

(1) Hungary has proved that a conquering power can have world control. This is due first to the mass of population at their disposal; second, modern technology; third, an international fighting ideology. This last, their ideology, is dynamic, it can only go forward and cannot go backward. If it steps backward, it is ruined, destroyed. All signs of a peaceful accommodation are phoney. They cannot afford to do it. The main thing that Hungary teaches us, that we cannot fight Bolshevism in the political field. Bolshevism is against nature. We have Hungary tell this to the West. The revolution was against Bolshevism as an unnatural philosophy and system. Of course politics also played a role, but only an inferior role.

(2) Direct rule is broken down into two parts; first, the mass suppression, and second, the easing up of suppression.

(a) There was a period of incubation

(b) When Stalin died the whole direction died too. A new group of people came to power and the new direction started and Hungary was in all this an appendage to the Soviet development. The Twentieth Party Congress was not expected to have such far reaching consequences. Here one must recall that Hungary was under particularly strong Soviet suppression. The Yugoslavs had their Tito. The Czechs had racial community with the Russians; and East Germany was a Soviet show window to the West. Even today, the stage of suppression in East Germany is no worse than what it was in Hungary in 1949. The people in

Hungary were united, waiting to be pushed. They very much counted on Western intervention. Paradoxically, the hope for Western intervention played into Russian hands, because many in Hungary said, why shall we take chances when sooner or later the West will liberate us. Thus there was not any serious opposition. The revolution started to be incubated when everything became hopeless. The economic situation grew steadily worse. The political situation seemed doomed when at the Geneva Conference, the West seemed to have given up the satellite countries to their fate. The West was not interested. It soon became obvious that Soviet promises were phoney, and of course if they were honest, they would have to forget about Communism.

(2c) Nagy's premiership could have been the first step emanating from Hungary to start a peaceful revolution within the whole Soviet world, but the Budapest Moscovites were strong enough and put Nagy aside and reintroduced Stalinism. Hegedüs became Prime Minister, but in the people's eyes Nagy remained their only hope up 'til 1956. Slowly, they separated themselves from Nagy, and by October 1956, when Nagy in Parliament Square on the 23rd asked people to be quiet and go home, and we will carry out our gradual reforms promised in '53, the people booed him: What do you want with a '53 reform in 1956. Nagy's greatness is in his recognition of the realities; and he told Kadar that their role is over. The revolution left them behind. Had the Soviets not interfered he would probably would have remained Prime Minister until the next election; but then would have been beaten resoundingly, for 95% of the people would have voted for a Christian and Socialistic government.

- (2a) After the Geneva Conference, Hungary's future was in the balance of life or death. The Hungarians then turned toward Tito. His personality was sympathetic to them and his insistence that Rakosi be removed gained him their hearts. The Hungarians did not fall for his economic or political system, nor for his propaganda; but they were impressed with him. His stand made a bigger impression on Hungary than the whole West combined.
- (2e) Answered in (2a) Yes, we did know of the Posnan riots. We knew of them through Western European radio and also that the Petöfi Circle was simply suspended with the explanation that it fostered Posnan type riots. This was the official explanation. It had definitely impressed the Hungarians.
- (2g) Rakosi was replaced in the very last minute. His removal was accomplished only after considerable indecision, back and forth argument within the party. These developments aroused the masses, even the passive part of the population. The change of personnel in itself was not important, especially since Rakosi was replaced by Gero. Now Gero was considered more extreme than Rakosi. Rakosi was the man in the middle who balanced out the factions within the Central Committee, between Gero on the one side and the Imre Nagy group on the other. So actually, a worse Communist came to power with Gero.
- (2h) Sessions of the Petöfi Circle could have been stormy as they were, yet there were not that many people present. It was proposed to have the People's Stadium for a mass meeting of the Petöfi Circle. One could say that the decisive turning

point in the revolt came when it became technically possible to take the ideas of a small group out into the street.

(21) The revolt was a reaction to the weakness of the West as well. The West has truth and justice on its side; but it did not show its force. It wastes its strength on the peripheries of the conflict. The Western nations are disunited, they have bad politicians. They have failed to expose the true nature of Communism, especially in Italy and France. They have naive and unconscious leaders, and the Soviet Union ~~xxxxxxx~~ relies primarily on the helplessness of the West. We were hopeful when a soldier, President Eisenhower, became President; but he did not act like a soldier. He acted like the teacher who caters to cheap popularity with his students, giving easy examinations and taking the lighter side of things.

(3 a & b) Respondent felt that he answered that adequately above.

(3c) Technically speaking, the revolt got ready then when it did. The demonstration at General Bem's statue in favor of the Polish movement was a fine opportunity. Karoli was away from home, and the unity of the Hungarian people was complete, surprizing the Communists.

(4) Every revolution is a forward movement. The Hungarians showed a new possibility in the East-West conflict. This third possibility would have created an entirely new type of ~~xxxxxxx~~ a state. The land reform would have been kept, and heavy industry would have remained nationalized. Social classes

would not have been re-established.

(4c) Everyone's aim was the same. Counts and Princes, Fascists and Communists, all were united.

(4d) There was complete unanimity. The Communist writers, if they started the movement, were a separate group. They were not writers, they were official writers, they had no independent opinions, only Party opinions. Of course, they benefited greatly from the regime. They had cars, private houses, -- taken away from others -- and generally, they were greatly disliked. Many jokes circulated about these readerless writers. Yet they could not stay entirely disinterested. Even they were for an easing of the censorship, although they were immune to criticism and attack. Their immunity opened the way to the revolution. Through their immunity, ideas of the revolution could be distributed. Technically they were helpful, content-wise not. They simply had no contributions to daily problems or historical developments.

(4e) Answered in (1) See, unnaturalness and inhumanity of system.

(4f) The people had no political feelings. The revolt was a moral revolt. They have not lost their faith, and they were able to fight for humanism and idealism.

(4g) Go home Russki.

Perish the A.V.O.

Perish Gero.

The army is with us.

Put out the stars.

(4h) The East-West conflict was not only in the field of ideas, but there was also a geographic and military opposition. We

wanted intellectual independence and political neutrality.

(4i to 4k) Idealistic and convinced Communists were disappointed. Many of them preferred now to live in a free state to living in the Soviet bloc even though it may mean a personal economic and moral decline for them. They lost their ideological grounds.

(4l) Answered in Q 4a.

(4m) No. We did not want patchwork Communism. We wanted absolute, unmistakable freedom.

(4n) It was impossible to observe these.

(4o) Nobody. Everybody was afraid, afraid of combat, afraid of blood, afraid of wounds, afraid of destruction. You could often hear people say, Let us be careful.

(5a) I was there at the mass meeting at the General Bem statue. As if the whole mass of people had gotten wings, then the group decided to go to Parliament Square. Respondent introduced himself as a ~~wk~~ writer over a loudspeaker truck presumably sent out by the army. He gave a speech over its loudspeaker, and he feels he expressed the opinion of the mass. He stayed in Budapest until the 29th of October and then left. Western correspondents drove him out to Austria. His leg was in a plaster cast and they were heading for the next first aid station. Until the 29th he had watched the weak reactions of both East and West to the Hungarian developments. We knew that the West could not help, but we did not expect the West to give us up. We did not trust in our ultimate success,

yet the revolt went on, and in this lies its magnificence.

(7) In respondent's vicinity, near to the War Ministry, a large Soviet tank pool was stationed. From there, tanks left at regular intervals to patrol main streets. They did not look for fighting and tried to avoid any contact. They also occupied key points with artillery and armour. Their job was to observe; but not to start fights. We should recall that the Hungarian events fell into three periods; first, demonstrations; second, a revolution; and third, the freedom fight. Respondent was not there in the third phase.

(8) Not applicable.

(9) Answered in Qs (5) and (6).

(10) People eagerly devoured leaflets. They treasured them and passed them on. There were no newspapers during that time. The best reliable news was received from Radio Free Europe. It was good to hear their broadcasts. The Budapest radio, then Communist, was also a useful source of information, for one could understand between the lines.

(11a) They dissolved not only their membership, but also their assets, their real estate, everything. It was either destroyed or plundered. People resisting in battle were destroyed. Those who surrendered, be it A.V.O. or Party functionaries, they collected in special areas, if they asked to be tried by a free court.

(11b) The police either went civilian or went over to the revolution.

(11c) They were either killed, or else many fled to Czechos-

slovakia.

(11d) The judges themselves expelled political offenders.

(11e) A large part of the army came over in entire units.

One part of it remained active. In some places ~~the~~ the A.V.O. intimidated them and disarmed them. The army never used its full energy on the side of the revolution. The average peasant boy was glad to remain passive. About half the army came over.

(11f) The trade unions were also organized into three liberal trade unions, no longer an arm of the Party.

(11g) These reconstituted themselves as revolutionary councils. They made themselves responsible to disarm the A.V.O., keep up order, provide food, and protect the town.

(11h) One of the remarkable things of the revolt was that no opposition government was formed. Most ministries and offices cleaned their own houses, expelling the politically unreliable.

(11i) Respondent has not heard much of church activities, during the revolution; of course, previous to the revolt, the churches were the seat of opposition to the government. Attending church became a political deed and people usually went to different districts so they would not be observed in their own home church. For funerals and baptisms people often went to distant parishes to remain undetected. On the whole, people were dissatisfied, both with the West and with the role of the church in the revolt. The Vatican remained too passive, it was thought. Of course, they expelled all the Peace priests and ministers.

(11j) Everything was transformed, but nothing really collapsed but party organization.



(11. 1.) Not many new ~~xxxx~~ organizations were founded, except perhaps Nefes, the new student organization; and the Workers Councils, which were now responsible for the protection of the factories. They also saw to it that Communists were excluded from factory management. The Workers Councils have also heavily supported the revolt with whatever supplies their factories could give, including gasoline and several tanks, which with their repair crews went into action.

(11. n.) Answered in Qs (2.c.) and (4.a.).

(12.a.) See Q (7).

(12.b.) Yes, was so brutal, soldiers fired point blank at empty buildings, watching them collapse with a laugh. Many of the Russians were in civilian clothes; apparently, lacking time to get into their uniforms.

~~(12.c.) They seemed to follow their own best interests~~

(12.d., e., f.) No. They seemed all to follow their own best interests, and this usually was being neutral and quiet; however, officers' families usually lived in Hungarian towns away from the barracks, thus, during the revolt officers were concerned about them and did not participate in fighting. It seemed to have demoralized their fighting spirit. The general military policy seems to have been one of non-intervention.

(12.g.) They used their economic influence in all the joint Hungarian-Soviet corporations. Their political influence was apparently through the Communist Party.

(12.h.) This is quite simple, the more policemen you have

the more opposition you find, and total suppression prepares a population for total opposition; but, even before, one could always find ways and means to trick them.

- (13) Respondent hoped to serve and help his country from abroad. He thought that the revolt gave him a good opportunity to use his influence on behalf of Hungary.
- (14a) The revolt showed the need for greater Western unity, and gave encouragement to such unity. It also gave an example of self sacrifice on behalf of Western civilization.
- (14b) It did succeed.
- (14c) I would do the same thing.
- (14d) Hungary is the most developed of the satellite nations, and the leading state in political, economic and cultural affairs. Hungary is historically the defender of the West and of Western ~~six~~ civilization. And finally, the great suppression was much worse in Hungary than in the neighboring countries.
- (14e) He is not a sympathetic person. He was a Communist and he just tried to improve the Communist system bit by bit. He wanted to patch the Communist system.
- (14f) Paul Maleter was a Communist Party member, as all high ranking officers were, as such he did not have a clean record. It was good to have him and we realized earlier already that it was good that the army was built up. We did not consider it waste. We knew that sooner or later the army will stand with the people. Also the revolution needed technical assistance which the army could provide. It was well known in Hungary that

successful revolt is possible only with Communist help. The only other alternative is military defeat of Soviet Russia by the West, in which latter case we would not have compromised and we would not have accepted any Communist in important positions. Tildy had no role in the revolt, but there were no well known leaders. As an ex-smallholder leader he may have been acceptable for the time being temporarily.

(14g)

The Hungarian people.

(14h)

One, students; two, intellectuals and writers; three, skilled and unskilled workers; four, soldiers; five, white collar workers; six, collectivized and non-collectivized peasants.

Comment: The ~~poor~~ poor peasants were a bit asleep this time.

(14i)

Hungary's youth is cynical. They are not Communistic, they are nothing. They have been abused. They are exposed to constant pressure, opposition and tension between family and school. They are diplomatic and they have a don't care attitude. Also, they are ready to accept the good and the ~~best~~ beautiful in their weaker moments. They rarely had views or showed them. The Respondent visited Moscow with a peace group, spelled ~~By~~ Disz. It was a big political show, misleading, done for appearance's sake. Many of the people taken along were actually anti-Communistic. The Communist efforts showed poor results.

(14j)

Students lived under poor economic conditions; and they had very low intellectual and scholastic standards. The children of workers were the most determined anti-Communists because

they felt the Communist rule from first hand experience. No doubt that labor in factories was the most abused social group under this system. They carried the main burden of the regime.

(14k) As noted above, the Petöfi Club and its members provided technically the vehicle for the revolt; however, they were all Communists, and as such, unreliable. They simply realized the absurdity of the Party's position.

(14l) The peasants--poor things-- did not help much.

(15) No. Respondent was politically very awake and is certainly recommended for discussion of political developments up to and including October 29, 1956 when he left the country. A volume of poetry of his is reflecting the changed attitudes of the people and his own.

- (1) I consider myself a writer and poet, although I earn my living as a teacher of biology and geography in a secondary school.
- (1b) He was a middle class intelligentsia; background, an official.
- (2)(a,b) See Q. 1, above.
- (2c) Six years. Correction: the time span was ten years.
- (2d, 2e) See below.
- (3) The school was very neglected, supplies were entirely inadequate. Sheet (writing paper) was very scant. And later, after 1953, we had extensive coal holidays. They closed the school down for two or three months every winter. Before the Nagy government time we just t~~h~~ought in a freezing temperature. Working conditions were not adequate and nobody enjoyed ~~wor~~ working.
- (4) (a) ~~Was~~ 360 forints.
- (4b) 720 forints.
- (4c) 1,100 forints net; gross was 1,236 forints but the purchasing power was actually less than my ~~income~~ income in 1946.
- (4d)<sup>e</sup> One month's income in the year was taken out in peace bonds. I paid 40 forints tax a month for being childless. I paid 36 forints a month in old age taxes. I paid 15 forints a month in union dues; 45 forints in sickness insurance; and if you had to pay for your fuel, which I did not, you could arrange for monthly reductions of about 50 to 80 forints.
- (4f) None.
- (4g) I had some adult education, evening classes, but later on these were stopped. I did not have any side income in the past couple of years.

- (4h) My income was about medium.
- (4i) About the same.
- (5a) Twenty-three hours ~~of~~ a week of teaching.
- (5b) Six days a week.
- (5c) Yes, substantial overtime work but at no pay at all. This was considered a social work.
- (5d) Yes, this was quite generous, I had 28 days vacation, and of course the two summer months.
- (5e) Does not apply.
- (5f) Yes. Very. The official attitude mechanized the intellectual position of the teacher.
- (5g) Not only ten but also fifteen minutes.
- (5h) Certainly. You are exposed to disciplinary action, deductions and remarks are entered on your ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Kader sheet.
- (5i) Does not apply.
- (5j) Does not apply.
- (5k) Certainly. This was a general problem. We had various plans. We dubbed them the Warm Chalk Movement or the Warm Child Movement. This ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ meant you handed the child and the chalk over to the next teacher before they had a chance to cool.
- (5l) Does not apply.
- (6)(a) Aside from chalk we had no facilities for demonstration in biology. Facilities were entirely inadequate. Heating was perhaps the worst problem, and often we had five minutes of classes during which the teacher gave out new problems standing and shivering in an overcoat.
- (6b) Health standards were miserable. Most children were very neglected, poorly fed, poorly dressed. All of them looked

- sickly and were very thin. They were unclean and unkempt.
- (6e) It took about half an hour on the tram. These too were always extremely crowded. I was a bit luckier for my hours permitted me to go to work after the rush hour was over.
- (7a) Some of the colleagues were very poorly trained. These were quickly trained but basically ~~was~~ poorly educated. They were expected to be ideologically reliable. We called them Kafers. Many of them ~~thought~~<sup>taught</sup> the three most important subjects, Marxism, Russian and Gyn. One could say that 1949 was the dividing line. On the whole people trained after that period were not very competent.
- (7b) Generally, one did not have free, informal relationships. Everyone was afraid. The Party secretary in the school was just another teacher, yet he was everybody's superior. Generally, relations were stiff. Honesty was very rare. Everyone was afraid and it was quite universally true that all had a sense of inner and a sense of outer opinions.
- (7c) About the same.
- (7f) The material shortcomings of our lives alone prohibited intercourse in a social way. I had no close connections.
- (7g) Yes. Rarely.
- (7h) Certainly. They received the directives from above, and then discussed them at secret meetings while we went home.
- (7i) There was a definite distinction. Party membership was decisive in one's evaluation.
- (7j) Relations were very poor. The Party was used to intimidate

workers and to watch them.

(7k) No. They had no respect for them. They called it Office for Membership Contribution.

(7l)

It had the role to transmit party policy and organization directives, and organize labor production.

(7m) At first, in 1945, they were really free trade unions. Relations between the Social Democrats and the Communists have undercut their freedom as they attacked other groups. The unions fool the workers and let themselves be used against the government to express so-called workers discontent with government measures. The workers supported them in the beginning in this, and went for protest meetings against the government. By 1950, however, the workers realized how they were used and they lost interest. They gradually became suspicious of all Party activities and did not even care for the free education or information courses in other than political fields offered by the unions.

(7n) Yes. I myself had personal experience with it. The arbitration committee is a product of the loosening Communism, an achievement of the popular pressure of the past few years. Under its jurisdiction came personal grievances, primarily dismissals. The committee gave an opportunity to hear both sides in an argument for a dismissal case and then decided not only in theory but even in practice it decided at times in favor of the employee. In plans, these committees were independent of the plant triangle. They had two levels, the district level and the city or county level, the latter acted on appeal. At times, a plant manager or director of an org-



ganization disregarded their decision, but this was most unlikely on an appeal. It was certainly impossible in a school. Such an incident would have been called an abuse of personal power and of authority, and generally not tolerated. The board which heard my case consisted of the district attorney, the district education superintendent, several union representatives, and they confronted the accused with the accusation, although they would not give the accuser's name. However, the accused could defend himself against these accusations. Thus, when the school director thought that he made short shrift of Respondent he was suddenly faced with the arbitration commission. As a result of the hearing he had to re-employ Respondent on the very same day without a loss of pay. These committees were introduced some time during 1955.

(7o) The plant triangle consisted of the three leaders in the organization; the party secretary, who had the decisive voice; the plant manager who was almost his equal; and finally, the trade union representative. He however had a minor role and over the years there was a steady complaint, even in official circles and in newspapers, that the union was not an equal partner of the other two angles of the triangle.

(7p) He could not get a leading position, but he could work in a subordinate capacity in an organization. On its part the Party made great efforts to win outstanding workers for the Party and have them join it.

(7q) He was noted as such and he worked in a subordinate job.

(7r) Definitely, yes, in fact most key positions were held by

ignorant, but politically reliable, men with a very few exceptions. Most of these did not have much training, and frequently they were first appointed to their managerial job and had to catch up with their job after they were in it. Of course, this was not easy on a manager. It occurred that some one inquiring for the manager would be told by his secretary that he is having ~~xxxx~~ instruction, say between 8 and 10 A.M. One of his subordinates would instruct him in matters of administration or engineering or what have you. The strain was great on them and they did great harm to the economy on the whole.

(7s) There were some changes. The Communists found that they could not work permanently with incapable leaders. Gradually, they tried to replace these with newly trained--primarily trained in the U.S.S.R.-- people to replace the older ones who were either unreliable, but ignorant, or else competent but politically unreliable. This newly trained element was completely shut off from Hungarian conditions; trained in the Soviet Union, strictly under Soviet principles, they had no practical, realistic experience or knowledge of Hungarian conditions. Since 1953-54, the ideological universities pressed Marxist-Leninist theories ~~xx~~ primarily, accordingly skills and knowledge were not as thoroughly instructed. To top this off, many of these people also proved politically unreliable for the Russians.

(7t) Yes. There ~~am~~ were spies in every job, on every location. One sought them out. They were often disguised as workers or priests or in any capacity. The Communist spy system

was very systematic, thorough, highly specialized, gigantic, and very costly. Frequently, the spies spies themselves were spread upon, blackmailed each other into spying on each others.

(7u)

See above.

(8)

I did not change jobs, but I would have perhaps in order to escape from an old place of work. After a while you get fed up with a system in which everyone was suspect. You knew of the petty politics and of spying, and at a new job, that is, in a new school, you would have had temporary relief from this, although soon or later the same system would have become obvious.

(8a)

Personal connections and personal efforts to go about changing a job was the best way of achieving it; however, simply to apply for a transfer through channels, even if for valid reasons, was usually useless. The Party's basic idea was to avoid all interruptions of production and work flow.

(8b)

Writer.

(8c)

Hard to answer for a writer.

~~(8d)~~  
(8c1)

Much depends on the social background of the person. Basically, four classes are recognized and they are listed here in the order of preference given: first, workers; second, peasants; third, intellectuals; fourth, social aliens. Family traditions are not very important, although there is a new tendency

(8c2)

to recognize skills handed down. Two, social position and respect consists primarily of party membership and affiliation.

(8c3)

Three, material factors again limited <sup>to</sup> party leadership

(8c4)

and affiliation, or else to experts in certain fields. Four, to serve society. This has been organized by the state already,

and most schools on most levels receive job quotas with instructions to the administration to schedule a certain number of pupils into certain fields. In certain instances the profession would be chosen by the schools for the pupils, as well as his further education. The teaching position itself was such a field into which people were channeled, often without true interest and it took little time for the pupils to brand a teacher as either real or unreal teacher. Five, convenience played no role. ~~Six~~

(8c6) This was a direct result of Communist practice. To blame mistakes, failure and dishonesty on individuals, that is to find a scapegoat even if there wasn't any. The hiding of responsibility became a major part in all.

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(8i) To travel and to write.

(8j) I always trusted in freedom. I wanted a freer but fuller life and I still do. I never aspired to great wealth aside from a basic economic and political security.

(8k) Yes, I would like to have them follow intellectual work; but of course I have no plans whatsoever to marry under the Communist regime.

(9) We had a very poor life and we barely lived.

(9a) Everyone in the family had to work and earn their own livelihood. It is a Communist tendency that everyone work.

(9b) There was no economic change in my life because I was independent.

(9c) I could not buy clothes, only my basic food needs. A suit was 1,100 forints,- a month's pay,- and that was of second quality.

- (9d)(i) Duplicate question, answered above.
- (9dii) At first I made up to 500 forints a month on giving educational classes on nature studies, etc. several years ago. In the end I was lucky if I ever made 100 forints, and in the last few years they stopped this program of adult education altogether.
- (9diii & iv) Answered above .
- (9e) 120 forints; but I had only one small room. We were fortunate because we did not have a sublease, we had a lease and thus it was cheaper. The same room sublet would have cost 300 to 400 forints a month.
- (9f) We had four families in this four room apartment. It used to be a pension which was then nationalized by the state. Our rent did go down but the apartment was not kept up either. In fact, all of these tenants gradually married, had children, had otherwise expanded their families, and in the end there was a tremendous crowd. ~~Interdepartmental~~ Interdepartmental fighting and bickering was the law; the heating was very haphazard and irregular; kitchen and bathroom use were very difficult for four families, and they enjoyed having me as a single man live there for I did not use the kitchen.
- (9g) I ate out regularly and spent about 500 forints a month. Of course I ate very simply.
- (9h) Nothing.
- (9i) I bought everything in the same store.
- (9j) Heat, fuel, electricity, etc. was included in the rent.
- (9k) Gas was out at times.
- (9l) I paid my monthly deduction for medical care.

- (9m) I had medical care, considerable free time especially during the coal holiday, and two months in the summer.
- (9n) I <sup>spent</sup> ~~spent~~,-- except for incidentals-- the rest of my income on entertainment. I went to the symphony, movies, theatres and opera. I bought no books, and I had a radio from home.
- ~~11a~~  
(9o) What money?
- (10)(a) None of us earned enough and we were definitely exploited. My parents lived near Gyor.
- (10b) Yes, definitely.
- (10c) The U.S.S.R. and the whole Soviet bloc. It's been known that Asia was built up at Hungary's ~~and~~ and the other Western satellites' expense.
- (10d) The standards were rising up to 1949 and rapidly sinking afterwards.
- (10e) It was a form of exploitation, the compulsory tax.
- (10f) They were unjust; however, ~~and~~ we must remark that the West shared its blame because they agreed to reparations equal from Hungary as those from Italy. Of course, they became a permanent feature of the Hungarian economy.
- (10g) Yes. Lectures on ideology, Soviet system, etc.
- (11)(a) No. It was not realistic. It filled the needs of the U.S.S.R.'s Five Year Plan, not Hungary's. Second, it filled the needs of war plans against the West; and thirdly, it was based on ~~some~~ ideological factors, not on realistic economic ~~views~~ evaluation. For this purpose they pushed the heavy industrialization. Actually, the bad in the system outweighed the good. For example, even a useful thing like a tractor station had

its sinister motives to act as a tank repair station in war; and all improvements were outweighed by their bad effects. Often the Russian-type tractors, for example, were too heavy for the Hungarian soil ~~and~~ conditions.

(11b) Yes. There were many troubles; however, Hungary's industry developed with great leaps then and, I think, in a healthy direction.

14 (11c) The war damaged and ruined the country and the rebuilding was never completed. We have not yet reached the economic standards of 1938.

(11f) It was meant to rebuild the country, but this proved impossible in view of the Soviet reparation demands. It also was unrealistic, but any results that come about were due to the initial enthusiasm of the workers. In the beginning they believed the Communist propaganda, spurring them on.

(11g) The general attitude of the First Five Year Plan is expressed in a joke, according to which a beggar's union was organized during the beginning of that plan. The president, in his speech, noted that after the completion of the plan their union will be nationwide, with <sup>10</sup> 7 million members. The plan itself had some effect, particularly due to its novelty; but again it had failed, basically due to Soviet policy and due to the incapable people who were to execute it.

(11h) His role has been over estimated. The practical results of his plan were not comparable to the moral importance of their being plans at all. The peasant's condition improved. With the newly permitted free market they had more money; but

economic programs of this nature could never be developed under Soviet leadership. The basic problem could not be solved in that it meant economic independence from the Soviet system. Anything else could have perhaps improved conditions but would not have solved the basic issues.

- (11i) There was steady argument within the government and it was quite in the open; however, the Moscovites always decided in the end.
- (11j) It reached the bottom economically although there were political improvements, and thus even the economic factors were less depressing.
- (12a) This was of basic importance because the lack of basic goods and basic services controls the opinion: even of the politically inactive.
- (12b) Fear and mental depression had probably a greater importance.
- (12c) Mainly the city workers. The peasants living in ~~thks~~ their surroundings had probably more freedom.
- (12d) Remarks were made but no plans of any sort.
- (12e) They did not participate in organized meetings anymore, and frequently sabotaged their own work.
- (12f) They were most active next to the students. We see this in the great destruction in the workers' districts after the revolt.



- (1)a) From 1932 to 1952.
- (1b) Teachers college graduate.
- (1c) Budapest.
- (2) Yes.
- (2a) Finished teachers school and lyceum for grade school teachers in 1946, attended one year in the university on the secondary educational level and then four years in a correspondence school in Budapest Teachers College. This was a four year course.
- (2b) No.
- (2c) Yes, teachers school.
- (2d) No.
- (2e) Yes. Marxism-Leninism was one of the main courses in the teachers college, it was part of the curriculum. I have also attended a two weeks Uttore (leaders) course, in addition I had to attend political seminars in the faculty. This was one afternoon a month, and we had homework for it on current affairs.
- (2f) I wanted to teach and these were all compulsory.
- (4) Yes.
- (5) Hungarian literature, but as teacher of Hungarian I would have had to kill my literary ambitions.
- (5c) Yes, one should have a field with practical international applications.
- (5d) I was on my way to becoming a grade school teacher; but I logically continued my studies and became a secondary school teacher.
- (6) Good.
- (7) Not really, I had to provide for myself, which was an added disadvantage.
- (7b) H Yes, especially those living at home.
- (8) Yes, Russian, Marxism, Leninism, and of course your field of specialization.

- (8b) Yes.
- (8c) It is not considered a world language in Hungary, and it is also part of the political pressure of the Soviet Union and it increases Soviet influence.
- (8d) These are one-sided and they are also used mainly for propaganda purposes.
- (8e) It was considered part of the preparation of the war against the West.
- (8f) It looked very good but this too had political tendencies. Its aim didn't appeal to me for it didn't ~~mean~~ aim at health but at military spirit. Also, only poor equipment was provided.
- (9) It had mainly passive results. It didn't educate the children, nor did it aim at higher standards, and as such it has no educational achievements.
- (9a) Yes, it had a negative effect. Children had rejected Communism cynically, but then they learned or believed in nothing. At a very early age children learned to use double standards, one public and one their private opinion. Also, the educational pressure from school conflicted with that of the family and the child suffered in the end.
- (9b) In no form whatsoever, especially not in the end. In the beginning however, the Uttoro movement was successful. Also then they were selective, accepted only good pupils, but later they made it into a mass movement with very reduced standards. They destroyed every possibility of achieving any sort of accomplishment or satisfaction in this youth movement. Also, one's material needs were no longer provided.
- (9c) The kids used the slogans cynically for their own private advantage in a given moment. The child would tell his father that the child is the treasure and he wants to be treasured before being spanked. The kids were also very adept at using the slogans ceremoniously if some supervisors visited the class.
- (9d) As a teacher, many.
- (9e) In the age between 6 and 10, when the child is uncritical; but once he is ready to form an independent opinion, - usually after age 11 - there is a serious

3

break. The serious relapse in scholastic and in every other way at this age was officially admitted and combated. Also, up to age 11 the child had one teacher and he trusted him and much depended on the teacher's personality. But after this age, when subjects were taught by different teachers, his personal relationships disappeared, between pupil and teacher. The children's critical sense became keen and they judged teachers whether they were pro or anti Communist; less on the basis of good or bad teaching qualities. (Note: respondent seems quite familiar with secondary education, may be interesting material for "B" Type Interview unless higher-ups can be found.)

- (10) My father was an official.
- (10a) Mother's family, same.
- (11) The same.
- (12) My father as an official retired in 1948. He had to work as an official afterward and he still does in the restaurant/ and, for a time, in the building trade.
- (12c) He should have had a chance to retire instead of having to work again, very hard in retirement.
- (12d) He had a secondary school education.
- (12e) He had a bad opinion. He didn't think one could make money teaching. He thought it a hard job.
- (13) Average standard.
- (13a) Still average standard, but the standard was worse for everybody.
- (14) I was an only child.
- (15) No one.
- (16) No effect either way.
- (17) No.
- (22) Good relations.
- (23) Yes, on a basis of mutual understanding ~~there was~~ <sup>and</sup> complete sincerity.
- (24) No.

- (25) Nothing.
- (26) We lived apart.
- (26a) Not very because I was seldom home.
- (26b) Not typical. In an upset world people get married irresponsibly at the earliest age. They also hope to get some change into their drab lives by getting married.
- (26c) Literature.
- (26d) I went home during the Christmas holidays and three months summer vacation.
- (26f) To travel.
- (27) They weakened.
- (27a) Material needs and no possibility of meeting them created family worries and dissatisfaction. There was an increased number of divorces. They saw only the irresponsible, easy way out as they were confronted with the difficulty of family life. Many gave in to these pressures. Other families intelligently held together to better cope with the outside pressures. Many again tried to flee from reality and the depressing life and in order to find escape and relief had lovers, most unusually I have heard of mother-in-laws condoning their daughter-in-law's boyfriends.
- (27b) In divorce cases, it was possible to be branded by the other party as anti-Communist, etc.
- (27c) This was materially decisive in the large majority of cases.
- (27d) Yes, because both parents worked. Kids had their secrets; they didn't study; often they lacked confidence in each other.
- (27e) Yes.
- (28) Yes.
- (28a) Relations got more direct. There was less form, less respect and probably less value in friendships.
- (28b) Before the average age was 25, 26. Now, irresponsibly, they marry at age 18-21. We say irresponsibly because they disregarded economic and other bases toward

both the individual and the state.

- (28c) Yes, there is too great immediacy in the new courting. In marriage there is equality now and greater independence for the woman.
- (28d) This was brought about through the woman working also.
- (28e) Yes, there was more of it than before.
- (28f) Yes, the government was stricter in theory, but the system itself resulted in practice of a different kind. They were extremely strict with office romances for instance, condensing them. One could even lose one's job on this account, even Party membership. They kept very close tab on leaders' sex life.
- (28g) The birth rate has declined considerably since before 1944, thus the government strictly punished doctors or any one who tried to prevent birth. In contrast however, due to the ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ hardship of the times, birth control was socially fully accepted; but the means were not provided, technically. So, there were large crops of babies, in certain periods.
- (28h) The children were legitimized. Putative ? Fictive father concept was introduced, for all new ~~xxxx~~ children automatically and retroactive for those desiring it, under which children assumed their grandfather's maiden names. But it should be noted that this law was passed before the Communist regime.

22. Good relations.
23. Yes, on a basis of mutual understanding and complete sincerity.
24. No.
26. We lived apart.
- a) Not very, because I was seldom home.
  - b) Not difficult. In an upset world, people get married irresponsibly at the earliest age. They also hope to get some change into their drab lives by getting married.
  - c) Literature.
  - d) I went home in the Christmas holidays and three months summer vacation.
  - f) To travel.
27. The weekend.
- a) Material needs and no possibility of meeting them created family worries and dissatisfaction. There was an increased number of divorces. Only so the irresponsible and easy way out as they were confronted with the difficulties of family life. Many gave in to these pressures. Other families intelligently held together to better cope with the outside pressures. Many, again, tried to flee from reality and the depressing life and in order to find escape and release had loves. Most unusually I have heard of mothers-in-law condoning their daughters-in-law boyfriend.
  - b) In divorce cases it was possible to be branded by the other party as anti-communistic, etc.
  - c) This was materially decisive in the large majority of cases.

d) Yes, because both parents worked. Kids had their secrets; they didn't study. Often they lacked confidence in each other.

e) Yes.

28. Yes.

a) Relations got more direct. There was less form, less respect and probably less value in friendships.

b) Before the average age was 25-26; now irresponsibly they marry at 18 and 21. I say irresponsibly because they disregard economic and other bases toward both the individual and the state.

c) Yes. There is too great immediacy in the new courting. In marriage there is equality now and greater independence for the woman.

d) This was brought about through the woman working also.

e) Yes, there was more of it than before.

f) Yes, the government was stricter in theory but the system itself resulted in practice of a different kind. They were extremely strict with office romances, for instance, condemning them. One could even lose one's job on this account. Even party membership they kept very close tabs on leaders' sex life.

g) The birth rate has declined considerably since before 1944. Thus the government strictly punished doctors or anyone who tried to prevent birth. In contrast, however, due to the hardship of the times birth control was socially fully accepted but the means were not provided technically so there were large crops of babies at certain periods.

H) These children were legitimized.

father" concept was

introduced, for all new children automatically and retroactive for those desiring it. Under this system children assumed a grandmother's maiden name but it should be noted that this law was passed before the communist regime in 1946 or 1947.

29. I met this man five years ago during my summer vacation at home. We were quite frank with each other but later on I did not tell him even of my anti-regime activities.

- a) He was an official.
- b) He was of educated background, about 40 years old.
- c) Conversations and walks.
- d) Yes; this was the main topic.
- e) Yes, it changed. I didn't inform him of all my activities later on. I wanted to protect him and I was afraid that he might get me in trouble if he were forced into some awkward situation.
- f) No.
- g) Reliability.
- h) Could have had a decided impact. Humanly I would have had to draw consequences. It also meant that he was socially branded. It would have also been impossible intellectually to keep contact.

30. Catholics.

- a) Similar.
- b) ~~and~~ God goes Sundays.

31. Yes.

- a) It prohibited education of religion in schools. Religiousness was marked on one's cadre sheet. Someone who was very religious



had no chances of having a leadership job. In the past years it became a political deed to go to church.

- b) It especially hit the Catholics. The others made an agreement with the state a little sooner.
- c) Religious intolerance and opposition completely disappeared in face of the common enemy.
- d) They opposed it mainly on ideological and organizational grounds. They also resented the Catholic connection with the West through Rome.
- e) They wanted to destroy it in Hungary at least. Later through the peace priest they tried to neutralize it.
- f) The entire church.
- g) No, one who was a bit cautious went to a different district Sundays; workers or people who didn't care went to their own church.
- h) Generally every Sunday.
- i) Other people went more frequently; partly to show their political protest and partly due to their hopelessness with conditions.
- j) To foster their own personal aims. Though the regime did not have special demands put on them except they were for peace with the regime. The regime tries to combine religion with a general political tendency but they did not have to be enthusiastic communists.
- k) Yes, differently.
- l) It has all changed but the essence is the same. The relations

with the religions have changed as did the forms and practical executions of religious activities but there was a great need for it still.

32. The wealthier people lost their wealth; the poor people were in the same boat as everyone else.
- a) Most of them opposed it; a large segment was passive.
  - b) They were afraid and they were optimistic in their expectations.
  - c) There is not much of a Jewish question; also, there are not many Jews any more. Now again a large number of them came out from Hungary.
33. First, AVO's; second, high party cadres and functionaries; third, technical leaders, managers, engineers, middle cadres, school and organization directors, etc. Fourth, doctors, maszeka (these were independent tradesmen), fifth, peasants, sixth and seventh, pretty much on the same level, workers and officials.
- a) I belonged to the last group.
  - b) AVO?
34. A technical and practical profession.
- a) This was best isolated from politics and at a high income level seemed often assured. Also, such jobs have international applicability.
  - b) As a joke, party membership. Seriously, kept the highest professional qualifications and intellectual excellence he can acquire.

c) A worker's intelligent child.

~~2~~

1. And how; yes.
  - a) International politics: Living in the twentieth century the individual is closely connected with it.
  - b) An outsider.
  - c) It almost completely absorbed my interests.
  - d) In an illegal way, yes. I was active in sending out poetry and verses and reports and other revolutionary literature to Radio Free Europe and to the French Radio. I started this in 1953. I voted in the 1947-48 elections.
  - e) I was much more interested. As a writer I'd guess I had greater interest and inclination.
  - f) Yes; if one reaches one's political ~~goals~~ goals as we thought we did in 1946, We were through with politics. I was no longer interested but in 1949 when the communist spread started growing my interest was revived.
2. Intellectual ~~death~~ dearth. The ~~lack~~ human helplessness and uselessness and fear and hopelessness.
  - a) Of days the greatest impact on me had six, the terror, and secondly, number 8, the grayness of daily life. I was least affected by number 10, chances of advancement, since all we wanted was to live and keep mind and soul together.
  - b) The same.
  - c) Perhaps no. 2 and no. 9.
  - d) Nos. 5, 4 and 3.
  - e) Nos. 7, 11 and 4. These were listed in their order of importance.

- f) For not even they were given personal and economic security.
- g) These problems tied down one's thinking and became central in one's mind and in conversations whenever possible. This was an unnatural life and entailed physical suffering. Even the most communistic met these conditions daily.
- h) One could exchange thoughts with one's colleagues but this was a rare opportunity. There were no basic changes of any sort in the last 10 years. Trends considered improvements in the West were only surface ripples.
- i) There was no out possible, and since these things were the very nature of communism only with the change of the whole system would have minor things changed with them. All I could do was to improve my economic condition by going home for three summer months. I could then save some money and buy clothes with it. My parents have a little bit of land at home.

3. g) In spite of the Soviet pressure I believed in real political improvements in 1945-46, and the situation did improve because the country rebuilt itself with enthusiasm. Once the communists took over the government in 1949, there was gradual deterioration. There was economic and intellectual depression and political terror. Not until 1956 did I notice any change in the suppression. In 1956 I began to believe in some changes.
- a) Yes, the small landholders, though they had made serious mistakes, but I felt they best expressed the values of the Hungarian people both in a national and international regard.

I voted for the Party.

b) He was a Social Democrat.

c) Alternate no. # 5. I approved of the land reform and the democratic parties in 1945-46. ~~Хүний эрхийг хүндэтгэн захиран авч, тэднийг үндэсний эрхийн хувьд~~

d) No, I was always against it.

e) Yes, the responsible majority. Some differed, either because they were pro-socialistic since the past or else they were misled by promises and guarantees.

f) Ever since 1949 the police and the political government gradually separated from the people. As they grew apart the people were more and more united over the years.

4. The Party serving Moscow's interests and fulfilling Moscow's orders.

a) They admit this by themselves.

b) The dictatorship of the party was both theory and practice. They controlled the government and the police served them.

5. That of the party.

a) To sanction and to transmit the party's directives to the people. It was a propaganda agency; there were no laws, only orders in the communist regime.

b) To fool foreign countries and the masses with a singalist election; actually, no one in Hungary wanted elections of this kind and people ~~find~~ found them degrading.

c) Centralized economic and political life left no power to the ~~communist~~ councils; they lost all this but they may have had

for they could act only through the party. They themselves could decide only in minor personal matters. But about pay, apartments transportation public utilities etc they had no power to make decisions. Politically they were helpless practically they were useless. The Party gave out <sup>its</sup> instructions to the various Agencies that even in these Party members votes were decisive.

d) Decidedly greater for the Party made its own plans decisions and then informed the Ministry who carried these out with another large staff actually the Ministers were quite useless for they Party made the actual work. of making out directives.

e) Yes, very much so. Officials were poorly paid and they were happy to take a graft. In the end moral standards sunk so low that theft say from a plant was not considered sin. All who could stole and embezzled but nobody was condemned socially for such crimes anymore though many landed in jails with stiff sentences.

f) Party kaders was based strictly on party membership which in turn was first based on political reliability and secondly on skill and aptitude.

g) Many were NK workers NK or peasants sons, kaders. They had better incomes better clothing ~~strik~~ etc. They were the spoiled children of the regime. They all went through intensive party schooling and military training. Later the Party established its own military schools on three levels.

6. All were members automatically. Those with higher functions had advantages Further schooling was advanced by these activities. Also such information was entered on the permanent kader sheets.

a) None.

b) All were.

c) There was uniform pressure.

- d) You could get thrown out but couldn't prevent getting in.
- e) Perhaps political reasons. It meant for work waste of time on the meeting.
- f) No.
- l) Yes.
- o) No results.

7. Nothing meant attending meetings and do some volunteer social work in the evenings.

- a) The middle kader went above. Often people were pressed into it for various reasons.
- b) Career makers or those who were afraid for some reasons perhaps that social background or something similar.
- c) He may attend meetings
- d) To keep the  $\pi$  party line execute its directives.
- v) Yes.
- f) Some were excluded. Some lost their membership in party cleaning then they usually lost their jobs.
- g) No.
- l) Yes.
- n) If one was not a member and dismissals were the order of the day they were picked of non members. I also could not have become a director of a school or concerned with education from a higher level or higher authority.
- o) Yes. Party discipline made them afraid of non-party talk contacts etc. Their appearance became frequently artificial and bureaucratic
- p) The Central Committee indirectly the Soviet Union Secretariat few to you under complete party domination and direction. The aim was to influence



non-party members also.

8. Pedagogical teachers union.

b) To get a job. It was under Party control action.

c) These were under party control and the ~~first~~ leadership was made up of party members.

d) It is some sort of documentary proof of one good bona fide standing. If one were to be questioned in the street for any reason such a certificate of membership may give some needed safety. These organizations however declined rapidly and in the end they were all combined into one organization due to lack of participation.

9. These could not fill the youngsters needs. It was only a claim without content. The results were zero but by making types education and influence impossible you suffered from lack of principles of interest.

10. The jobless ~~skillless~~ skillless often the scum of the social scene. It was a good opportunity for a politically and morally unstable person.

a) They were volunteers but later some were drafted into it. Many joined for the material benefits. There was what we called the pants problem a man who joined a uniformed organization usually got four suits of clothes. This often proved decisive. A great deal of the men were usually younger.

c) Yes but of each other. They were also riddled with Soviet spies and in their own ~~midst~~ midst and they had to spy on each other.

d) they were two/<sup>different</sup> separate groups, the informers received no pay but served the AVO as "volunteers" they were actually not members of the AVO.

11. No I want. If I knew a schoolteacher a grade teacher who opposed the communist take over in 1949 he was shoved into a concentration camp for one or two years by a police decision. They have no court action so

investigation in this case. The system has the other side that they have to keep their work camps filled up. This means production without pay. I actually know of several parents of my children who had trouble with the AVO. One, a railroad man was suggested of sabotage the other an ex-officer in the old army also got in trouble. They were both locked up.

e) Yes, of several cases.

Knows many details. Reluctant to talk about them.

f) In the beginning class alien, later the simple workers and peasants were in the majority specially after 1952.

g) In 1952 many were moved out of town. Many were also moved of border areas branded unreliable.

12. To keep his mouth shut.

a) None really

b) Yes

c) Of very great importance especially party chief pains police commanders were actually outside of the daily life of events but of course these also were very useful.

d) Yes this is helpful. Yes it can be denied.

e) Decidedly especially in the country

f) Not always. One can still be denounced.

g) Yes people clothed the church administration, etc.

13. The police played second ~~king~~ fiddle to both the courts and the AVO of course even the courts were subject to AVO pressure

a) Perhaps the police

b) There was constant strain but the other two realized the superiority of the AVO.

c) Yes they had increased appetites increased material demands and increased needs.

14. Some changes it were due to internal feuds within the party but they all agreed their need for total power. However personal pressures may have created surface disagreements. <sup>There</sup> ~~They~~ were basically no changes. Respondents didn't seriously believe in any change.

15. Moscow influence was decisive.

a) The main economic and political directors came from Moscow. Execution and implementation was carried out in Budapest.

b) No secrets.

c) Soviet pressure was most likely indirect. At times, perhaps, Soviet demands ~~was~~ weren't as strong as Hungarian action. Hungarian communists may have tried to outdo themselves.

d) No.

e) The economic ~~is~~ class strongest.

f) In places of planning and especially every organization concerned with war reparations. Also major production fields, oil, bauxite, etc., industries.

16. No.

c) One trusted those who didn't change their views in the past nor in the present. Those who were steady. The flighty changing people proved unreliable.

d) Smaller personal things like apartment hunting etc. while bigger political questions of freedom etc were not talked about except in the strictest confidence.

e) No. No changes. Even before 1948 if one publicly complained against

~~the~~ the communist party of the Red Army one was in for trouble.

17. Yes. One ~~kind~~ tried to mislead officials lie and get away with what one could.
- b) Well yes. Else respondent would be still there.
  - c) Yes. H<sub>o</sub> could bribe the thrashing inspectors and combine operators. He could steal some milk. H<sub>o</sub> could take some grain before it went to the combine.
  - d) With connections or through the party.
  - e) He must do these things. Quit with approval of ~~him~~ his employer get a resettling permit in the new town. For these things he too needed connections.
  - f) This can be done through the party.
18. The happy go lucky career makers. have no standards or qualms.
19. Surprising the total disregard of propaganda production on the stage and in the meeting hall. These were open signs of resistance.
- a) Church attendance was a ~~main~~ main involvement.
  - b) The workers.
  - c) The highest paid people even though non-communistic.
  - d) Definitely increased.
  - e) All were against it individually but respondent can't think of any sort of organized groups before the fall of 1956.
  - f) Yes there was definite and publicized opposition.
  - g) Complete ~~dis~~ disregard for Soviet and Communist culture and Marxism in great appreciation of anything Western.
  - h) Yes ~~it~~ these were important aspects of the resistance. ~~It~~ These were referred to as the Ten Year Jokes. This meant that one could get 10 years in jail for telling them.

- 1) Work was very slow and inefficient. Students showed their despising of Russian.
- j) Of course concerning Stalin. This was a general topic in the press. Also much about communist ~~economic~~ economic construction.
- k) No, none.
- l) The Petofi circle was first under the direction of the Party. The Refesz was the first organization fully breaking with the party. These organizations developed in a higher plane and ~~may~~ had a little more freedom.

E

1. Radio ~~Kommist~~ Free Europe and the Voice of America in this order of importance.
2. The literary magazine Szarr regularly. Also the literary newspaper weekly.
  - a) I read the Magyar Nemzet. This was not a dogmatic communist newspaper.
  - b) Daily.
  - c) One could find out much truth reading ~~it~~ between the lines.
  - d) Foreign news.
  - e) Never.
  - f) Political references.
  - g) News on foreign affairs and news on internal weaknesses.
  - h) Yes to reflect the inner life of the plan for reorganization ~~and~~ or school. One never read them.
  - i) The world ~~newspapers~~ newspapers were frequently two years old. Didn't change the papers.
  - k) Only Soviet papers.
3. Weekly. Saw all the western movies in Budapest. Also saw Hungarian films and compared them with the ~~is~~ every day life. They compared favourably with daily life.
  - c) There was much political tendency.
  - d) I enjoyed going very much.
  - f) Whatever French or Italian movies were let in.
  - g) About twice a month. saw either western or historical hungarian plays.
  - i) It improved in the last few years.
4.
  - a) Only read five six a year. Had little time no opportunity.
  - c) I preferred books printed between 1945 and 1948 these were still reliable. I liked political books on recent affairs. I read General Marshall's ~~book~~ "And so we won". I read the biography of Mr. Andre

Dagcsi Zfioinski. Books like these were not available except in private libraries. It was most difficult to get hold of them through friends.

e) These should be reasons not communistic but they should have political or literary interest.

f) Yes, very difficult.

5.  
fx

Yes. I'd be here.

c) Reflexa in Budapest.

d) News, music and literature.

e) About two three hours every evening.

f) At home

g) Literary programs

6.

Yes.

c) They were reliable and gave detailed information on the West.

d) Daily in the evenings or afternoons.

e) They were well informed even on the Hungarian domestic scene.

f) They were reliable.

7.

No, I never went.

8.

Yes, of any sort of news.

b) Colleagues mainly.

d) They were generally less reliable.

e) There were many wild rumors.

f) They concerned withdrawal of the ~~ammunitions~~ soviet troops etc.

h) Many places. Often on the streets.

i) Yes people with party connections were more social contacts

j) Wherever possible.

k) No, no such.

l) Yes, I once had an RSE pamphlet thrown from a balloon.

9. No one cared for party news.
- From radio
  - Newspapers.
  - Newspapers.
10. About two percent of the news was true.
- One read between the lines.
  - Press became ever more reliable, and better.
  - Economic problems.
  - Political questions.
  - Some papers were more intellectual and they were not necessarily Marxist.
  - After 53 years.
  - For his political aspects.
11. Yes.
- No one was uninterested.
12. Through RSE. There was no other way.
- same
  - same
  - same . Reliable.
13. Yes. From freed prisoners of war.
- Yes there was
  - I was convinced the communists started it ~~thum~~ thought the propaganda was to the contrary. By the way, why couldn't the Americans defeat the Chinese in Korea?
  - Yes he was guilty. He organized the AVO. He was guilty of many criminal acts in preparing the communist rule.
  - Its a good thing. It will help against the communists.



- f) The workers couldn't understand that it is a good thing for them to ~~be~~ earn less for more work.
- g) The work was unsatisfactory. They didn't clear up the real situation in Hungary to the West. They did not represent us well. in the West.

- (1) The main thing we have to have is freedom of expression and freedom of the press. Also the need for free ~~dem~~ democratic parties. Thirdly, freedom from Soviet economic and political ties. This last underwent some changes; at first we were satisfied to keep connections up with the Soviet Union on an equal basis; however, after the revolt we felt we must sever all ties.
- 1a  
(1a) Nothing.
- (2) Yes. This assures the basic human freedom. One should be able to express one's views, and meet with like-minded people, and if sufficient numbers of them can be found they could then become active as part of the country's life.
- (2b) This is part of mental freedom.
- (2c) I would not permit Fascist parties. I would permit Communists only to prove to them that they have freedom to organize. On second thought I would exclude all extreme parties who abuse liberties guaranteed them. Liberty does not warrant a libertine behavior.
- (3a) All should have freedom of expression; but if someone were to breed tigers you can't permit him to let them loose. The Communists as a party I think ~~x~~ ought to be illegal although I would permit independent voices of any direction or faith. They have committed themselves in the past to anti-popular treason. As a party they are too blemished by their past activities to guarantee their assurance in the future.
- (3b) No.
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Not if the party is Communistic or otherwise of an extreme

political shade. All others should definitely be permitted.  
You must not and cannot limit a healthy opposition.

- (4b) Answered above.
- (4c) For their past sins.
- (4d) Does not apply.
- (4e) Under conditions similar to October 23, 1956.
- (5a) Yes. It benefits the national economy to have overall directions in instances when the whole economy is affected. Such instances arise when the situation transcends an individual's advantage or capabilities.
- (5b) There is not much difference. One is Fascism, the other is Communism. The difference of degree, of shade. One requisitions the farmer's milk, the other the cow itself.
- (5c) This does not apply; however, I could imagine cooperative ownership.
- (5d) To some extent, I don't; but it must have its limits in regard to the masses of people.
- (6)(a) Yes. To a degree, especially in large industries ~~and~~ in large factories.
- (6b) I don't know of ~~the~~ different modes.
- (6c) For medium and small private ownership I prefer no state intervention.
- (7) Yes. On tobacco, alcohol and heavy industry. Increasing demands must be satisfied by reliable organizations, not by single individuals. In addition, it presents a better moral picture if large industries are owned by the entire people. One should not spend millions for the benefit of a single person.

- (7b) There is not much difference, although in the small trade and ~~hard~~ soft, etc. one ~~must~~ should have private initiative.
- (7c) None.
- (8)(a) In heavy industry and in the large industries this is necessary; but it is not necessary in medium and small industries. We must assure safe development of the ~~whole~~ economic life. We must avoid creating artificial barriers. We must keep economic developments in proper channels. Of course this must be in a gradual way and not subject to outside influences of foreign powers, ideologies, war preparations or in the service of these ideas.
- (8b) In a normal economic system, the system follows the practice. In the Communist world, the practice follows the ~~system~~ theories.
- (8c) Planning had better chances in Russia for large areas were involved and fewer people were affected. Planning permits co-ordinating new opportunities in new areas. But in Hungary, for instance, where there was a well developed economic life then planning could only do harm.
- (8d) Psychologically there should be no planning in agriculture. It is bad on the peasant and production suffers. But introducing by the heavy industry, we must have plans for experts, ~~we~~ plans for channeling production. Communists often know that Western economy is organized well within a plant, but is disorganized outwards; thus waste results. On the whole, planning is good where production transcends the individual's capacity and moral right to control it. Ideally we should

have a gradual development of socialism.

- (9) (a) Yes. The state can guarantee the safety and reliability of these functions. Ideally the state is economically and morally better able to guarantee performance and reliability.
- (9b) Equally.
- (10)(a) The state cannot do this, and if it tries it must interfere with the individual's life.
- (10c) There is no guarantee. There should be no intervention.
- (11) The literature, the arts and in the best sense of their meaning; also, religion. Actually, all professionals should be free of any interference except if the profession desires state help.
- (12) Yes.
- (12c,d,e) Yes.
- (12f) Only if the state guarantees equal freedoms, full freedoms by a representative government.
- (13) No. My views developed better for at home one could not think quite freely.
- (14) Yes. Definitely.
- (14a) But under the last five years medical service declined. Poor standards, poor doctors, few ~~maintain~~ medicines, poor treatment.
- (14b) Yes. The Party members, the police and others have their special hospital with excellent care.
- (14c) Both had their advantages and disadvantages. One was better but expensive. The other was work on an assembly line.
- (14d) This is good and necessary. The Communists however ended the different health insurance systems, spoiled it by putting it

all in a single organization, later known as STK. The general standards declined as a result and aspects of mass treatments have increased. Their treatment became more inhuman, more impersonal. Deductions were considerable. Doctors rushed patients back to work before they were well.

- (14e) Typically, medical ~~statistics~~ statistics were kept secret; but it was known that sick care got worse. There were more sick, and the ten year rule took a heavy toll on the country's health.
- (15) Yes. There are many propaganda theatres and movies. Very few Western films. A few theatres showed more foreign films, but we saw few artistic productions. Concerts and operas were very popular; there was a new audience for them. Tickets were very hard to get for these things. I got a ticket for Man's Tragedy in March for a September performance. A fairly good seat cost a day's income.
- (15b) Yes. I did not go before.
- (15c) Definitely.
- (15d) The new intelligentsia.
- (15e) Yes. The above.
- (15f) Workers have no time or money. Party people generally yes. No one went regularly, it was too much of an economic problem to make it a habit.
- (16)(a) Worse.
- (16b) Same.
- (16c) Better.
- (16d) Children were very underfed. Except for Communist Party groups

there was no difference. Yes they had special goods in AVO stores at a cheaper price. You had to have a special permit to enter such a store. Little luxuries became specialties at Soviet holidays. Oranges and lemons were distributed only ~~at~~ and food was improved only on ~~various~~ various holidays. That is all the meaning they had left.

- (16e) Workers had it the hardest. High officials the easiest
- (17a) Work.
- (17b) About the same, due to the war.
- (17c) Better.
- (17d) Five difficult years under Soviet planning.
- (18)(a) Definitely.
- (18b) The development was a definite disadvantage and a burden on the Hungarian economy.
- (18c) Definitely.
- (19) The peasant should decide. If they prefer to stay in a cooperative then the legal relationships should be re-established on an equitable basis.
- (19a to e) The peasant should decide. See above.
- (19f) No. If appropriate, some//compensation may be made, provided the old owners were neither Fascists nor do they have any other income.
- (19g) Unjust requisitioning for the "kulaks" should be compensated up to 25 to 50 acres.
- (19h) Yes. It's possible.
- (19i) The state and local Kulak leaders.
- (20)(a) I would give them to the cooperatives. Why they should be

treated separately is a mystery. The machinery should be sold or given to the users.

- (20b) Many mistakes were made. I know the tractor station at Keonkemet. This is one of the largest tractor stations in the country. They never bothered to build a cover for the machinery and its out of doors year in and year out.
- (20e) Yes.
- (21a) We should have Western type unions representing the welfare of the workers.
- (21b) Entirely.
- (21c) Respondent's first reaction, No, and then ~~he~~ that it would strengthen Europeans if it were compulsory. He adds, How this is done in the West.
- (21d) Dues paying.
- (21e) Very much. Compulsory membership dues were a serious expense on the worker's budget.
- (21f, 21g) See above under Revolution.
- (21h) ~~At~~ A legal definition would have to be decided later, after the revolution was over. The workers' councils should either be disbanded or else become an agency of the state. Their position was not clarified. They filled a temporary role in the revolt. However they proved themselves.
- (22) All members of the Party organization should be judged individually by a regular court. They should be tried for anti-popular crimes ~~in~~ in free proceedings.
- (22b) Yes. All should be subject to criminal proceedings and although membership should be a crime, they should be judged in every



case for their own actions. This same principle should be valid for members of mass organizations, including the Hungarian Women's Democratic Society, Soviet Friendship Clubs, etc. together with all the other organizations.

- (22h) Nothing was done. Steps were to be taken after the revolt. The victory of the revolt.
- (23a) Ideologically the education was subject to Communist categories, and the Soviet aims. Before 1944 our educational ideology was too nationalistic. Now it is too internationalistic.
- (23b) No.
- (23c) This is bad.
- (23d) Certainly. Yes.
- (24a) Yes. Complete independence.
- (24b) No.
- (24c) No. The priests have lived pretty well in the past, now they should fend for themselves.
- (24d) No. Temporarily, perhaps yes, but later it should be abolished. It should only have a voluntary basis.
- (24e) No.
- (25) Protection of the West against Mongol and Turkish invasion. Hungary is part of Western civilization and as such has contributed to this development far above its numerical representation.
- (26a) Hungary played a submissive role although they tried equal partnership, and they have never given up fighting for independence and equality. In fact they ~~have~~ always won in the end.
- (26b) The dearth of land, together with the failure of the ruling

class to assure development. There was economic stagnation.

- (26c) Yes, there was a feudal society.
- (26d) This was bad for it stopped development, although relatively speaking those were quieter times.
- (26e) He kept the power with the ruling classes, but much development took place under him.
- (26f) Yes, great ones.
- (26g) Neutral. That was not our fault.
- (26h) There was a speedy development of the economic, political and cultural life. There was much more democracy and it was socially more just. Of course, due to the war damages the economy declined.
- (27a) Yes, it managed to combine its own affairs with those of others, thus coordinating its policies.
- (27b,c) It differs from both by not being business-minded in its good and its bad sense.
- (27d) No, it has not changed.
- (27e)  Yes.
- (28a) No it is not important.
- (28c, d) Yes, lands in Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Yugoslavia. All these territories have large Hungarian populations.
- (28e) No.
- (28f) No.
- (28h) No.
- (28i) There is no problem of nationalism, especially not under Soviet domination.
- (28m) It is not a problem.
- (28n) Yes.

- (29) This depends very much on what degree of unity we understand.
- (29a) Yes, it should be based on democratic freedoms.
- (29b) To abolish internal opposition and to help defend the West and bridge the gaps between two worlds.
- (29c) They do have the role of leadership, agricultural, intellectual and economic strength, but this would be automatic and unsolicited. It would not be something formally established.
- (29d) A Danube federation is the most adequate.
- (30)(a) 98% of them are bad-intentioned. The Communist influence is very strong.
- (30b) About 2% of them are decent.
- (30c) Many of them are too stupid to be Communists. They are a mass, a herd, both individually and as a group they are two hundred years behind Europe.
- (30d) No.
- (30e) With fear.
- (30f) Same. Only antagonism was added.
- (30g) Go Home Russki.
- (31a) It hopes for a balanced life.
- (31b) It appropriates ~~my~~ human advancements as its own and spreads its own version of it by arms.
- (31c) In a practical way, through life every day.
- (31d) A course at the university for four years, at two hours a week.
- (31e) It falsified it some more.
- (31g) No.
- (31h) No.
- (31i) No, they are not.
- (31j) Yes, this is possible.

- (31k) It assures natural human freedoms and ~~ixxbakwn~~ attempts a balancing out of economic inequities.
- (31m) He is a Marxist.
- (32a) It is a close relation to Nazism combined with a Communistic ideology. There were some nationalistic Communists last October.
- (32b) They wanted a cleaner Socialistic society, Democratic Communism.
- (32c) At the moment it is good tactics, but it is not the final solution.
- (32d) Yes.
- (32e) Yes.
- (33) He would have initiated national Communism, a system which would have been accepted until the <sup>first</sup> ~~next~~ election, but would inevitably have lost votes.
- (34)(a) Bad, though it ~~has~~ enters into ideology not only into economics.
- (34b) Bad.
- (34c) Bad.
- (34d) Bad.
- (34e) Bad.
- (34f) Bad.
- (34g,h) Bad. These are all outdated positions and they do not represent natural developments.
- (35) Similar.
- (36)a-e) X Less.
- (36f) Less, although some doctors made more.
- (36g) Less.
- (36h) Some made more but others much less.

- (36i) Only functionaries made more than they deserved.
- (36j) Less.
- (36k) Less.
- (36l) Less.
- (37) All classes had it worse after 1944.
- (38a) They are coordinated.
- (38b) Also coordinated.
- (38c) Interests are different.
- (38d) Interests are different.
- (38e) Interests are coordinated.
- (38f)(g) Interests are coordinated.
- (38h) This is how it was and this is how it will remain.
- (38i, j, k) There were conflicts between all these groups.
- (39a) Nobody.
- (39b) Everybody.

- (1(a)) Very useful.
- (1b) Yes.
- (1c) Please be sophisticated.
- (1d) Certainly, yes, although it was the subjective and you will find people who are ill-informed on several points.
- (1e) Certainly, yes. Hungary's view of the West, of the West's politics, of the West's politicians.
- (2) Yes, I hope so. The young people will probably stay on and the old will die here, so it is my generation which will return.
- (3a) A volume of poetry written during the last four years.
- (3b) Yes, both prose and verse, primarily concerning politics.
- (3c) Respondent may be useful for a Type B interview on secondary education, if this is to be planned. Respondent is politically also very articulate, has very keenly followed developments of the last few years. Recommend for B on the revolt and its antecedents.
- (3d) Nobody.