

No. 413

A

FACESHEET AND RATING

LL

p.1

Innsbruck

June 1957

1. I-13
2. [REDACTED]
3. Innsbruck
4. 21
5. Male
6. Hungarian
7. Roman Catholic
8. Roman Catholic
9. single
10. --
11. Student
12. --
13. --
14. Son of country teacher
15. 1954-55
16. --
17. no
18. yes
19. Lenin Institute, University of Budapest
20. Rural
21. Budapest
22. Zala
23. --
24. November 20th, 1956
25. Innsbruck
26. No
27. --
28. no
29. --
31. 10
32. 10
33. 10
34. 10

Respondent is very socially minded, almost too much to the left inclined (his colleagues call him "communist"), young Catholic student. He is convinced that the future is with Russia and Eastern Europe, naturally not in its present state, but purified from materialism and returning to true Christianity, which the West is unable to accomplish. Therefore, he is preoccupied with studies dealing with Russia and eastern psychology and religion. His idealism is supported by deep religious conviction. He is frank and honest and intelligent.

- (1) Hungary belongs to the Western Culture and the Revolution was again a frappant proof for this. Not the economic misery, but the desire for freedom and the want of Western Culture was the moving force behind the Revolution.
- (2) The 20th Congress and after that the Petöfi-Circle with its activity and a reconciliation with Yugoslavia were the factors which prepared the Revolution. The revelations which accompanied the 20th Congress and the reconciliation with Tito caused a general shock and indignation not only among the outsiders, but even within the Party members. The Petöfi-Circle has brought to light the economic faults, the creation of the Hefesz instead of the DISZ by the students and the Polish events had been the last impetus for the outbreak of the Revolution. These were the spiritual preparations. The armed conflict was provoked by the AVO before the Radio Building. It has to be emphasized that even already before the demonstration the 16 points of the Technical University has gone farther in its demands than the Poles had. For instance it demanded explicitly a multi-Party system.
- (2c) & (2d) After the 20th Congress we University students or at least those of us who had used their heads knew that we were standing on the threshold of great changes. The events of Poznan have only confirmed us in our expectations, but we never would have thought on an armed Revolution.
- (2e) The articles and poems of the Irodalmi Ujsäg which have sharply criticized the controlling role of the Party.

(2f) The Irodalmi Ujság and Hétfői Hírlap. Irodalmi Ujság had the greatest effect. People would pay three and four times the price and literally thousands have been standing in lines for it. Also the Béké és Szabadság and Művelt Nép have contained interesting articles. The writers generally did not attack the Party directly, but while acknowledging the rightness of the Party principles, they championed the right of the opposition to be heard also, ^{saying} ~~saying~~ that in this way the "enemy" could be recognized easier.

(2g) The articles of Béké és Szabadság which have parodied the bodyguards of the Communist Party leaders. The editorial of the first number of Hétfői Hírlap and some poems of which I don't remember any more the titles and their authors. Then the arguments and discussions around József Juhász, a surrealist poet, who has brought new forms instead of the old customary ones. On the field of music the scores for Petőfi's "Nemzeti Dal" and "Zrínyi Szózata" by Zoltán Kodály ^{and his} article in Művelt Nép ^{on the} diffusion of musical education, the teaching and exercise of popular songs. In the theatre the revival of Madách's "Az Ember Tragédiája". The last revival was during the Premiership of Imre Nagy when a Prussian critic remarked that Madách's work is a bourgeois drama. This was enough to take it off from the play-bill. From all these the greatest effect was exercised on me by Kodály's music on Petőfi's "Nemzeti Dal". In my opinion, actually not so much the articles and poems which appear in the above mentioned papers were so much revolutionary, but that fantastic reaction from the part

of the great masses of the people who had been waiting in lines for hours for the appearance of these papers, because they have felt ~~be in them~~ somehow that something new will ~~come out of them~~. It is worthy to note that Irodalmi Újság was read mostly by the workers and thus that proves that not so much the content of the articles was revolutionary and radical, but the reaction of the ~~masses~~ ~~XXXXX~~ on this new tone was really revolutionary and radical. It can be explained only ~~from~~ ^{by} that terrific longing for a change which has been general to the whole ~~of the~~ population of the country.

- (3) Hungarians wanted Socialism. Socialism on the basis of the books which were written about Marxism and Leninism in the most pure and most human form which meant liberty, equality, free elections etc. However, to this was added Nationalism too, because the Hungarian cultural self-respect felt hurt by the Soviets' tutelage. The Hungarians are extremely sensitive to their sense of justice. The brutal insulting of this by the Communists was an important reason for the Revolution. The violation of the human rights and of humanism in general, then the common knowledge of the fact that people who had no qualification whatsoever for their job have ruined the cultural and economic life of the country, has caused also great indignation in the entire nation. For the poverty ^{the} stricken masses ~~an~~ economic misery was also a very important reason. However, during the debates in the Writers' Union it became manifest that the discontent is not because of economic reasons, but because of the violation of ~~the human rights~~ ^{humanity and} of the disregard of the human rights. The writers stood up for the right

of speech and publishing for their colleagues of other viewpoints. For instance catholic and bourgeois writers.

(3b) The 20th Congress has shaken the Party. The arrest of the leaders of the AVH, Gabor Peter, and Mihaly Farkas and the reduction and re-organization of the AVH brought ^{the lettering of that monolithic} ~~it~~ with it ~~XXXXXX~~ and strong control system which existed up to 1953. During the summer of 1956 it was already in a state of total confusion. Thus, at the time of Revolution the grip of the Party and the AVH on the people became much weakened.

(3c) The great majority had no idea as to where the demonstration would lead to. On the other hand, everybody felt something new and wanted reforms, that's why joined the demonstration. They wanted the 16 points of the Technical University realised, of which the most important part was the demand for the multi-Party system.

(3d) Through the provocation of the AVO, when the crowd wanted ^{the} ~~16~~ points to be broadcast from the Radio Station.

(3e) People called the Revolution by this name only after November 4th. Until that time there was talk only about fightings and battles. This was opposed only by convinced Communists, and by a few bourgeois people who lived in comparative comfort, and by some cowards.

(3g) There was not such.

(3h) At the statue of Petöfi, the people recited the refrain of the Nenzeti Dal "A magyarok Istenére esküszünk, esküszünk, hogy rabok tovább nem leszünk". (We swear on the God of the Hungarians that we won't be slaves anymore). As the demonstrators proceeded further

at the next street the slogan was already "Jugoszlávok , Lengyelek, együtt megyünk veletek!" (Yugoslavs, Poles, we are marching together with you) and "Lengyelország példát mutat, Követjük a magyar utat". (Poland shows us example, we will follow our Hungarian way). After this, people began already to shout "Függetlenség!" "Szabadság!" (Independence, Freedom), after that "Azt Kérdezik Pesten-Budán, hová lett a magyar urán?" (they are asking in Pest and Buda, where disappeared the Hungarian uranium?!). Then the whole crowd began chanting "Le a Stalin szoborral!" and "Törvény elé Rákosit!" (Down with the statue of Stalin!" and "before the Court with Rákosi"). At the time when we arrived before the statue of General Bem, we saw some soldiers looking down from the windows of the Zrinyi barracks and waving to the crowd. The mass of people began to call the soldiers "Gyertek ti is velünk!" (come along with us soldiers). Then, when we went from the statue of Bem toward the Parliament, people shouted already "Magyar Kormányt akarunk!" (We want a Hungarian Government). It was already dark and the Red Star was already illuminated on the dome of the Parliament. The crowd began to shout "Le a vörös csillaggal!" (Down with the Red Star). They kept on shouting this for about an hour when finally the light was turned off from the Star. The next slogan was "Mondjon le a Kormány!" (The Government should abdicate!" The "Halljuk Nagy Imrét." (Let's hear Imre Nagy!). This was repeated for about two and a half or three hours by the immense crowd, shouting their throats out until finally Imre Nagy appeared. They listened to him, but then started a terrific whistle because he addressed us

as "elvtársak!" (Comrades). The crowd didn't like this.

In that moment people arrived from the Radio Station with shouts "Ölik az egyetemistákat!" (They are killing the students at the Radio). A terrific chaos ensued and most of the people have left hurriedly toward the Radio Station, where the bullets were speaking only. Two days later, on Thursday, in spite of the martial law, according to which more than three persons would be shot at, as the Radio as announced, over fifty thousand people marched toward the Parliament. There the most frequent slogan was "Nem vagyunk mi fasiszták; munkások vagyunk!" (We are not fascists, we are workers). This was against the propaganda disseminated by Radio Budapest that the revolutionaries had been fascists. Then, again, people asked for Imre Nagy. "Halljuk Nagy Imrét!" and they booed Gerö down "Piszkos Gerö!" (dirty Gerö).

- (3i) No. Multi-Party System was asked for, but the Communist Party could have taken part in it. The actions against the Communists were rather against the Party Dictatorship and against the terror.
- (4) I participated in the demonstration on October 23rd. During the massacre before the Parliament on October 25th, I was lying at the pedestal of the Rákóczi Statue among wounded and dead. On October 30th I went home to the country. I saw the most serious and sober revolutionary reconstruction of the administration in Veszprém County and in its Communities. I took part in the Revolutionary Council of the village of Gyenesdiás. On November 2nd

Sármellék
the Jet-Plane Airfield in nearby ~~Sármellék~~ was surrounded
by Russian tanks. On November 4th there was general mobilization.
I went to Keszthely with arms ^{to report myself} ~~for registration~~, but there was
nothing they could have done against the overwhelming force of
the Russian tanks. For my part I have done everything to avoid
~~the~~ superfluous bloodshed. In the village I have dissuaded the
people from actions against the Communists. My brother was the
President of the Revolutionary Council in Ukk and he has done
also everything to prevent bloodshed. I helped him too in this
endeavour. In spite of his humanitarian behaviour, they arrested him in March 1957.

- (7) In Budapest Dudás, in the country, Imre Nagy and Losonczy had great authority.
- (8) Yes. On the 25th of October at the great demonstration before the Parliament, the Russian tanks standing before the building of the Parliament, have shot at the AVO and at the other Russian tanks surrounding the square.
- (9) Until October 31st I was every day on the streets and have seen the events with my own eyes. Besides that I listened to the Radio and collected pamphlets and other printed material. Besides, my quarters in the Lenin Institute were just opposite of the Party Headquarters. I often sneaked over and mingled in the delegations from Csepel and from other Centres of the revolutionary activities. These people have come to see Imre Nagy, but usually Mr. Dögei has

received them and sent them away again without letting them to Nagy. I got many news from these people about the events happening in Csepel and elsewhere.

- (9a) I read all newspapers I could get hold of.
- (9c) I was listening to both domestic and foreign Radio Stations as much as I could.
- (10) In the Ministries and in the Plants revolutionary councils were formed. The AVH, the DISZ and the Hungarian Soviet Society have crumbled. Actually the Soviet form has remained or it could be said that instead of the Soviets revolutionary ^{Councils} ~~akassza~~ were made everywhere.
- (10b) Local Party houses were requisitioned for the use of other political parties. The Party secretaries have remained silent or fled into hiding. After the initial complete paralysis, at the beginning of November, the Party has begun to organize again. You could see former Party functionaries come together with each other.
- (10f) The commanders in the Army, if they pretended to change over to the Revolution, were left in their position.
- (10g) Revolutionary Councils have been formed and these have taken over the Ministries and other offices.
- (10h) In the villages usually a revolutionary Committee, consisting of 15 or 20 members have elected the president of the Revolutionary Council. The Revolutionary Council tried to liquidate the

Communist bureaucracy. Many offices which have served only to effect the forced deliveries and get in the taxes have been dissolved. Most of the work fell on the president of the Council and in many places he was already called with the old name Notary, in Hungarian Jegyző. To the Revolutionary Council of the villages usually Communists were not elected. There were, however places where former Communist officials became members of the Revolutionary Council too.

(101) Cardinal Mindszenty was freed. He has ordered back "peace priests" in their respective dioceses. On the country-side the priests have regained their influence which they held before 1948. Priests and ministers of all religions were freed from the prisons and concentration camps. In the schools, the crucifix was hung on the walls again. Religious instructions became again free. All religious denominations unanimously joined hands and lined up behind Mindszenty against Communism. The unity of the Churches was similar to the unity of the entire Hungarian population in these days. - That, of course, I don't know and nobody could know whether in the future Mindszenty would have had continued such a policy that Hungarian people would have remained behind him.

(10j) Before the Revolution, the future revolutionaries or rather those who have prepared the ground for the Revolution, could come together and meet within the Communist Organizations, for instance in the DISZ. In the organization of freedom fighters, Szabad-ságharcos Szervezet, which was a Communist Partisan organization,

The future revolutionaries had gained their experience in handling weapons and, at the moment of the breaking out of the Revolution, they had got their arms from the same organization. Parts of the Army and of the Police, who went over to the Revolution, have given also weapons to the revolutionaries.

- (10k) The political parties, 19 of them, the Revolutionary Youth Alliance and the Revolutionary Councils.
- (10l) By elections at the Plant or Factory meetings.
- (10m) A multi-Party neutral democratic People's Republic. Until the general elections Imre Nagy would have remained the Chief of State.
- (11) Very much.
- (11a) It was evidently useful. I say, with our great poet Vörösmarty "az nem lehet, hogy annyi szívhiába ontá vért". (It couldn't be that so many hearts bled in vain.) Hungary has given a shining proof of her belonging to Europe and to the Western humanist tradition, and at the same time has torn away the mask from the horrors of the Communist system. Besides, the Hungarian Revolution was also a refutation of Western materialism, because the Hungarian masses have not shed their blood for the American-type luxury-life or the higher living standard of the West. But it was also a refutation of Marxism/Leninism, because, after all, the Revolution came at the time when the economical situation, the living standard of the people, was actually improving. Thus, it is clear that the Revolution didn't break out because of material

causes, but because of an irresistible striving for intellectual and spiritual goods, for freedom and the Christian ideas. Under the heavy pressure of Communism during the last ten years in Hungary sprang most truly into blossom that Christian idea which was the greatest treasure of Europe since medieval times. The defeat of the Revolution and the impotency of the West is the greatest proof that Communists can be defeated only ^{by} the ideas of Christianity and not by force of arms. This is my strongest conviction.

(11b) It could have been victorious if the West wouldn't have decided on its adventure on the Suez just that time, and if the UN would have been more resolute and Secretary General Hammarsköld would not have been afraid for his skin and would have flown into Budapest with the UN Commission, and if the US wouldn't have pre-occupied itself with the pettiness of its presidential elections, but would have risen to the summit of its great vocation in world history and would have pursued a more energetic and firm policy. For the victory of the Revolution, its exceptional purity and seriousness was the greatest guarantee. For example, there was neither anti-Semitism nor Revisionism to be found during those days. The goal was neutrality and peaceful co-existence with all the neighbours.

(11c) Armed help I could have imagined only in the form of a Total from each Western Country at the same time even help, but I was certainly counting on a greater moral help from the West.

- (11d) This could be explained only by the psychology of the people. The Hungarian people ^{has} ~~have~~ shown that it was able to wait exactly for the right moment. The death of Stalin and the 20th Party Congress ^{was} has shaken the Hungarian Party whi h/in the closest connection with Moscow, among all the Satelite Parties. This situation has ripened for the Revolution just in October 1956. The Hungarian people was exploited to the greatest degree, which fact has borne the greatest resistance and to this was added the courage of the Hungarian people, which ^{thrown} ~~has xxxxx~~ off its shackles just in the right moment when the Party had its greatest internal troubles.
- (11e) He is one of the very few honest Communists who has, without delay, demanded from the Lords of the Kremlin the wishes of the Hungarian people, such as neutrality, multi-Party system and a refutation of the Warsaw Pact. His pronouncements in the Radio during the first days cannot be used against him because, on one hand, he has done those under pressure, on the other hand, because even in those some of his words were prompted by the desire to stop the shedding of more precious Hungarian blood.
- (11f) Imre Nagy, Losonczy, Istvan Örsi, Gály and Obersovszky, Dudás, Atti a Szigethy, Béla Kovács, Dóry, Zoltán Zelk, Gyula Háy, but actually the Revolution hasn't had any real leading personality.
- (11g) (i) The Youth . Among them in the first place the youth of the secondary schools, the industrial apprentice schools, industrial technicums etc.

- (ii) The workers.
- (iii) The intellectuals.
- (iv) The peasants.
- (v) The irresponsible elements.
- (vi) Others, for instance smaller groups, among them some Horthyist, some Monarchists etc.

Among the youths, it should be mentioned the role of the illegal groups organized on religious basis, which were especially active. It is interesting to note that one of the most elite schools of the system, the Military School Rákóczy, from which the most cadets came to the Kossuth Academy and in which only the best students with wholesome spirit and body were admitted, have fought without exception on the side of the Revolution.

(11h) No.

(12) After the 4th of November.

(12a) I was sure that the Communist restoration would succeed and that the West would not do anything against it. Thus, I regarded as hopeless any organizing at home, besides, I would have been most probably arrested for my activities during the Revolution. Therefore, I thought, that I could do more in the West, in awakening the world's conscience. My brother and many, many others have known very well that they would be arrested and sent to prison. Still, they preferred to stay at home in order that they could continue to fight and suffer for our country. I am a little bit ashamed and consider myself as coward because of my immigration, since I believe that only those ones are the heroes who stayed behind in Hungary

If we are not doing our best for Hungary in the emigration then we are simply traitors to our country.

(12b) With my brother, who preferred to stay and suffer the prison.

(12c) Yes. If there would have been any hope that the resistance could have been continued successfully, I would have joined some illegal organization where I could have fought against Communism at home.

- (1) I was University student. My field was Hungarian and Russian studies.
- (2a) In 1953 I worked as a controller with a Thrashing Combine. In 1956 I worked as a labourer on the Reed Plant of a State farm. During the other summers I worked on the farm at home.
- (3) When I was working at the thrashing machine that was a seasonal job and the working hours were not set. We had to work from sunrise to sunset. I received 50 forints each day for my work which was a very good salary. The other workers have received their pay in corn. I think that the most important to say about this job of mine is that in 1953, the year when Hungary had a fairly good harvest, the deliveries were so highly set, that 20 to 30% and even often 40% of the peasants couldn't keep their ration after the delivery and had to buy their food if they didn't want to starve.
- (4) (Doesn't apply.)
- (5)b) I would have occupied myself with ^{Russian} ~~Russian~~ studies, the same I was learning at the University. My reason for this was that I wanted to learn as much as possible about the Russian people and about Communism in order that I could fight Communism on its own ground.
- (5c) Yes. I was quite well liked by some of the Communists so that a possibility for getting ahead existed for me, but I would never have exploited it.
- (5e) I would study and study again, I would buy books and would travel.

I would never have free time.

- (6) I was an orphan and lived with my relatives.
- (7) When I was making money, I bought my clothes and books from my earnings. During school-time I received 400 forints monthly scholarship, which was just enough for my food. I lived in a dormitory, it was pretty miserable.
- (10) I considered as a catastrophe the forced ~~instr~~ industrialization. According to my conviction, Hungary is not a country for heavy industry. It has lots of bauxite for aluminium industry, but of that there was no talk. Instead they have built the foundry in Stalinváros although neither iron nor coke coal can be found in Hungary in sufficient quantities. And why was it built in Stalinváros? This monster was born in Gerö's brain only. No economic specialist would ever ^{have} had thought of it. Summing up, one could see that Hungary is fitted for garden economy and for light industry only and not as Rakosi and Gerö wanted to make it, the country of iron and steel.
- (10c) The bad economic situation of the land labourer and the workers, the unemployment and the dissatisfaction of the working class.
- (10d) Improvement. The land reform and the nationalization of the factories have created great possibilities. It was only too bad that this opportunity was not used for better, but everything was given over to the Russians and besides that, they started that crazy heavy industrialization programme which has consumed the

whole energy and money of the country.

- (10d) Yes. Under Imre Nagy in 1953/54.
- (10f) In 1954, under Imre Nagy, has this trend started, but because of the difficulties of securing material, then because of the heavy taxes, it could develop only in a very limited measure, and after the fall Imre Nagy's has almost completely disappeared again.
- (10g) It was better than before.
- (11) Secondary.
- (11b) The primary cause was the lack of freedom of conscience, the lack of spiritual freedom and intellectual freedom. ^{forced} The ~~first~~ Marxist education, not only on the field of literature and scholarship, but also on the field of economic policy which simply eliminated the possibility of any thorough going economic reform.
- (11c) For the intellectuals.

- (1) I had my matura plus four semesters at the University of Budapest.
- (1s) From 1942 to 1956.
- (1b) I went to both, public and ecclesiastical school, to the Piarists.
- (1e) Because of the fields of my interests and also due to my catholic ideology.
- (2) Because of the irrational prescription of the study programme and the low standard of teaching, I could not study as much and those subjects which I would have liked.
- (2e) Yes.
- (3) Yes. ^{Party} ~~After~~ history, both of the Hungarian and of the Russian ^{and} Party, Russian language, /Constitution were taught in the upper classes of the gymnasium.
- (4) First, to inculcate the children with materialism and to make them obedient servants of the Party Dictatorship by killing off all their critical judgment and desire for personal freedom.
- (4b) Since the youth didn't accept the Communist dogmas, but at the same time didn't know anything else, this kind of education led to cynicism and nihilism. On the other hand, ^{the} ~~a~~ Marxist-Leninist education has made the youth very sensitive toward the social justice and ^{injustices} ~~injustices~~. This became the greatest peril for the Communist regime, because the Bolsheviks gave the best trump card

in the hands of the youths against themselves. Perhaps the greatest humiliation for the professors and the teachers consisted in the fact that they had to follow in every little detail the leadership of the great Soviet Union. The University was full of ~~with~~ Russian professors and even the most brilliant Hungarian professors and specialists, and the greatest scientists had to bow ~~go~~ before these Russian authorities; all the time and during their lectures they had always to refer to the authority and opinions of the great Russian ^{people} ~~people~~ around and they had to follow their instructions, however ignorant these Soviet scientists proved to be.

- (5) He was a teacher. He died in 1942.
- (5f) Under very difficult circumstances.
- (5g) Five.
- (5h) My mother, who died in 1949 and my sister who died in 1947. I have one more sister who is married and a brother who is in jail.
- (5i) With nobody. I have lived in a student hostel in Budapest.
- (5k) Neutral. I was very lucky that I was admitted to the University. For one thing, I was very good in Russian. Then, I just applied to the University during the new course of Imre Nagy and in the Committee for admission there was an old lady who has pushed my case very energetically.
- (14) I lost my parents in my childhood. After that I spent my vacations at my sister's, at my brother's and at my uncle's home.

- (15) They had been loosened. Bad family life and divorce became general. The reason for this was partly the pressure of the inhuman work in the norm system, then also the prevention of religious education. People were dissuaded and discouraged even from church weddings.
- (15a) Yes, only in family circle it was possible to speak freely.
- (15b) Yes.
- (15c) It has loosened.
- (15d) Equally.
- (15e) The steadily increased work tempo and the employment of the women too has caused that they could be very seldom at home and, therefore, could pre-occupy themselves with the education of the children very little.
- (15f) There are many divorces.
- (16) It is also general. Just as in the whole of Europe, so also in Hungary, the relationship between boys and girls became looser. The teaching of the Communist was loftily moralizing; at the same time with the preaching of materialism, they have achieved cynicism and unrestricted immorality in the youth.
- (16a) The same as earlier.
- (16b) More crude and licentious.
- (16c) Condemning.
- (16d) Yes. It is the result of the materialistic education. The sexes

do not respect each other. Important is only the satisfaction of their desire .

(16e) Illegal.

(16f) They were more strict , more puritan, for example, in the movies, and in the novels they did not permit any immorality.

(16g) I condemn it. It is quite widespread in the cities.

(16h) Yes. The Communists gave protection to the girls who became mothers. This I found right.

(16i) It has changed and in the wrong direction. Emancipation of the women was understood in a sinister meaning. The women had to work from now on often heavy men's jobs which were unhealthy for them, e.g. to be tractor drivers or miners.

(17) It has sunk very low.

(17a) It was everyday's occurrence in the schools to ^{hear} /dirty-mouthed talk ^{ears} about sexual affairs within the reach of the girls' ^{ears} years.

(17b) It was frequent and not immoral. It was because of the misery. It was quite natural that everybody's hands were sticky wherever he worked. People were ashamed of this, it was very humiliating, but they didn't feel any contempt toward each other for this reason, since everybody has done it in order to survive.

(18) I met him on the University. We lived in the same dormitory. Still it took me about a year of carefully feeling my way around him untill I discovered that he was not a Communist, but had

similar attitude and way of thinking as I.

(18a) A student.

(18b) No, he was three years older and came from an artisan's family; in fact, even our ideology was different. He was an atheist and only during the Revolution, after 5 years, he went first time again to church.

(18c) We studied together.

(18d) We ^{scolded} ~~scolded~~ the system together.

(18f) Yes.

(18g) That he had principles and that he tried to find a right ideology.

(18h) No.

(18i) It was composed from people from very different kinds, as, for instance, peasant boys, Communists etc.

(18j) That he has helped me to cover my own ways. For instance, this friend of mine has covered up my church going before the others.

(18k) No.

(19)a) Roman Catholic.

(19b) I received a modern catholic education and this was only strengthened and intensified through the Communist circumstances and by my great desire for the truth. It became my conviction that religion is the only force against the Communism. I took

part of the University on illegal religious meetings. Such were organized usually by devout and courageous students in their own rooms. We read the Bible and discussed religious questions. We kept aloof from politics and any kind of conspiratorial activity. Still, if these purely religious meetings were discovered, they would be considered as contra-revolutionary activities and the students would receive severe punishments. For instance, the leader of my circle was caught and sentenced for 15 years in prison for organizing contra-revolutionary conspiracy.

We students of the University could go to church only secretly, else they would have kicked us out. If I went to the church in the evening, my friend, in order to avert all suspicion, has invented stories about me going to prostitutes. Can you imagine what a system was this, where, to go to the church was a greater crime, than to go to the prostitutes!

(20) Yes.

(20a) No. They concentrated first of all on the catholic religion, because that is by its substance and by its uniform organization the greatest adversary of Communism. I don't want to mention the forces of grace, operating within the church because that is, of course, never believed by the Communists and by outsiders.

(20 b) They wanted to extinguish religion, but in the process they wanted also to use it for their own purposes.

(20c) In general, they were people with good intentions which they have

proved later with their obedience to the church authorities.

In my opinion, they were rather stupid than bad men, except of course Richard Horváth, János Máté and a few others. I think that the fact that the church could exist at all was due to them. Perhaps they did as much good as they have done ~~bad~~ harm.

(20d) In the villages the priests were considered as the most unreliable persons except if the priest happened to be a "peace priest". Many of the seminaries and almost all the convents were dissolved. There was a steady press-campaign against the church and the priests. Frequent arrests and deportations were taking place against the priests.

(20e) It has prevented the free exercise of ^{religion} ~~regulation~~

(20f) No. Those who held offices, were not permitted to go to church. The same was true for the University students.

(20g) Many.

(20h) Yes, each Sunday and holiday, secretly.

(20i) The villagers, the older people and such people for whom there was no danger involved.

(20k) In general less, but if there would be any possibility for free activity of the church, then the new and excellent priesthood and the religion-hungry people would bring a new religious renaissance to Hungary. Those young priests who have gone through all hell themselves, who have been in prisons and who have fought during the Revolution, and whose thinking is the most

progressive, would exercise a tremendous impact on to-day's youth, which is so much estranged from religion and from all moral values, but at the same time is slowly discovering its aridness and dryness and its longing for the pure fountains of religion.

- (201) The catholic periodical "Vigilia". The impact of this was tremendous. From this paper did we receive our information about the modern new Western catholic spirit. This periodical appeared in a very limited number. Few people ever read it, but on those of us who did, exercised a great influence. Religion in itself has meant a steady political resistance against Communism. People, who have exercised their religion, have proved slowly by this fact that they have a Christian ideology which is diametrically opposed to the Communist ideology. Religion has given to the people a most firm and secure ideological basis which kept up and strengthened their resistance against Communism.

- (21) ^{and study} He should go to the philosophical faculty/~~to~~ liberal arts. For instance, he should become historian .

- (21a) Because there is the greatest need just in this to-day, since nobody dared to go to this subjects, although if the person would learn the Communist ^{phraseology} ~~terminology~~ as a parrot (in Hungarian: beszajkózta a Kommunista frazíssal), then he would have time and opportunity besides to pursue his studies seriously. There is and there will be a tremendous need in Hungary for the cultivation of just this branch of scholarship, i.e. the non-technical, but philosophical branches.

- (21b) He should listen and watch and in the right time, when it would not be so dangerous, he should speak up. He should learn thoroughly Marxism and Party history, with one word, he should become a specialist in Communist scholarship.
- (21c) Generally good Kaders.
- (22) ^{off are the} The best ~~of their~~ Party members in general, in special the directors of great plants and high offices. Then skilled workers and workers. ^{off are the} The worst ~~of their~~ teachers, peasants and white collar workers.
- (22a) University professor.
- (22b) The same.
- (23) Two. Party members and non-members. Other differences didn't mean much.
- (23d) Not anymore to-day.
- (23e) Greater.
- (23g) Mistrust, often rudeness. The form of social contact has been deteriorating.
- (24) The kulaks, the priests and the Swabians, later also the Yugoslavs.
- (24a) The Jews.
- (25)a) The Jews took advantage of the regime (in Hungarian: meglovagoltak). ^{now} They could ~~not~~ take their personal revenge for the past sufferings and thus to get satisfaction.

(25b) Leading roles.

(25c) I had. They haven't been Communists, but their behaviour, full of self-assurance, has proved that they felt secure because of their good connections with people who have been in the Party.

(25d) They have taken part in great numbers in the demonstrations.

(25e) Up to the point where it was apparent that the Jews in general used Communism for the satisfaction of their desire for revenge and for the promotion of their own interests, people have hated them. Actually, people have despised and hated only Jews who have been Communists. On the other hand such were very many.

(25f) No.

(25g) It has decreased.

(25h) Insofar as they will be ready and willing to serve Hungarian interests with their great skill and talents, then they will have a great future in Hungary, but if they put their international interests before the Hungarian interests, then they won't have a place in Hungary.

- (1) Yes, because of the spiritual and material good of the people.
The question is, how could ^{we} ~~they~~ make people happy.
- (1a) About 50%.
- (2) I grew up with it. As long as the Communists have distributed the land and have nationalized the great concerns I thought it right. I am in favour of the form of State according to the Soviet system of Lenin and also of the system of cooperatives, but what the Communists have made of these ideas, it was the hell itself.
- (2e) ^{and}
Experience, ~~in~~ entirely individual studies and thinking.
- (2f) (iv) disapprove.
- (2h) The perfect control and system of spies, informers and terrorists.
- (3a) (xiv); (ii) and (vii).
- (3b) (viii); (xi) and (x).
- (3c) (xi); (iv) and (vii).
- (3d) (xiv); (ii) and (ix).
- (3e) (xv); (iii) and (v).
- (3g) Western movies and classical plays in the theatres, then the great care which was given to the children (this was in a way frightening at the same time, because you knew that the Communists are caring for the children only because they want to bring win over the new generation to their side.) Then for the workers, premiums and decorations, finally vacation opportunities for the workers and white collar workers.

- (4) In the hands of the political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party.
- (4a) The leading positions in the administration and executive offices had been filled without exception with members of the Central Committee of the Party.
- (4b) Only executive.
- (4f) Tremendous, ^{it was} ~~the~~ greater.
- (4h) The heads of offices generally came from worker and peasant Kaders without higher education. The real job was done by the subordinate clerks, who were paid low salaries, but who had education and qualifications for the job, but these were not permitted to say their opinion when policies were decided.
- (4i) Ambitious children of peasants and workers, who came forth from the so-called political schools. Generally it was a girl without education suffering in great mental poverty. They received free clothes, comparatively good salary and easy living.
- (4g) Good kaders, old-time Communists, who were able to adjust themselves to the new times. (Great many of the old Communists had been idealists and began soon to criticize the system, therefore they have been liquidated).
- (5) Yes, without that, somebody couldn't be a High School or a University student.
- (5b) It was obligatory.
- (5c) Was not possible.

- (5d) Yes.
- (5e) In 1952, when I went over from the Church School to the State School. (In the Church Schools there was no DISZ).
- (5f) Membership dues and membership meetings.
- (5g) I haven't had any job.
- (5h) Two hours monthly when the DISZ ~~Meeting~~^{meeting} was organized.
- (5k) The DISZ secretary and the connecting man with the Party, (the latter was usually a young teacher), and the director of the gymnasium.
- (6) To get advantages, this was the basis of all success. The bad side was that it brought with itself the contempt of the people except if the person was only member because he was forced to become. At the same time, there was Party discipline, the ~~sufferance~~^{sufferance} of the lengthy Party Meetings and the pressure of the Party dictatorship even within the Party.
- (6a) People in higher offices.
- (6b) Carrierists and in a very few numbers idealists with goodwill.
- (6c) Easier to get ahead. On the other hand he had to keep the laws of the Party, had to do propaganda and agitation and the discovery and denunciation of the enemy etc.
- (6f) The terror, that even they had been under pressure, the coward of personality and the terrible reality of the objective facts as compared to the Communist ideas.
- (6g) Limited.

- (6h) No.
- (6b) No, I was too young even to get admitted.
- (6r) Rákosi.
- (6s) Rákosi was very talented. He had great knowledge, therefore he is responsible to a greater degree for all that happened than anybody else.
- (7) The Szabadszágharcos Szövetség (the Freedom Fighters Association) and the Hungarian Soviet Society.
- (7a) In both of them, the students.
- (7b) Both of them were tremendously big mass organizations.
- (7c) The Freedom Fighters Association was a partisan organization which gave military training. The Hungarian Soviet Society was founded in order to intensify the distribution of the products of the Soviet culture, and to bring these close to the Hungarian people.
- (7d) I joined the Freedom Fighters Association because I wanted to learn how to shoot. I had to fill out a form and a declaration that I wanted to be a member. After that, I went once weekly for theoretical and practical instructions. For the Hungarian Soviet Society I bought a ticket, thus I became a member. I never had any active role in it.
- (7e) Nothing. I took part only in the shooting exercises and in the exercises of handling all kind of weapons. Actually, the goal which was set by such mass organizations couldn't be realized in the frames of the country gymnasiums.

- (7g) People were indifferent. They regarded them as necessary evils. They have joined them and went to a few meetings, because that was obligatory, but never felt any community with these organizations.
- (7l) They have agonized.
- (7m) Their practical role was nil.
- (8) 5 %.
- (9) The DISZ was never a stalwart Communist organization nor did it become a centre of the resistance.
- (10a) Everybody has felt the weight of the terror. Not only the desire for more intellectual freedom was ^{denied} ~~denied~~, but on the field of industry, trade and agriculture, all private initiative was extinguished. There was no phase of life and no territory of activities where barriers wouldn't have been put all around. This was most apparent in the lack of freedom of speech and expression.
- (10b) In order to secure the control on the political and economic life and to liquidate all resistance.
- (10e) There were enlisted AVO who could reach the rank of a Corporal after two years of service. The duty of these consisted in guarding bridges/prisons etc. Much greater role in the terror was played by the so-called TSZ (Tovább szolgáló) AVO, among whom there was a great number of sadists, former ARW CROSS, gangsters etc.
- (10f) The so-called "Lumpenproletariat" mainly the lowest stratum of the

workers, few intellectuals, many Jews and quite a few Calvinists were among them.

(10g) The quality clothing, the best quality food, the best salary, Resort Hotels, vacation opportunities etc.

(10h) Yes.

(10j) The police played a subordinate role.

(10k) The AVH had power over the Party members.

(11) No.

(11d) Priests, intellectuals, people in responsible industrial positions, agronomes.

(11g) I was told by a reliable priest friend of mine about the horrors of the jail on Andrassyút. How people were hanged and pulled up on poles and how they were thrown into egg-shaped cells where they could neither stand, nor sit, nor lie down, and how they were tortured by strong searchlights, shining into their eyes day and night.

(13) He should always think it over before whom and what he was saying and, if possible, to be always ready beforehand with an answer and with an explanation if he is called for account for anything he has said, but it is better to keep silent than to speak.

(13a) There is not such, only less dangers and more dangers.

(13b) It helps.

(13c) Very much, with Party secretaries, with heads of the Personnel

lieutenants
Offices with ~~lieutenants~~ of the AVO.

- (13d) It is advantageous. No.
- (13e) As everywhere and everytime.
- (13f) In general 'yes', but it could happen that it will be bad if one keeps silent.
- (13g) Catholics, old intellectuals.
- (14) Y s. There was the strongest between 1948 and '52. Then the
After
Imre Nagy period brought some relief. ~~Up to~~ that there was again
a strengthening of terror, but in 1956, before the Revolution, there
was again a ^{thaw} ~~thaw~~-up.
- (15) A decisive role.
- (15a) The policies ^{were} decided in Moscow; the ways of execution perhaps in Hungary.
- (15b) That Soviet professor whom I have known best was a very likeable, friendly person, always ready to help. He was a convinced Marxist and a little bit Pan-Slav.
- (15e) On the field of ideology and of industry is the strongest. On the field of agriculture is the weakest.
- (16) Only with symbols. For example people make the sign of cross in the street-car when ^{it} ~~he~~ passes a church. In the theatres, people break into applause at the mention of certain words, as for instance freedom or Hungarian independence. Then by the great popularity and attendance of Western movies, then the fantastic crowds which

wanted to buy Irodalmi Újság and Hetfői Hírlap . Besides these, there is a great passive resistance by silence. For instance in the Communist meetings, at mass organizations or in the Students Seminars there is always a great silence despite all efforts of the Communists to bring in some life by stimulating questions, discussions and self-criticism.

- (16c) Only with someone whom one knows well.
- (16d) About general scholarly questions and about themes which are far removed from the Communist reality, for instance love etc. There is no freedom in speaking of political, ideological or economic subjects.
- (17) There was possibility for that.
- (17b) He couldn't do it.
- (17c) Through good connections, if somebody had such.
- (17e) Has to find some influential connections.
- (18) Its strength consists in the facts that it has successfully monopolized in Eastern Europe certain progressive programmes, for instance, Land Reform, Nationalization and the promise of human rights. The regime has been skillful of using these for its propaganda. The fact that the political leaders lived far removed from the masses, somewhere high above on the Communist Olympus, and there couldn't be any criticism, any revelation of faults in their person. The more simple-minded masses could have gained the ^{illusion} ~~impression~~ that those leaders were all ideal and

faultless politicians, superhuman beings. The weakness of the system is its totalitarian character, due to which they left out the role of the human person from their calculation. Also, the terror is in fact a weakness, because it hurts the individual's dignity. Then, the principle that the end justifies the means, could be regarded also a great weakness in the setup of the system. This manifests itself in the failure of the realization of the new realistic economic plans and the failure of the reliance on the terror alone.

- (19) Generally, the passive resistance was the most effective. The organizations were simply paralyzed by the passivity of the members. The active illegal, political or military conspiracies and underground organizations were of very little significance.
- (19b) The great landlords and the great capitalists.
- (19c) In the beginning the workers and the poor peasants and those land-labourers who have received some land from the Land Reform, and part of the intelligentsia too.
- (19d) Has increased.
- (19f) It was not a personal affair, it was a national affair. There were only small unimportant groups.
- (19g) No.
- (19h) No.
- (19i) No.
- (19j) Yes.
- (19k) In the exploitation of the oil-wells, for example the Hungarian

engineers, have actually sabotaged the production in order to prevent the increase of deliveries toward the Soviet Union.

(191) The only resistance which could be called legal was within the Party organization . The inner conflict in the Party and the loosening up of the terror made it possible that more freedom of expression and sharper criticism could take place within the Party.

- (1)a) Through the Communist Newspapers, reading between the lines; seldom from foreign radio stations.
- (2) Very much. Szabad Nép, Irodalmi Újság, Béke és Szabadság,
- (2a) Vigilia, Új Ember, Kereszt, Ludas Matyi.
- (2b) Yes.
- (2c) I wanted to satisfy my political interests.
- (2g) The 'Pravda' and the Communist Newspapers from Western Europe.
- (2j) Pamphlets in Russian and in Hungarian about the role of the Trade Unions in the West. These were most likely sent in by the way of balloons.
- (3) Very often.
- (3a) Western.
- (3b)& (3c) Films, which had real art, for instance French and Italian critical realistic movies and the Russian fairy-tale movies.
- (3e) I preferred the opera, in the theatres the classical plays, like Katona, Shakespeare, Shaw.
- (4) Yes, many.
- (4a) Oh, about 60 or 70.
- (4b) Mainly classical works.
- (4d) It was very difficult, for example it was impossible to get hold of the great writings, of the so-called Hungarian popular movement in the 1930's and 40's, works by Sinka, Főjja, László Németh, Antal Szerb etc. My requests for certain titles, for instance

books of the Western religious literature were several times rejected in the library of the University with the remark that those works are ideologically not appropriate for the students. There was great difficulty also to get works of philosophers, others than the great classics of Marxism/Leninism.

- (4e) Homeros, Rabelais, Mauriac, Gide, Claudel, Dante, Petrarca, Dostojevski, Tolstoj, Arany, Möricz, Ijjas, Franz Werfel. The philosophical works of ~~Schitz~~ Schnitz and historical books especially about the Middle Ages.
- 4g) Not all.
- (5) Yes, but seldom.
- (5a) Because it was very tedious and annoying "bla-bla" (bla-bla is a new slang expression in Budapest which means 'nonsense').
- (5b) Only operatic work and other music.
- (6) Seldom - RFE and BBC.
- (6d) Unreliable, except the BBC.
- (7) Yes.
- (8) Not at all.
- (8d) By using one's judgment and also knowing already the Communist Press, one developed a system of how to re-translate the printed news into the original reality.
- (8e) The BBC.

- (8f) Yes. Up to the beginning of 1956 it has lied just the same as the others, but after that you could find in this paper the best cues for the disintegration of the Party and the increasing drive toward the Revolution.
- (9) They did.
- (a) It had 200.000 people as its victim. Of course, it has ended the war against Japan, but still, in my opinion, it was a cruel experiment.
- (9b) The imperialists. I didn't believe it.
- (10) According to our information, the Imperialists have used the bacterias. I didn't believe it.
- (10d) I thought it necessary against the Communism.
- (10e) I approved it.
- (10f) I was surprised by it because I thought that in Eastern Germany the economic situation was much better and the living standard much higher than by us and, therefore, I didn't expect there a Revolt in spite of the fact that I knew that also there the people were ~~was~~ against the regime.
- (10g) I had great expectations and hopes.
- (10h) I believed that they have cut themselves off in a naive way from Hungarian realities and progress.

- (1) The single-party system, that is the dictatorship of the Communist ~~Party~~ Party and all the terroristic organizations which are connected with this system. (a) The council forms and also a planning of the economy, however, not in its present-day form. Also a broadly-organized assistance to learning and health. A broad cultural work towards the great masses of the population, which has been often superficial, but sometimes it went quite deep. I would retain the cheap books, movies, and theaters, the land reform and also the nationalization of the industry could further remain. The factories could be left in the hands of the workers' councils.
- (2) For the time being I can't imagine any other way from the single-party system to full democracy than through the multi-party system. Later perhaps in Hungary, too, ^{the} development would be from multi-party system to a bi-party system as there is in England or in the United States.
- (2 a) Yes, except criminal and abnormal elements.
- (2 b) See under 2 a.
- (3) I would consider limitations only as far as that would be required by public morality. In matters of politics, everybody should be free to air his opinions.
- (3 a) See under Question 3.
- (3 b) No.
- (3 c) Yes.
- (4) Yes. See under Question 3.

- (4 a) Yes.
- (4 b) If the government administers the state in such a way that it hurts the spiritual and material interests of the majority of the people.
- (5) In essence, the Leitmotivs, namely land reform, nationalization, planned economy, etc., could remain, but the bureaucratization and centralization should be abolished.
- (6) Yes.
- (6 b) No.
- (6 c) It depends in what form. I do not agree that it is right if the profits of a company would go into the pockets of one man or of one group. On the other hand, if the workers could share in the profits, there would be an interest in this way in the production and in such form I would approve of private profit.
- (6 e) As far as there would not be obstacles in the way of a common European market. It is also important that the state monopolies should be furthering the interests of the people. Those monopolies which would lead to the ~~XXXX~~ raising of prices of the most necessary commodities instead of making them easier available for the population would be wrong and criminal.
- (6 g) I don't think that state direction is wrong in itself, but there should be left some room for private interest.
- (8) I approve of it if it is not going into small details, but is looking forward only toward a general planning on great scale.
- (9) Many. For example family, spiritual life, conscience, religion, etc.
- (10) Naturally. Moral support through elections and an intensive

participation in the political life. A feeling of responsibility for the state affairs. Also material support through honest and prompt paying of the taxes.

(10 a) To a reasonable degree.

(10 b) Under certain circumstances it is absolutely necessary, but the time of service should be reduced to a minimum.

(10 c) It is necessary (I mean in a well-ordered state).

(10 d) Yes, insofar as it does not touch those territories which I have mentioned under Question 9 as belonging to the private life of the citizens.

(10 e) Yes. The promotion of the spiritual and material well-being of the citizens.

(11) Yes, better.

(12 a) Better.

(13 b) Better.

(14) Yes, better.

(14 a) Better.

(14 b) Better.

(15) Yes.

(16) Through
~~THEY~~ the workers' councils and through workers' shares the individual interest in the work should be aroused in the workers. (Everybody should receive as many shares as much he has worked.)

(16 b) Workers' councils.

(17) If it is done on voluntary basis, In my opinion it is the best way of agriculture on great scale.

(17 a) Better.

(17 b) Better.

(17 c) Yes, better.

(17 d) Better.

- (17 a) See under Question 17.
- (17 b) Besides the great cooperatives which I have indicated under Question 17, it would be mostly superfluous. However, a special model farm for specific purposes, for instance seed improvement, livestock improvement, etc., a few of them would be necessary.
- (17 c) A revision according to the norm of voluntariness.
- (17 f) Yes. At the most 1000 yokes.
- (17 g) No.
- (17 h) Yes.
- (17 i) Up to 1000 yokes.
- (17 l) Naturally. To this would belong the providing of the farms with machinery, with improved seeds and livestock and a certain indirect direction and planning with which the internal home agriculture could be successfully linked with the international market needs.
- (17 m) They should be dissolved. They are superfluous; the tractors should be given over to the individual farms and cooperatives for a cheap price and there should be manufacturing of small tractors started for the smaller farms. The general tendency should be cautiously and tactfully direction towards the cooperatives, because the farming on a large scale is much more economical than ^{the} strip farming of the small farms.
- (18) A state has obligations towards the religion.
- (18 b) No.
- (18 c) Yes.

- (18 d) Yes, inasmuch as in the relationship between the individual and the state the education touches the spiritual problems, The Church has the right of being heard and has the right to teach.
- (18 e) Yes.
- (18 f) To church school.
- (18 g) Not to restore the landholdings, but the schools and other institutions should be given back to the Churches.
- (19) Those who had been sincere Communists should not be persecuted for that.
- (19 d) Nothing.
- (19 e) Judgment should be done according to the individual cases.
- (19 f) See under 19 e.
- (19 g) See under 19 e.
- (20) First of all the great feat of St. Stephen by which he has made Hungary a part of the Western Christian culture in a uniquely fast way. Hungary became such an organic member of the West that through her position and through her historic mission she became the bulwark of Western culture. In 1241 she withstood ~~against~~ the hordes of the Tartars. Later she fought for centuries against the onslaughts of the Turks. In both cases if Hungary had taken the role of a bridge instead of that of a buylwark, she might have fared better, but it would have been worse for Western Europe. Another great event of world-wide importance was a compromise in 1867 with Austria, ^{out of} ~~the~~ which the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was born. This made possible for

Europe to check the Russian and Slavic advance into the heart of the continent. The dismembering of the Monarchy was also an event of world-wide importance, although in a negative sense. Few historians doubt it today that this great mistake made possible the fate which came upon Europe since that fatal date. However, Hungary made perhaps her greatest contribution to world history through the Revolution of 1956, in which the country has played again her sacrificial role as already so often before in her history.

(21) Naturally.

(21 a,b,c) It differs.

(21 d) No.

(21 e) It is. The intellectuals have a uniquely intensive capacity for reception, but they are not productive. The outward activity is missing from them. The peasantry is basically conservative. The working class has an unstable character. Hungarian industrial life is a more recent phenomenon. We ~~can~~ ^{cannot} speak of such a characteristic class formation as in the case of the Hungarian peasantry or the intelligentsia.

(21 f) Yes.

(22) Not one of them was good. However, because of the lack of knowledge and experience, I cannot make comparisons. Perhaps the government of Imre Nagy would have been the best.

(23) In the history of a future Europe there will not be.

(23 b) Yes. On the one hand on ethnic grounds, on the other on geographical and historical grounds.

(23 d) No.

(24) United Europe. It can be realized only by the solution of the European problem.

(24a) It would be very useful.

(24b) A Danubian confederation. The peoples of the Carpathian basin and of Austria. This should be the first step towards an European federation.

(24 c) On the ground of national equality. An equal membership according to ^{the} ~~the~~ economical and cultural circumstances.

(24 d) Yes.

(24 e) An impossible solution.

(25) One of the most talented people of the world.

(25 a) Yes. Among the different nationalities which are living on the territory of the Soviet Union.

(25 b) I had. My general impression of them was their roughness, but at the same time their potential talents.

(26) As a philosophical school it is out of date. As an economic doctrine it contains some truth.

(26 a) Its efforts toward social justice, in other words, its humanism, in this sense.

(26 b) Its materialism.

(26 c) In Russia, under the circumstances of 1917 Russia, yes.

(26 d) No. He was not even a good Leninist.

(26 e) Yes. In my opinion, Tito takes into account certain national

characteristics, certain private interests, etc., therefore he ~~is~~ is quite elastic, and this is strongly in the Marxian tradition.

(26 f) No. They don't take into consideration even those national characteristics which were called to the attention by Marx.

(26 g) Perhaps they are more, ~~Insofar~~ as I know, the Hungarian Social Democrats -- my knowledge of them is mostly derived from pamphlets published by the Communists against them.

(26 h) Maybe in the economic field yes, but in the human field no. After all, materialism is without soul. It excludes the respect for the human rights of the person and ~~thus~~ thus of humanity.

(26 i) Never. Between 1946 and '48 there were some feeble signs of it and some hope.

(26 j) It professes free activity on all fields of political life for every citizen, regardless of his material, religious, or social status, where only the personal values, virtue, talents of the individual counts.

(27) Such a brand of communism which would place the national interests before the interests of world revolution and of the activities of international communism.

(27 a) In insignificant numbers.

(27 b) Men of good will, but politically short-sighted, who still believed that there was also good communism, which the Hungarian people would have accepted if only it would have been liberated from the Russian oppression. These people still believed that it would be

enough to repair the faults and to cut the faulty branches and leaves instead of uprooting ruthlessly the entire poisonous plant.

(27 e) No.

(28) In my opinion, developments would have led toward a very advantageous future. There would have developed a true democracy and not national communism.

(28 a) The most suitable regime for Hungary in her way toward a true democracy.

(28 b) Yes.

(29) a: good, b: bad, c: it is not true, d: it would be good, e: bad, g: ? H: bad, i: cautious and a little bit compromising peasant. j: he must have been a clever man, k: I don't know anything about them, m: she is an honest, good old girl, who has not much political insight, n: the greatest character in the last chapter of our history. He is, however, not such an excellent politician as he is a strong character.

(30) The Christian Democratic People's Party.

(30 a) Istvan Barankovics.

(31) a: more (relatively)

b: less

Mc: even less

d: nothing (they were liquidated)

e: mediocre

f: more

g: the most

h: they were liquidated

i: they were liquidated.

(32) The peasants have it better, the workers have it worse.

(33) a: in harmony

b: in harmony

c: in harmony

d: in conflict

e: in harmony

f: in harmony

g: in conflict

h: in conflict

i: in conflict

j: in conflict

(34) I am worried in the first place because of materialism, which rules in the U.S. just the same as in the Soviet Union. This might create material well-being and higher living standard, but it means a great danger for Hungary spiritually and intellectually, because it degrades people to the level of the animals, who are looking only for good food and beautiful living quarters. I had feared concerning the United States that she would bring us in the course of a liberation a certain material civilization without culture. In this question, however, my opinion is not dogmatic. It can be revised, since I don't know enough about America in order to be able to pass a judgment. Politically I would prefer definitely a U.S. occupation to the Soviet Russian, because this would mean

more freedom and we would have more opportunity to defend our spiritual goods against it than the opportunity we had to defend ourselves against the Soviet Union.

(35) An insignificant ~~XXXX~~ minority of the party members.

(35 a) Everybody else.

(36) To a certain degree, I have changed my opinion towards the United States and now I am on an uncommitted platform. I would like to learn about her more and know her more in order to receive a better and more objective and reliable picture.

- (1) I have none. I have already asked questions during our conversation. They
- (1 a) ~~XXXXXX~~ were very interesting and my attention was called to many things which I have skipped over until now. In fact, many important questions I see now in a different light and certain things are now clarified in my mind. This is very important for me. After all, I would like to preoccupy myself with ~~X~~ the problems of the Soviet Union, of communism, and of the European problems as a journalist.
- (1 b) I am certain about it.
- (1 c) Only of the publication of the names of the interviewees and also of the all too daring generalizations. To understand communism and its working ~~XXXXXXX~~ is very difficult and complicated. You have to have to live under the system or to study it for a very long time and very thoroughly..
- (1 d) Yes.
- (1 e) The responsibility of the Western powers for the victims of the Revolution. Why did they bagatellize the terrible Hungarian problem into ~~for~~ a refugee problem? Why do they forget those who stayed at home and suffer now?
- (2 a) Yes.
- (3) To keep up all the time with the reading of Szabad Nep, of Pravda, and to listen to the radio.