) Lower party functionaries may be useful.
- (d) Yes, it helps by all means. One cannot conceal an unfavorable class background although for a while it could be concealed.
- (f) One might get into trouble in spite of keeping one's mouth shut simply by belonging to a bad kader, also if it is in the interests of the party to ~~beat~~ ^{pick} on him.
- (14) Relaxations since Stalin's death.
- (15) The Soviets dictated everything in Hungary.
- (e) It was strong everywhere. In public life ~~thaxfamily~~ perhaps the family was best protected.
- (16)
- (c) With family.
- (d) You could be more candid about things which did not have any bearing on the regime.

- (17) Yes, it is possible. But it is very dangerous because if it is found out punishment is very heavy. Every misdeed is considered as a political crime.
- (18) Its ^{strength} ~~trend~~ is the dictatorial form of rule, the terror, and the Soviet support. Its weakness is that the people do only the absolute minimum. They feel no solidarity towards the regime.
- (19) Resistance is general. You commit sabotage whenever and wherever you can.
- (b) The peasants, the intelligencia, and the workers.
- (c) The least hostile were perhaps the smaller party functionaries. They were afraid rather than hostile.
- (1) They were the product of the relaxation.

- (1) I was reading Hungarian papers but I was not listening to the Hungarian radio. I listened to foreign broadcast, too, but not too frequently.
- (2) I bought many newspapers. Approximately three times a week I read the Szabad Nép. Among the magazines the Irodalmi Ujság and the Élet És Tudomány. Very seldom I saw Hétfői Hírlap.
- (g) I saw the Pravda and some Western papers but I did not read them.
- (3) At least twice a week.
- (b) Mostly entertainment. I liked also the opera films and historical films. Political and educational films I did not like.
- (c) Italian and French films, seldom Russians.
- (e) Weekly I went either to the theater, to the opera, or to an operetta.
- (4) I have been reading always something but I have wished to have more time. Among the French writers I liked Dumas, Zola, Hugo . Among the Hungarian Jokai, ~~Mikszáth~~^{Mikszáth}. I read also Margaret Mitchel's "Gone with the Wind". Among The Russian authors I liked Tolstoi.
- (5) From the domestic radio I enjoyed music and plays.
- (b) I had my own radio set.

- (6) I listened to the Voice of America, Free Europe Radio, and BBC.
- (b) I considered the foreign broadcast more reliable than the domestic ones. Free Europe Radio in my opinion was serious.
- (7) Political news informations I received by word-of-mouth. I also talked to sportsmen who returned from abroad both from the West and from Russia. From former prisoners of war in Soviet Russia I received some informations about life in the Soviet Union. In general what I learned about the West was good, what I learned about Russia was bad.
- (8) The newspapers I did not consider reliable.
- (d) I compared news heard from foreign broadcasts with news I have read in the newspapers and formed my own judgement on them.
- (e) News from foreign sources I have considered always more reliable than those I have received from domestic sources.
- (9) In general I think people tried hard to be well-informed.
- (10)
- (a) It impressed me that the Americans could win the war against Japan by dropping two atomic bombs because Japan was a very ^{great} ~~big~~ power and had a fanatical army.
- (b) It was Soviet provocation.

- (c) I did not believe.
- (d) I approved of it very much.
- (e) I knew about Free Europe balloons. (Corrected:
(e) I knew about the balloons but I did know that Free Europe sent them. I did not attach to them great importance.)
- (f) I knew about it but I remember only very vaguely.
- (g) I expected some results from the activities of the emigre politicians but they disappointed me. All this has strengthened only my decision to leave Hungary and go West.

- (1) What ought to be changed was everything that smacked of dictatorship.
- (a) The truth is that there were certain things in the new regime which I thought should be kept. After all the Communist regime abolished class differences and this was good. The way the Communists carried out those changes was of course no good at all but I believe in equality and in a society without privileges.
- (2) Yes, I think there should be political parties.
- (a) All people should be free to organize political parties, even the Communists.
- (3) I would not curtail the freedom of speech.
- (c) I would curtail, however, the control and irresponsible criticism of the government because in my opinion people are easily misled and this may cause confusion and trouble.
- (d) People should be allowed to say things detrimental to the state but should be forbidden to say untrue and irresponsible things about the state.
- (4) Yes, I think they should.
- (b) If the government does not represent the interests of the country or it does not create a just social order or if the country is oppressed by a foreign power. In these cases armed uprising is justified.

- (5) Greater stress should be laid on agricultural products. Also industrial production should be rationalized.
- (6) I approve the nationalization of steel and coal and in general of the key industries because these constitute the basis of the national economy and therefore it is the responsibility of the government to make them function for the public good.
- (b) Smaller factories should be restored to their former owners and in general smaller factories should be in private hands because they constitute no ~~danger~~^{threat} of excessive accumulation of wealth.
- (c) Private profit is good as far as it does not hurt the interests of public welfare.
- (e) Yes, in the interest of public good.
- (7) I approach this question in the same sense as I did the previous one.
- (8) As such I approve of government planning. After all every production is planned. But not in the form of Communist planned economy. Planning should be done ~~in~~ according to the interests of public welfare and public good.
- (9) Private life in general, especially in the family and religion.

- (10)
and (e) Both yes.
- (11) Medical care has improved.
- (12) Citizens have more opportunity.
- (13) No.
(a) Better.
(b) Worse.
- (14) No.
(a) Better.
(b) Same.
- (15) Production increased.
- (16) The workers should play a leading role.
(d) Experts.
- (17) The ways collective farms existed were bad.
(c) I would maintain them exclusively on the basis of voluntary association.
(f) 1,000 hectars.
(h) Land should be restored to every small holder.
(l) The state should help agriculture.
(m) Efficiency should decide this question.

- (18) I believe in separation of state and church.
(f) Whichever would be better.
- (19) The guilty should be brought to trial.
Same answer to ~~question~~ probe (e), (f), and (g).
- (20) The great contributions of the Hungarians was the very founding of the state in a very critical geographical area. Also the struggle against the Turks was a great contribution because it saved Europe. Historically Hungary was the Eastern Bastion of Western christianity.
- (21) I believe there is a Hungarian nation character.
(e) In the past there were differences in character among Hungary's social classes.
(f) Now they survive among Hungarians abroad.
- (22) The government of Paul Teleki. Not that I think that it was good but it was relatively the best.
(f) Economic inequality in Hungary before 1945 was significant.
(i) The period between 1945 and 1948 was worse than the one that preceded it but better~~y~~ than the one that followed it.
- (23) I think border lines are important.
(b) I am in favor of union with Hungary's neighbours but I think we have a rightful claim ^{to} ~~of~~ territories populated by Hungarians and living beyond the present borders.

I would like to point out that economic interests necessitate a greater union among the nations of Central Europe.

- (b) No.
- (24) The answer to the problem as I suggested before lies in federal union but no Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, no Habsburgs.
- (25) Basically I think the Russians are good people but they are also different from the Europeans. I feel there is something rude in them which I would not be able further to explain.
- (26) I think marxism is a nice idea but not practicable.
- (a) The followings appealed to me: The idea of freedom, of equal rights, and that man is the greatest value.
- (b) I don't think the idea of equality in marxism is correct. The marxist economic policy does not make sense to me when practised by the Communists and I reject the anti-religiousness of marxism.
- (c) Lenin distorted marxism.
- (d) Stalin distorted it even more.
- (e) Tito is better than Lenin or Stalin.
- (f) Not good because they follow slavishly the Soviet line.
- (g) No, they are not.
- (h) No.
- (i) Democracy is the form of state without dictatorship.

(j) Neither.

(27) National Communism is a form of Communism independent of the Soviets. It represents better marxism than the Soviet form of it.

(e) No.

(28) Western type of democracy.

(b) No.

(29)

(a) Good.

(b) Bad.

(c) Bad.

(d) Bad.

(e) Bad.

(f) Neither good nor bad.

(g) Bad.

(h) Good.

(i) Bad.

(j) Bad.

(k) Bad.

(l) Good.

(m) Bad.

(n) Good.

(30) The Christian Democrats.

(a) Don't know.

- (31)
- (a) Below.
 - (b) Above.
 - (c) Below.
 - (d) Below.
 - (e) Below.
 - (f) Above.
 - (g) Above.
 - (h) Below.
 - (i) Below.
- (32) Before 1948: (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f) better, (g), (h), (i) worse. After 1948: (a), (b), (c), (d) worse, (e) Same, (f) worse, (g) better, (h), (i) worse.
- (33)
- (a) Coincide.
 - (b) Coincide.
 - (c) Coincide.
 - (d) Conflict.
 - (e) Coincide.
 - (f) Coincide.
 - (g) Conflict.
 - (h) Conflict.
 - (i) Conflict.
 - (j) Cannot generalize.
- (34) I have no misgivings.

(35) The army would be forced to fight but would desert or turn against the regime whenever or as soon as the opportunity would offer itself. The opportunists would act the same way. Convinced Communists would fight for the regime because defeat would mean the end of Communism.

(36) No change.

(1)

(a) On the basis of these questions you can form a good view of the respondent's opinions, even of his character.

(2)

(a) I would like to but it will depend on ~~my~~ many circumstances which I cannot yet foresee. I would return to Hungary if Hungary would become a democracy, especially if Hungary would become a member of a European union.

(3)

You should talk to people of all strata of population.

Interviewer's Rating: Respondent is an intelligent thinking person. Although not an intellectual type he has a great common sense. He has an understanding of the practical. He is unusually balanced for a young man who has seen so much unbalanced. On the whole I do not doubt his frankness although here and there he sounded a little bit diplomatic. He definitely represents a very good type coming out from under Communist oppression.