

Question 1. The most important thing I should like to emphasize in order to dispel a basic misconception of foreign observers in connection with Hungary is that the Hungarian people has never been Communists. That includes most of the registered members of the Communist Party. Even these people use their membership as a ~~szaftege~~ camouflage to hide certain faults in their social or political background, or simply to secure their job, especially those in better positions, or to secure better salaries for themselves ~~for~~ and their families. It is a real miracle how such a system could have been kept in existence where practically nobody believed what he was proclaiming in public. Not even Communists of the highest ranks. Even those were often seeking the good will of some survivors of the former feudalistic ~~of~~ system, in order to secure their own existence for a possible turnover. (I knew personally such a protegy of Minister Zoltan Bass, ⁱⁿ young employee in his ministry was the son of a great land owner and former minister of justice.)

The greatest moral lesson of the recent developments is that Communism is least suitable to the working classes. While other classes were intimidated, the workers were given some chances to express their dissatisfaction. The government and party observers didn't pay much attention, provided the

Complaining workers kept on working. This liberal attitude was understandable if we think of the extreme need of labor force in all these postwar years in Hungary. On the other hand, that led to the peculiar situation that, in Hungary, the workers represented the reactionaries, at least the verbal reaction against the government. That explains partially the workers attitude during the revolution. The main reasons ~~are that this country is~~ of the discontent were first of all the financial difficulties which were worse than ever, the lack of any entertainment, and the fake propoganda which tried to paint prosperity under deplorable reality.

Question 2. (a,b,e) The movement which led to the revolution, started right after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. On this Congress, Tito has been rehabilitated as a good Communist. It meant for us the recognigion of the national Communis~~ism~~ as opposed to the orthodox international Communism represented by Moscow. This national Communism had much greater appeal in Hungary than its international "step-brother", since most of the economic troubles were ^{ascribed} ~~transcribed~~ to the undesirable Russian influence.

Furthermore, Khrushchev's speech on the 20th Congress ^{announced} amounts to the end of the Stalin myth. Gradual de~~Stalin-~~ ^{Stalin-like} zation undermined the power of the/~~Stalin-like~~ dictators, in Hungary the prestige of Rakosi. All that opened the way of free criticism. Here, the writers took the lead immediately. Meetings of the Petöfi Circle were the most effective expressions of this new open criticism. These meetings became extremely popular in no time. Years ago, only a few members attended the meetings, and ^{at} the last one before

the revolution, the audience filled two large rooms while thousands were listening to the speeches through loud speakers standing on the street.

B. Stalin's death had no immediate influence in Hungary except that the strict dictatorship was somewhat relaxed, people found hope in the obvious fact, that Stalin didn't die by natural causes.

C. The first government of Imre Nagy wasn't particularly significant for the later development. He became very popular among the peasants because of his liberal attitude concerning collectivization, and because he practically cancelled the word "kulak" from the official vocabulary. The circumstances of his resignation made him really popular. He didn't confess his mistakes, he refused to apologize, and it was known that, on that price, he could have remained in the government. That was the moment when it became obvious what he was standing for. From then on, he was considered a possible leader of an eventual national Communist movement or government.

In addition to the above statements I would like to quote a popular joke in order to illustrate the great change which followed the 20th Congress, you know who are the worst reactionaries in Budapest? ^{those who} ~~to~~ quote last year's ~~subordinates~~ Szabad Nap.

F. ^{Poskan} Partisans gave the spark that caused the fire but the fuel was ready.

G. The decline of Rakosi was accepted with great relief, nobody liked him though Gero and Marosan were objects of more

hatred and despise. Personally, I think, that Marosan is the best equipped politician among them though each of the trio is better than anyone among the former opponents. I think it was a real crime on the part of Ferenc Nagy and other members of the small holder party to enter into competition with Rakosi and Gero without any serious political training or experience.

Question 2

H. As I said before after the 20th Congress.

I. I didn't expect anything spectacular, only ~~the~~ slow evolution. On October 23, I left the Parliament Square at 11:30, because I didn't think that anything serious might happen. I heard the news on the next morning. I still believe that Imre Nagy had a good chance to stop everything by declaring that he took over the government. People had so much confidence in him.

Question 3 (a,b) First of all the change of ideology. The free criticism. Writers were aware of their new possibilities, to see the seeds of a new ideology. I remember a few titles and names which became popular. The best of them, "Why Do I Dislike ^{socialism} Kucsera?" by Gyula Hay. The "Irodalmi Ujsag" (^{literary} Irodalmi Journal) was full of similar hidden or open criticism of Communist ideals for the actual political situation. Some other names I could quote are the following, Tibor Tardos, Tibor Dery, Gyula Illyás, and even Péter Veress (the former minister of defense).

C. In my opinion, ^{caused} the outbreak of the fights was ~~caused~~ by Gero's rade speech on October 23. Otherwise, nothing serious would have happened at that time.

Question 4 (a,b) The first fighters had certainly no definite goal or purpose. There were no leaders, no organized rebels. Most people ~~would~~ wanted a national Communist government under Imre Nagy, nothing else. The first fight broke out only as an answer to terrorism.

(c,d) It is difficult to say, because of the chaotic situation, but I don't think that people wanted anything but the withdrawal of Russian troops and a neutral national government, at first Communist, perhaps later might have become a coalition government.

E. Russian influence, rule oppression, hopeless economic situation.

F. Harder existence.

G. There were many short-lived slow ones born of the moment, ~~B. J.~~ on the Parliament Square on October 23;

Óltsák el a csillagot! (Switch off the star!), referring to the illuminated Communist star at the top of the Parliament's dome. Most often heard call for action: Gyertek velünk magyarok, ne csak bánésszkodjatok! (Come on, Hungarians, don't stroll around aimlessly.)

Most of them were directed against the Russians;
Akármilyen kedves vendég, tíz év után untig elég! (Even a truly welcomed guest ~~is~~ after ten years becomes a pest!) Minden ruszki menjen haza, Kádár Jánost vigye haza! (Russians go home, take along Janos Kadar.)

H. On the third or fourth day of the Revolution, the idea became clear that the fight going on is for a free and neutral Hungary, similar to Austria, without any Western or

Eastern influence, eventually under a government headed by Imre Nagy,--by no means under current Ferenc Nagy's leadership. His trip to Vienna, whether private or suggested by the U. S. government, did much harm to the revolution. It seemed to prove that the influence of what Communists call Fascist reaction.

I. The revolution became gradually anti-Communist. It started as a fight for national Communism but under the influence of Communist terrorism became entirely anti-Communist.

J. The so called Communists who joined the revolution never were real Communists. (In a free election the Communist party couldn't get more than 3% of the total work awards. *etc.*)

K. Not applicable.

L. Without Soviet intervention the national Communist government would have been formed in Hungary.

M. Certainly. There would have been a forward step without bloodshed.

N. There were a few individuals who wanted to secure their own statues or positions. I could only name one, a certain Joseph Buda who headed ^{an extremists} ~~an extremist~~ group in Budapest. (He was executed after the revolution.)

O. Only those whose job and existence depended entirely on the Communist Party.

Question 5 (a) I didn't participate in the fight. I was a member of the National Guard assigned to the Central Statistical Office. This unit had about 16 members whose

duty was to guard the entrances of the building ^{to prevent} disorders in the immediate vicinity and keep out all unauthorized persons. There were no fights around there when I was on duty. I witnessed scattered scenes of the fighting, especially when I was going to or from my office.

Question 6 (A) It is difficult to reconstruct the events chronologically. All I can say is that whenever I had the chance I went to my office as usual. ~~and~~ Then we spent the evenings on the street upon the advice of the rebel radio. This way we gave some protection to the fighters, since the ~~and~~ ^{AVO} and the Russians had difficulties ⁱⁿ distinguishing the rebels from the unarmed civilians. Besides we would transmit information, report the situation to the fighters who were hiding in suitable buildings. ~~and~~ In general, people were extremely helpful to each other, even complete strangers willingly gave information about the situation which was not customary before. Otherwise, there was great confusion, you often had to take refuge in cellars barely escaping some unexpected shootings. The first phase of the fights wasn't too dangerous. The resistance of the Communists and ~~of the~~ Russians wasn't well organized. I remember that one of the first days artillery and tanks of the Hungarian army ^{which} were stationed at Eszergom ~~and~~ were ordered to Budapest to restore order, but they had no ammunition at all. Consequently most of them surrendered their tanks and guns to the rebels. Many of them joined the fight when the rebels supplied ammunition. I was nearby a

scene when according to the eyewitnesses,³ Russian colonel led his armored unit against Budapest, but when he saw the unarmed crowds on the street; he stopped his tanks and disbanded the unit, telling people how he was deceived by ^{his} ~~the~~ superiors. "They told us, we have to fight Fascist and Capitalist rebels. All I see is a crowd of decent unarmed workers, and I am not going to shoot them."--I saw myself when the tanks continued their march, though led by Hungarian rebels waving the Hungarian flag. These were typical scenes of the first phase. By November 1 our office resumed routine work.

(B.) My idea was that we cannot win by fighting the Russian army, though I believed in the possibility to defeat the Hungarian Communists, the Avo and their political depend^{ts}~~es~~. Then a new and strong national government could successfully plead for the withdrawal of the Russian troops. Therefore, I did my best to sustain order, to work as normally as possible.

(c) Through radio, through posters, through my office.

(D) I didn't think much of the consequences. I was in no position to stop the fightings and the first phase I believed that no serious consequences might follow except that the new government as well as the Russians will be convinced that the previous situation cannot be sustained any longer.

(E) I didn't think of it.

(F) As I said, I was one of the guards of my office, besides I was also a member of the Revolutionary Council in my office.

Question 7 (A) In order to organize the confusion, we have to draw a line with November 4. There is a great difference of character between the two phases. Before November 4, the fights were directed against the AVO ~~in the~~ ^{and a} small section of police, ^{the} Russians were less significant. They entered the fights ⁱⁿ several instances, ^{but} stopped soon, some of them joined the rebels, some of them surrendered their arms, a few of them withdrew ^{to} ~~from~~ less dangerous places. After November 4, new Russian troops were the enemy. In the first phase, I saw only scattered shooting between the young rebels and AVOs. I cannot report many details because I usually went to hide in cellars or buildings ^{when} ~~where~~ I was surprised by such scenes. The second phase was more dangerous. We were all hiding in the cellars. These new Russian troops were ~~more~~ ^{even} merciless. They repeated all the horrors of 1945, except what they did to women. (This time there was no infantry, it was dangerous to leave the protection of their tanks, therefore they couldn't ^{molest} ~~sexual~~ women.) Once when I made a desperate attempt to get some bread for us, I have seen a tank unit demolishing a huge concrete apartment house, although there were no fighters there, and all the tenants were probably hiding in the cellar. Obviously there was no reason to demolish the building, but the morbid pleasure of destruction. And I heard of even more horrible instances. I hate to talk of it.

(B) I did, as I already told before. (See Question 6.A.)

(C) I didn't see any, but I heard of three cases.

In all these cases the victims were AVOs who tried to resist first ~~meeting~~^{wounding} some of the rebels and surrendered only after they saw themselves outnumbered by the rebels. One of them ~~he~~ picked up ~~the~~^a child and was ~~holding~~^{waving} a 10,000 forint bill offering it for/~~the~~^{his} safe conduct. That enraged the crowd even more; the workers never saw such a bill. They ~~expected~~^{sus}pected that the AVOs ~~were~~^{were} paid fabulously. There was the proof. Of course, the man couldn't escape. -- Apart from such scattered cases, the rest of the AVOs and high ranking Communist ~~sz~~ were collected in prisons for later ~~on~~ trials.

(D) I don't remember anything ~~stating~~ else.

Question 8 Not applicable.

Question 9 (A) In a few demonstrations.

(B) Yes, we didn't work in the office although we appeared regularly.

(C) Not personally.

(D) Yes, in the office and a few times on the streets, too.

(E) Yes, I was painting posters in Russian asking them to stop the fight against the Hungarian people.

(F) Yes, I was a member of the Revolutionary Council of my office, particularly of ~~the~~^{its} Committee of Admission, though my activities were limited on account of my guard duty.

(G) I can't add anything else.

(H,I,J) Not applicable.

Question 10 (A) For a few days there were no newspapers. The last number of the ~~Sajtó~~ Szabad Nép appeared on October ~~24~~ 24. It was only one page still significant for its contents. It stated that the revolution is the revolution of the workers, the ^{writers} ~~publishers~~ and publishers pledged their full support and promised never to write against the revolution whatever its outcome might be. (They kept their word. The Communists had to start a new paper after the revolution with a new title and new editorial staff.) After that, the first revolutionary paper was published on October 28, if I remember well. It was probably the ~~Sajtó~~ "Igazság." It was soon followed by ten or fifteen others. I cannot tell the names, but I know the people were reading them ^{avidly.} heavily.

(B) It is difficult to make any comparison. One couldn't read the papers systematically, one picked up those which were available. All of them tried to be as reliable as circumstances permitted. I think, none of them was party organ. Party ~~of~~ politics were neglected in general, except the unmasking of the Communist Party. There was plenty of news about that every day, e.g. Rakosi's atom proof shelter, the underground prisons (one of them-- I think near the ^V ~~P~~árosi Színház-- couldn't be reached before the Russian attack.), etc.

(C) It is hard to say. News spread very rapidly by all means.

(D) Yes, more than ever before. First of all radio free Europe. That was one of the best sources of information during the revolt. Reception was excellent without the usual interference. While the Hungrain radio's gave too much music and scattered information, Radio-Free Europe gave a general review of the situation each time. I was listening to other foreign stations too, the Voice of America and BBC. Reception wasn't always as good as Radio-Free Europe, *though* -- especially the BBC seeming^{ed} to be highly objective, reliable and sober.

(E) There were some interruptions in the telephone service. There were one or two days when there was no service at all, phones of less important individuals were disconnected, though never the phones of physicians, officers, hospitals, etc. My phone was also disconnected, though after my protest^s, it was put into service again. It was an important source of information. Since we^k knew that the central control apparatus was destroyed we could talk freely. Long distance calls including foreign calls were also possible. That was a great help.

(F) I think the BBC was the most regular, most reliable and objective source of information. Paris was barely audible. The Voice of America wasn't informed in details. Free Europe wasn't sufficiently objective. When, according to my opinion, the revolution should have stopped (i.e. after the Russian attack of November 4) Radio-Free Europe was still instigating further resistance. A few days before, *that*, I heard myself, the quotation, *Vincere scis Hannibal, sed victoriam uti nescis,*

referring to the slow advance of the revolutionary forces to take over the political power.

- (G) No, we were informed through ^{the} a radio, especially through Free Europe radio.

- Question 11 (A) Party leaders were transferred to a prison on Fő-Utea (Main street). They were released by the Communists after November 4. The president of the Central Statistical Office and our party secretary were in this prison. I saw and heard myself that nothing happened to them. The Hungarian Workers Party ceased to exist with the outbreak of the ^{offices} revolution. Now has a different name. Party/~~offices~~ and other buildings were to be used for apartments, but these plans weren't carried out. Otherwise the party was subjected to the general rationalization of all services. The employees of the party center were dismissed, except about 10% of the original number. Dismissed employees received three months salary.
- (B) The police retained its original organization, ^{since it} ~~wishing to~~ turn^{ed} on the rebel's side under orders of Colonel Sándor Kaphasi (executed by the Communists after the revolution).

- 2(11c) Some members of the AVO were in prison (I think about 10%). Others were hiding. In my neighborhood, there lived a couple, both of them employed by the AVO; everybody knew that; ^{and} nothing happened to them.
- (11d) I don't know anything about that.
- (11e) The whole army joined the rebellion. They tore off the Communist insignia, replaced with ^{the} old ones, sometimes even the old uniforms re-appeared.
- (11f) Nothing important.
- (11g) Rationalization, unnecessary political employees were dismissed. In a few instances, the old experts and leaders replaced the Communists who had not the necessary ability or education. (In my native town, the Communist chairman of the City Council was previously a worker in melon gardens; such people were replaced by their predecessors.)
- (11h) I don't know much about the general situation, but as an example, I can report exactly what happened in my office (Central Statistical Office) which falls within the same category. The chair^{man}, six or seven division chiefs were dismissed immediately. Employees of the Personnel Office and the Division of Confidential Cases were also dismissed, some of these employees, however, were recommended for transfer. Two of the division chiefs were also recommended for less important positions. The Vice-Chairman (Bela Fazekas) was

retained in his position. An employee with 40 years of service, and an excellent service record, became the new chairman.

- (111) I'm a Protestant therefore I'm talking first of all it about the situation in the Reformed Church. Bishop Revasz (László) previously confined to seclusion in Leányfalu, returned to Budapest and took over the leadership of his church. Bishop Albert Bereczky, - installed after the removal of Revasz, probably under some pressure of the Party or attached circles, though not ^{a peace} priest- was supposedly on sick leave and he was asked to ~~consider~~ resignation if he couldn't bear the burden of his position. In general, Bishop Bereczky was a shrewd politician. He didn't cooperate formally with the regime, though he did his best to avoid conflicts with the Party. Priests who became objects of political controversy and attacks, were transferred to less important or less exposed positions. He never opposed the ^{government} opening. This way he saved many clergymen, and escaped open attacks against the Reformed Church. His smooth policies however were not popular among the members of his congregation. They expected courageous opposition. The stand of Cardinal Mindszenty won many admirers among Protestants too. Consequently the influence of the Catholic Church was growing constantly, in spite of the fact that many priests were persecuted, imprisoned, many parishes remained without leadership.- The situation was even worse in the eastern diocese of the Reformed Church (Tiszántúli Püspökség). ^{Its} ~~King~~/leader, Bishop Janos Peter was ousted by the church after the rebellion

as a collaborator. - All the deans promoted during the Communist domination were, at least temporarily, suspended. The peace priests of the Catholic Church were also dismissed. (I remember only the name of [REDACTED].) ^{The State Office} For Church Affairs was dissolved in order to end official interference in church affairs.

- (11j) It is hard to give a comprehensive account of what happened. In general, organizations which were directly dependent on the Party, e.g. AVH, were liquidated, others were re-organized.
- (11k) First of all the Voluntary National Defense Association (Magyar Önkéntes Honvédelmi Szövetség). I think basically this organization has been reorganized under the name of Freedom Fighters Association. The first weapons of Freedom Fighters came from the supplies of this defense organization and the young fighters used methods which were taught by this organization.
- (11 l) The Hungarian Boy Scout Association was reestablished. A new ^P Peasants' Association was set up.
- (11m) The Workers' Councils replaced the directors of the factories and took over direct control of the Personnel Offices. The members were selected among the workers by secret ballot from a limited number of candidates. Such elections were suggested by the workers of one of the major industrial plants though I cannot remember by which one. The Central Workers' Council was formed several days later, its members were probably representing the different branches of industry, ^{but} I am

not familiar~~rk~~ with ~~sk~~ its organization. I only want to point out, that it followed the local organizations and it was dependent on them rather than directing and organizing,^{them.}

- (11n) A neutral temporary government with the sole task of conducting a new and completely unbiased general elections.
- (12a) Of course, I have seen plenty of them.
- (12b) We have to distinguish two phases of the fight, before and after November 4, because these phases ^{mark} ~~were~~ a striking difference in the attitude of the Soviet troops. In the beginning there was a great deal of obvious confusion among the Russians. Most of the fightings which took place were results of misunderstanding. (e.g. it happened on the Parliament Square that the members of the AVH were firing on the crowd, and some bullets hit Russians who were standing by with their tanks, they thought they were attacked by the crowd and of course opened fire.) In this way, one could say, they used their weapons in ~~a~~ self defense, and when they were convinced, there was no need for it, they stopped fighting immediately, and as I said before - they became rather sympathetic bystanders, sometimes active allies of the Freedom Fighters. Other troops which were ordered to oppress the Fascist and Capitalist rebellion, started their fight, but as soon as they found themselves opposed by students and workers, similarly stopped fighting and often joined the rebellion.

In the second phase (after November 4), the situation changed radically. The new troops didn't know the Hungarians, they weren't bound by any affection to the people. Most of them believed to fight Western ~~invaders~~ invaders. They were asking about Suez, Egypt and the channel. These troops repeated all the atrocities we had to suffer in 1944 and 1945, except that there were less robberies and less attacks upon women, because the Russians were afraid leaving the protection of their tanks, and there was hardly any ^y infantry among them. Otherwise they mercilessly fought everybody and destroyed everything within the range of their guns. I have seen myself a tank unit destroying modern concrete apartment houses, apparently for the sheer pleasure of destruction, since the houses were all empty and that section was already firmly in their hands.

(12c) Yes.

(12d) I don't know much about them. All I know is that many of them left Budapest in a great hurry, three-~~two~~^{four} families on a truck. On November 4, there were hardly any Russian civilians in Budapest.

(12e) (Missing in the Hungarian translation.)

(12f) I am sure they were ordered to leave Budapest to escape the fights which followed after November 4.

I would like to add another turning point, i.e. shortly after the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. Before

that time, the leadership and terror was more obvious. Whenever the government was unable to break resistance or to liquidate someone, the Russians took over the case and arrested those who resisted (e.g. Bela Kovacs). Following the Twentieth Congress, they were working behind the scenes. There were hardly any arrests, trials and other punishments executed directly by the Russians, hardly any open interference in Hungarian political life or economic matters. - In the first phase of the revolution, they had only secondary role. When the revolt appeared to be successful, all Soviet influence was eliminated. - After November 4, the Russians ruled in everything through Janos Kadar and his so-called government. Hungary became a Soviet colony in worse sense of the word.

(12h) The collapse of the Soviet and Communist spy system was no miracle for those who knew the system intimately. I only knew the situation in my office, but I am sure that this is a typical case which might be applied to other organizations as well. I personally knew several informants in my office. None of them were true or convinced Communists. All of them made once a grave mistake, they spent weeks or months in prisons under the well-known pressure of threats, tortures, and anxieties. Finally they were given the choice either the torture goes on, or they sign a statement by which they were obliged to report the behavior of their co-workers. If they


had a family, they usually signed the statement, and they send their routine reports to the AVH. But these reports had apparently no value for them. While I worked at the Central Statistical Office, nobody was arrested or questioned in consequence of such denunciation. I think at least 70% of all the informants fell under this category. - I know furthermore that all the teachers had to write reports about their pupils. In some cases these reports were drawn up in the classes, consequently they didn't contain any secret information. - There were naturally AVH members among the employees; those were well-known and nobody spoke freely in front of them. - That is one reason why the Party and the Russians were not well-informed. The other reason is that there was actually nothing to be reported. There were no organizations or movements leading up to the revolution. That came absolutely spontaneously without any preparation, planning or collaboration.

(13) On December 14, 1956.

(13a) Many employees of our office were dismissed, only 400-500 employees were retained of the original 1000. I thought that by the next turn of "cleaning", I might be among the dismissed.

13b
(13b) Not openly, though I had to get information about ~~the~~ possibilities, ways and means, how one can get to Austria. There were some private enterprisers who organized such groups on reasonable prices.

- (13c) Yes, I was supposedly going on Christmas vacation, besides, it was one of my official duties to supervise state farms which had important food production, and there were such farms in the neighborhood of Sopron. This way, we arrived safely in the vicinity of the borders. Then we chose to cross near Lake Fertő, where we had to cross a narrow channel. We also knew that the Russian guards were withdrawn from the borders. In general, the Russians were withdrawn to their barracks. It was the time, when the Indian Commission was studying the Hungarian situation, the Russians did all they could to make a good impression. (It was due to the presence of the Indian Commission that the demonstration of women on December 4 ended without Russian interference. When the Russians captured one of the demonstrators, the Indians stood by and made pictures, whereupon the woman was released.) This quiet atmosphere was very favorable to our flight. On the way to the channel we met other escapees. On the bridge, we met Hungarian army guards. After short bargaining and with a few presents (a Swiss watch and about 500 forints per person) we managed to convince them to let us go.
- (13d) I was sure to get to Vienna and from there I could get in touch with my older brother who was already here, in the United States, so I was confident that one way or the other I would land in the United States.

- (13e) I was considering the possibility of asking a transfer to a state farm near Sopron and wait what will happen. But I think, sooner or later I would have been compelled to leave the country, if I wanted to live in security.
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- (14)
a If I am thinking in broad perspective I think it was useful. This uprising has shown the world, especially the neutral world, the true face of Communism. It damaged the prestige of international Communism. On the other hand, if I think from a strictly Hungarian point of view, considering the 2,000 dead, I don't know if it was worth that price.
- (14b) Up to November 4, I had been convinced that the uprising would be successful. I believed in the success of a neutral government, most likely a National Communist government; 1st, a coalition government later. I didn't expect any serious intervention from Russian parts, not to mention the merciless oppression by which they ended the fight.
- (14c) As an individual I couldn't do anything else. Only the United States would have been able to change the course of events by stopping further fighting on October 27th.
- (14d) In Hungary, the terror and oppression was worse than in any other satellite state; housing conditions and living standard in general was also worse than in the neighboring countries. Beyond that, the Hungarian people had definitely stronger desires for freedom and independence than the other satellite nations. That might be stressed by racial differences too. Maybe Hungarians are more hard headed, daring and impulsive.
- (14e) Imre Nagy has accepted the task assigned to him by destiny and by the people, but he hadn't enough initiative. He was not a leader, rather he was led by the people or by circumstances. Sometimes he seemed to add reluctantly.
- (14f) Tildy is a contemptible character--Bela Kovacs is an expert in politics, he was reluctant to accept any office, maybe he has force in the end.--Maleter was the most popular leader, he was the first important man to turn openly against the Russians.--Bela Kiraly followed him.

- (14g) The hero was ^{Pál} ~~Antal~~ Maleter.
- (14h) (One.) Intellectuals and writers. (initiative). (Two.) Students were first in action. I wish to stress here that about 60% of the students were so-called worker kades, i.e. children of workers or workers themselves, about 30% of them came of peasant families and only 10% of other origins. (Three.) Workers, skilled or unskilled equally. (Four) Soldiers. (Five.) White collar people. (Six.) Collective farmers. (Seven.) Non-collectivized peasants.
- (14i) Yes, I did expect it. Young people suffer more by the misery of every day life. They expect more in life than the older generations. They need at least a brighter outlook for the future.
- (14j) The impulsiveness of the students actions was surprising. ~~FPSA~~ But for the rest, I expected them to act that way.
- (14k) As I already said, the initiative came almost entirely from the Petofi Circle. The initial criticism was a great surprise, further developments were the logical consequences.

The peasants were the real winners of the uprising; there were no compulsory deliveries for several months, export of agricultural products was interrupted for a long time, consequently they could sell more on the free market. They didn't participate actively in the Revolt, but they took more than their share by supplying food and fuel to the cities.

- (1)a I have been an employee of the Central Statistical Office, more specifically a statistician specialized in ~~food~~^{fruit} production.
- (b) My father was ~~the~~^a grocery store clerk, now retired.
- (2) I have a long history from this point of view.—After the war, I went home to Kiskunhalas on September 15, 1945 and I started gardening in a rented garden of about 3 acres. Gardening was my profession, since my father didn't allow me to become a white collar worker.

In August 1947, I had to give up this private business and I joined Civil Service as a gardener of the State Tobacco Exchange. Here I had difficulties very soon, because it became known that my older ~~brother~~ brother, a Protestant clergyman, is in the United States. In June 1949, my supervisor wrote in my service certificate that my presence is harmful to the unity of the workers. The reason was that I was ~~praising~~ praising the United States too often.—With this remark on my record I couldn't get any other decent job. Therefore, I had to find ways and means to obliterate the record. I hid my service certificate, and I went to work for a farmer in Jászénándrás, who had a private nursery garden. Here nobody knew my background, and being an agricultural worker, I could join their union, the DMFOSZ (Dolgozó, Parasztok, Földmunkások ^{Szakszervezete}). Being "worker kadar", I got good recommendations from the union officials, and I had another chance to join civil service again, in my profession. I applied for a job at the ~~Food~~^{Fruit} Producers National Association. I got several offers, I chose Veszprém, being far enough from my native town. From October 1949 I was working on the state farms until June 30, 1951. (In the meantime I got married on December 3, 1949). I have been the manager of a 300 acre vegetable garden at Szigetszentmárton, when I was recognized by a Pest—County, kadar-official. He asked about my brother and the United States at a public meeting. I knew that I would have to leave again. Upon the advice

and with the help of my immediate supervisor, I got a transfer to a boiler making company in Budapest as a payroll clerk (July 1st, 1951). In a factory, every employee was "worker-kader", consequently my record was white washed again. In Jan. 1952, I answered an advertisement of the Central Statistical Office, and since I had good recommendation, I got a job as an expert in gardening.

- (3) That was the first job I considered my profession, all the previous ones were only temporary solutions to make a living or secure the necessary qualifications for advancement. In the Statistical Office, I felt the challenge of the work. The first time I had insight into the real economic situation of the country. We dealt with true figures, not those published in the papers, and other propaganda materials. These data were handled as classified material and weren't available but for the highest government circles, or rather party circles. Since the exactness of our work was important, working conditions were made as good as possible, the usual political interference was kept at a minimum.
- (3a) I liked first of all the relative freedom enjoyed in comparison to other offices. Through my inspection trips I came in touch with many people, I had a chance to see the situation in different parts of the country which was quite impossible in other jobs. Above all, I could see, at least in my field, the real truth without the distortion of Communist propaganda.
- (3b) It was difficult to keep the truth to myself.
- (3c) I liked gardening in general, though I was always afraid of the party watchdogs, on account of my brother in the United States. That made my life miserable and insecure.
- (4a) I couldn't say how much my income was in 1946 on account of the spectacular inflation of the Pengő. I don't think anybody would be able to give any ~~figures~~ ^{figure} for that period. Most salaries were fixed in goods and services rather than in currency which was practically without value. I could give my salary in August

1947 when the new currency was introduced. That was 550 forint a month.

- (4b) In 1950 was still 550 forint a month.
- (4c) In 1955, I had ~~828~~ 1,650 forint plus 70 forint family allowance. The great difference cannot be attributed entirely to my new position. It is also due to the new inflation which started with December, 1951, when the government announced the first wages and price increases. (If you want to get a good picture of the wage and salary changes, 1952 should be included as a critical year.
- (4d) See the above figures.
- (4e) Deductions: ~~2%~~ 2% for pension fund, ~~1 1/2%~~ 1 1/2% for trade union fee.
- (4f) In my first year in the Statistical Office, I received some books and about 300 forints as premium.
- (4g) I wrote articles in my field, though my papers were returned very often, because I "could not prove sufficiently the superiority of socialist economy."
- (4h) A worker's average income was about 950 to 1,000 forint a month so my last salary was about 50 to 60% higher than the average.
- (4i) With the exception of 1952, I had about 300 forint less than party members who had the same classification, because they always received premiums ~~one way or the other.~~
- (5a) 8 1/2 hours daily plus 5 1/2 on Saturdays.
- (5b) 48 hours a week.
- (5c) Yes, it wasn't paid in offices (1952 to 1954). Though from 1955 on, overtime was ~~accepted~~ recorded and equivalent time could be taken as additional vacation time. When I worked in factories or on state farms, I was paid for overtime work.
- (5d) Official holidays: Jan. 1st, April 4th, May 1st and 2nd, August 20, November 7th, Christmas day and Sundays. I had 18 days paid vacation and when I was

studying I had 6 or 12 additional days.

- (5e) Workers had 12 days paid ~~vacation~~ vacation, and if they were studying, 12 or 18 additional days.
- (5f) In 1952, schedule was kept very strictly. Employees reporting late to work, had to turn over their identification card. The first time, they were reprimanded by the Party Secretary. The 2nd or 3rd time it was entered into the employee's personal record and that might have serious consequences in case of transfer, promotion, etc.
- (5g) Yes, up to June 1953, the premiership of Imre Nagy.
- (5h) In the Statistical office, it was not punished. It was punished elsewhere.
- (5i) There were no norms for white collar workers.—I think, that ~~is~~ ^{but} is the self-deception of the Communist system.
- (5j-5l) Not applicable.
- (5j-5l)a Not applicable
- (6b) In the Statistical Office, relatively good.
- (6c) Office supply and furniture was very good in the Statistical Office. We had American computers, typewriters, etc. Other offices were not so well supplied.
- (6d) Not applicable.
- (6e) Twenty minutes by streetcar.
- (7)a My co-workers were generally ~~young~~ young men, about 30 to 32; about 90% of them were university graduates, the rest were still studying. ~~Most~~ ^{Most} of them came from the lower middle class; nobody was wealthy. A family house was a mark of distinction.
- (7b) There was a noticeable distrust between Communists and non-Communists.— The division chiefs (~~and~~ ^{all} Communists) were tight-lipped and kept ~~alleg~~ ^{alleg}. Otherwise equals and superiors were on friendly terms.
- (7c) Yes. In my section, there were not any informers, except the section head and he was a timid man himself. They were only two party members among 10 employees.

- (7d) ~~After~~ After about $\frac{1}{2}$ year trial friendship, sincerity among co-workers was perfect.
- (7e) Not necessarily.
- (7f) Yes, I still keep up correspondence with some of them.
- (7g) Naturally we discussed politics whenever we had a chance to talk freely.
- (7h) Yes, it was rather loose organization, though. All their activities were restricted to a monthly meeting.
- (7i) Party members advanced rapidly, higher positions were held exclusively by Party members. They received more premiums.
- (7j) Apart from the control system and propaganda almost nothing. Everyone tried to keep aloof of the party as much as possible.
- (7k) Nobody trusted the Trade Union, since it was an organ of the government.
- (7l) First of all, the Union collected dues, then it organized recreation, especially made reservations for vacation in government owned homes and ~~these sort of~~ ^{resort} places. The lists of placements were revised 3 or 4 times, at the end 30% of the applicants couldn't go anywhere for administrative ~~success~~ failures.
- (7m) There were no changes at all.
- (7n) The Conciliation Committees were not independent. All these committees were subordinated to the office administration.
- (7o) There was no such thing in my office.
- (7p) A really good expert, if there was no one to replace him, was rated as "politically reliable", regardless of his background or actual political stand, (provided he kept silent).
- (7q) The above method was always applied to neutrals. They were rated "politically reliable".
- (7r) By all means. Everything was directed and controlled by politicians. Experts got only second-rate positions. There was not a single minister who had ~~not~~ been an expert in his field. Even the stachanovist workers got their title for political ^{merits} knowledge (up to 95%)

- (7s) No change.
- (7t) There was no end to kader screenings--informers sent their yearly or monthly reports about the employees attitude--the AVO agent reported on special requests about individuals, sometimes weekly--fortunately in our office, we knew all these AVO agents.
- (8a) In our office, it was called Revolutionary Council. It was an ~~independent~~ independent organization. It was intended to function as an ideal trade union, a true representation of the employee's interests.
- (7v) They controlled the management and personal affairs.
- (8) As I said before, I had to change my jobs in order to "clean" ^{my record.} _^ "Although I came from the working class and consequently I was acceptable for any kind of jobs, I had difficulties on account of my brother who was in the United States. Whenever this fact became known to a Communist official, who knew me and my family I had to find ways and means to change my job and hide the record. As I explained before, that was always possible if one changed from a white collar job to the so-called working "kader". That applies to everybody, regardless of social or political background. I knew former army officers, landowners, who went to work at some inconspicuous places where they were ⁿ known, got good ratings, then worked up themselves to acceptable positions. It was absolutely necessary, though, that nobody should know their backgrounds.
- (8a) That depended on individual circumstances, or personal relationships. If someone was able to create a friendly atmosphere with the Communist bosses, he was almost entirely free to change his job and advance according ~~to~~ ^{with} his capabilities. Without the active help of such supervisors, it was almost impossible to get a transfer to other positions. There were only a few menial works which were open to practically everybody, e.g. mining.
- (8b) My last job satisfied completely my desires (apart from the general difficulties).
- (8c) That was my field and I did enjoy my work.

- (8d) For me, professional interest was the most important factor.
- (8e) No, I didn't change from this point of view.
- (8f) Not under Communist rule. One had to join the party in order to be successful.
- (8g) I don't think so. Most people prefer security. Even under modest circumstances.
- (8h) Not applicable.
- (8i) Basically, I would do the same thing only more intensively, on a higher level, spending more time and money for cultural entertainment, books, periodicals, theatre, concerts, etc.
- (8j) I don't think I changed my mind. I have only one new idea about this: I would like to publish a really good Hungarian newspaper here in the United States. It is very sad to see how many really sub-standard papers are published here for Hungarians.
- (8k) I have to say "no", since I have daughters only.
- (9a) I worked myself, my wife had only occasional jobs on account of the children.
- (9b) To illustrate the situation, I have to compare my father's family with my own. My father supported a family of 4, and the family lived very well on a grocery clerk's salary which was certainly lower than average income at that time. I also supported a family of 4 and we had many difficulties, although my salary was 50 to 60% higher than average.
- (c) We only had the minimum of prime necessities. My greatest sorrow was that I couldn't afford a decent apartment; we had to share it with another family. Only later could we get a decent apartment.
- (d) See question No. 4
- (9e) 110 to 160 forints a month.
- (9f) Housing was the greatest problem. Most people, like myself, were co-tenants i.e. they shared an apartment with one or more families. They had community kitchens which caused most of their troubles, especially when gas or other

fuels were limited.

- (9g) I couldn't say how much I spent for food, I know that my salary was never sufficient to cover our needs. Fortunately we received good help from my Brother who was here in the US, and from relatives who lived in the country.
- (9h) I could say that I didn't spend anything for clothing. I relied entirely upon my brother's help. To illustrate the situation, I can quote an official estimate of what a family of four could afford in clothing. They were supposedly able to buy a pair of shoes every two years for 200 forints a pair, (but the cheapest pair of shoes was sold for 300 forints in the stores), then every 10½ years they could buy a heavy overcoat for 1000 forints, (but the cheapest coat was sold for 1500 forints). I don't remember the figures for women's clothing, but I don't think that I need to say more about the misery we had to put up with.
- (9i) What I could afford to buy I have bought in state stores, the rest came from relatives; I couldn't afford to buy anything on the black market.
- (9j) I spent about 80 forint ~~a~~ month for gas and electricity and 1000 for fuel ^(a year) if I got any. For instance in 1956 I couldn't buy the necessary amount. I received through the union some coal for about 400 forint, (which wouldn't last until Christmas.)
- (k) Fuel was second only to housing among our problems. Gas and electricity were very often limited, but we had at least something all the time.
- (9l) I couldn't afford a private doctor, I had to use the ~~szTK~~ ^{SzTK} (Szakszervezeti Tervezési Központ), i.e. the State Health Insurance plan. There, I had nothing to pay, at least theoretically. Practically, if one wanted to have good treatment, ~~one~~ ^{one} had always to pay something. It was especially important in case of childbirth. If one wanted to have a physician to be present he had to pay ~~for~~ him about 700 forint. Otherwise there was only a nurse present and medical help, if needed, came too late. Besides a private patient

always got a bed in the hospital. Other patients, not always.

(9a) I had no particular advantages through my job. I received only those services which were given to every worker.

(9b) Almost nothing. I don't ~~smoke~~ smoke; drink. We spent our vacations at our relatives' homes; that didn't cost anything. We went seldom to the movies or theatres, because we had no time. I ~~had~~ subscribed to a weekly, (Tartós Béke) but this was suspended in 1954. Later I could read the papers in my office. We also had there a good library, so I could avoid such expenses.

(9c) I didn't spend anything else.

(10) No, I wasn't satisfied at all. Only those couples lived relatively well who had no children and so both of them could work.

(10a) I think everybody was exploited in Hungary, and everybody was aware of that.

(10b) Definitely. The whole country was exploited.

(10c) By the government, and through the puppet government, by the Russians.

(10d) Apart from the change which followed the 2nd World War a new inflation was started after December 1951, and was gradually increased ever since. Prices of clothing and ~~and~~ ^{footwear} were raised 3 times higher, while wages were increased only 15 to 20%.

(10e) I was infuriated when we had to sign these loans.

(10f) I think ~~it~~ it was a great injustice that Hungary had to pay reparations. Hungary's participation in World War II was forced upon us by Hitler through the body of Prime Minister Count Teleki. That is a well-known fact, so we are paying for the Germans.

(10g) Yes, especially in 1952 and 1953, (Every day), later I was exempted because I was studying.

- (11a) There was no economic progress in Hungary after the war, I think there was much rather catastrophic decline, especially as far as agriculture is concerned.
- (11b) I cannot agree with many things.
- (11c) First of all, the economic planning which was directed centrally by the respective ministries, and even to a greater degree, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Consequently, local economic situations and possibilities were not considered. Everything was subordinated to the political interests of the Party, and the economic interests of the Russians. Hungary had to produce what the Russians needed at any given moment and not what would have been reasonable for the country. Beyond that, the lack of ~~technical~~ experts, especially on a local level, and the Stachanovist work system crippled the production all over the country. It produced a show for propaganda purposes instead of raising the output.
- (11d) Naturally, the pre-war situation wasn't ideal either. First of all from the social point of view. Radical reforms were needed to end the remains of the feudal system. If such steps would have been undertaken, Communism would never have gained any ground in Hungary. Because in spite of social inequalities, the country was prosperous and was on the way to greater prosperity.
- (11e) As I said, there was no improvement at all. Everything which might have had the appearance of improvement was only a show for propaganda purposes. Agricultural workers who became landowners through the agrarian reform, had less income than they had as agricultural workers in prewar Hungary.
- (11f) The Three-Year plan of 1947 -1949 was a paper achievement only. The preliminary administrative work took so much valuable work hours that the established norms were never reached.
- (11g) The following Five Year Plan was the same. The planned production figures

had to be lowered several times, and even these figures were not always reached.

- (11b) The policy of Imre Nagy could have brought an improvement. Unfortunately, all his reforms were repealed very soon, before any beneficial effect could have been felt.
- (11i) There were always endless discussions about this subject. Production plans changed constantly, consequently there was hardly any achievement in any direction.
- (11j) In 1955-56, there was an improvement in the general situation. It was due mainly to the unusually good crop of 1955. Especially ~~some~~^{fruit} production was extraordinary. I recall the figure for apples: we had 14,000 waggons that year, which⁵ exactly the double of the average production. There were no compulsory deliveries in fruit⁶ (except grapes), consequently the benefits of this surplus affected the population directly. The agricultural situation improved in general, mainly because collectivization was somewhat relaxed.
- (12a) All causes of dissatisfaction could be reduced to the economic difficulties. That was the heart of the matter.
- (12b) Other, though less important, causes were the lack of recreation and entertainment, the lack of normal cultural and social contact with other nations; news were altered for propaganda-purposes, travel were restricted to Party members, a few artists, champions, and athletic teams. The rest of the population felt like living in a cage. (In 1956, there were some improvements; a few people got visas to Austria.)
- (12c) These complaints were common to everybody, except to Party members.
- (12d) There were no such plans, (to overthrow the government.) We were convinced

that the system could not be overthrown from inside, only outside help could have made it possible.

- (12e) The bad quality of production in every field was the best mirror of the general discontent of the workers.
- (12f) They did everything they could to make the uprising successful.

- (1a) I attended school from 1928 to 1945, then from 1954 to 1956.
- (1b) I have three years at the University of Political Economy but I don't have a degree. I had no chance to finish my studies.
- (1c) I graduated from the Academy of Gardening at Budapest. I finished those studies before 1945.
- (2a) Yes, I attended school after 1944 at the University of Political Economy. I attended the school first of all because it has been my desire to get a university degree and on the other hand I wanted to avoid in this way the compulsory Party indoctrination and other propaganda lectures.
- (2b) I attended evening school only once a week. For the rest I took my courses on a correspondence basis.
- (2c) No.
- (2d) No.
- (2e) Yes, I did. There were compulsory courses at the university.
- (2f) I followed my inclination.
- (2g) Yes, I could have studied law or any other curriculum pertinent to my profession.
- (3a) I wanted to get a Ph.D. in economics or political science.
- (3b) As I said before, I followed my old desire.
- (3c) I had no serious handicaps in my studies, except some financial difficulties.
- (4a) No, I didn't study as much as I wanted, but the reasons were only of a financial nature.
- (4b) I would have finished my studies earlier.
- (4c) As I said, I had financial difficulties. I had to support my parents.
- (4d) As I said before, that was my original plan.
- (4e) I don't think so. In order to get higher positions I should have

become a Party member. Without that I couldn't get any further.

(5) I would have studied the same subject under any other circumstances.

(5a) Because I followed my inclination.

(5b) Not applicable.

(5c) No, I didn't change my opinion.

(5d) I choose my career according to my inclination.

(6) I was a good student.

(6a) I liked my subject and I did my best.

(7)a Between 1945 and 1954 I had no chance to study further. First of all, my financial situation wasn't favorable, on the other hand I was not sure if I could be admitted to higher studies for political reasons. In 1954 the situation changed. My salary was higher, so I could afford to continue my studies. On the other hand, the recommendation of my office assured me the admission to the university.

(7b) Single men had better financial situation to continue their studies. As far as admission is concerned, Party members had a definite advantage above everyone else.

(8)a We had no free choice since we had fixed curricula at our university, which included the study of Marxism. Sometimes, we had a chance to choose between professors.

(8b) I liked all subjects except Marxism.

(8c) Russian wasn't compulsory at my faculty. Consequently I personally didn't study it, but I know that nobody liked Russian. In general I don't think any language should be taught as a compulsory subject. I would make only one exception to this rule; if the UN would assign a language as the official "world-language", this language should be taught in every school of the world.

- (8d) Dialectical materialism was a useless subject, because nobody took it seriously.
- (8e) The national defense training was not serious at all. The political part was mere propaganda.
- (8f) The compulsory training in sports did more harm than good. ^{Even} the most passionate sportsmen turned against it.
- (9) In a way, Communist education was very effective. No student could remain indifferent to Communist ideology. They had to choose for or against it. The point is, however, that they mostly choose against it. only about 5 to 10% took positive attitudes.
- (9a) The general attitude of the students wasn't changed. One could observe a growing lack of respect towards authorities and others.
- (9b) Certainly not, except about 5 to 10 % of the students.
- (9c) Definitely no.
- (9d) I know very few examples of positive Communist influence, though there were a few. I knew for instance, the daughter of a Protestant minister who denounced her parents for their anti-Communist attitude.
- (9e) It was most effective up to the age of 15 or 16, beyond that it had hardly any positive influence regardless of the social background of the student.
- (9f) This influence was mainly negative too. These very young children rebelled against parental authority and family traditions.
- (10) My father was a grocery store clerk. This way we belonged to the working class.
- (10a) My maternal grandfather was a locksmith.
- (10b) My father-in-law was an employee of the Hungarian State Railways.
- (11) There was no substantial change. We all belonged to the working class.

My wife's family owned a little property but this has been confiscated after the war.

- (12) As I said, my father was a grocery store clerk.
- (12a) Yes, Considering his age he retired after 1945, he became a supply clerk on a state farm, but he retired after two years.
- (12b) He worked 16 years for the same firm, then he worked 2 years at the state farm.
- (12c) Considering his education he had a good job, with comparatively good income.
- (12d) He had only 3 years of elementary schools.
- (12e) My father didn't approve of my studies at the University. He preferred a trade. Therefore, he didn't permit me to finish my studies at the gymnasium.
- (13) A little better than the average.
- (13a) There was no substantial change, though the average became worse.
- (14) There were four people in my family.
- (14a) My older brother came to the United States in 1947. I got married in 1949.
- (14b) Yes, I lived with my parents.
- (14c) Because of the great housing shortage.
- (15a) No.
- (15b) My grandfather lived in the country in pension, he was a policeman before.
- (15c) My older brother was an assistant minister from 1943 to 1947 when he came to the United States.
- (15d) My wife worked occasionally.

- (16) My social status was definitely advantageous to me in the last ten years.
- (16a) Being "working kader" I had certain advantages. For instance, I could study whatever I wanted and I could take any job according to my capabilities.
- (17) Yes, I was married since 1949.
- (17a) She conducted a sewing course for about 2 years.
- (17b) Since 1949.
- (17c) I have two daughters.
- (18a) She was 4 years old.
- (18-21) Not applicable.
- (22) My brother and I got along very well with our parents.
- (23) Naturally, we did discuss politics.
- (23a) The main topic was naturally the new regime and in general the changes which followed the war. Up to 1947 or 1948, I had some friendly disputes with my father. Being a Socialist, ^{-sympathizer} he hoped that the new regime would bring some improvements for the working class. After 1948 he changed his mind. By this time, he was convinced that nothing good could be hoped for from this regime.
- (23b) Not applicable.
- (24) As I said I had some difficulties with my father who opposed my higher studies, though when I achieved it on my own accord, he was proud of my accomplishment. My mother always supported my plans.
- (24a) My father wanted to ~~have~~ ^{to} me remain a skilled worker, though later he was satisfied with my career.
- (24b) I had free hand in choosing my friends.

- (28c) As I said, my father sympathized with Socialism, though he gave me sufficient freedom and independence to form my own opinions.
- (24d) There was no disagreement about religion.
- (26a) Our family life was undisturbed and harmonious.
- (26b) I think this is a typical case in middle-class Hungarian families.
- (26c) I had very little spare time and that I spent with my family.
- (26d) I was playing with the children. We ~~made~~^{made} hiking tours in the hills of Buda and occasionally we went to the movies.
- (26e) Generally we were together on Sundays and late at night.
- (26f) I was eager to learn English, but I had little chance.
- (27) I don't think there were important changes as far as family life is concerned. Although the social and economic changes were felt in this field too. Financial difficulties sometimes strengthened-sometimes loosened family ties. In most cases, all the members of a family pooled their efforts to keep their social level ~~out~~^{in spite of the} of difficulties. Since few people could afford entertainment outside of the family circle, families spent more time together and, when the family was well adjusted, the feeling of interdependence was increased. Of course, there were examples to the contrary too, but I think these cases were less numerous. Young couples had some difficulties in finding jobs in the same locality.
- (27a) Al-legedly there was some pressure from Party circles to separate such families, but I don't know of such examples. Since young couples lived relatively better than single men or girls, marriages of convenience were more numerous than before the war.
- (27b) All the changes were due to the changed economic system.
- (27c) In most cases family members could trust each other; there were some exceptions and that was definitely under the influence of Communist

propaganda which placed "the interest of the people" high above family ties.

- (27c) As I said, the members of well-adjusted families were definitely more dependent on each other than before, and according to my personal experience--such families outnumbered those which broke up under the pressure.
- (28d) Children growing up in day nurseries were definitely estranged from their parents. Fortunately very few people could enjoy this privilege reserved for the more influential Party members only. In every school, the new educational system tried to lessen the influence of the parents and family traditions though with less success, probably because most teachers opposed these innovations.
- (27e) In the country the family influence was stronger than in towns, since the mother usually didn't work, so she had more chance to educate her children according to the family tradition.
- (28c) I think the relations between boys and girls didn't change essentially in the last ten years, although their style of conversation became gradually less and less formal. (The "maga" ("you") was generally replaced by the more familiar ^{"te"} ("these").)
- (28a) Not applicable.
- (28b) After the war people got married earlier than before the war. The average age for a man might be about 27 and for a girl about 23. The reasons are mostly economical. Couples lived better than single men or women, the younger worker earned just as much as the older ones, so there was no reason to wait. The bride's dowry wasn't as compulsory as before the war.

- (28c) There was no essential change in courtship patterns, except that the time of courtship was usually shorter than before.
- (28d) Not applicable.
- (28e) From 1951 officially there was no prostitution, there was a black market instead which was naturally worse.
- (28f) In a way Communist authorities were more strict about sexual matters than the authorities before. There were no contraceptives on the open market. Abortion was strictly prohibited and punishments were more severe; on the other hand the State was ready to take over the unwanted children.
- (28g) Apparently the authorities in Hungary were against birth control. In my opinion the solution if this problem should be left for the parent.
- (28h) From legal point of view there was a radical change in the attitude toward illegitimate children. The law practically didn't make any distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children. Every illegitimate child was legitimized. If there was a problem of paternity the mother's word was decisive. (I think that was the cause of many abuses.) Communist propaganda did a great deal to popularize the new attitude. In maternity wards one could often read the inscription: child-bearing is a duty for a woman, glory for a girl.} But the popular conception didn't change. The ~~unwed~~ unwed mother was still ostracized.
- (29) My best friend was one of my co-workers at the Statistical Office. I met him there, when I started to work.
- (29a) He was a statistician, a doctor of administrative law.
- (29b) He was 34 years old. His father was a small business man.
- (29c) We were discussing all sorts of problems, mainly politics.
- (29d) See above.
- (29e) There was no change in our friendship in the last few years.

- (29f) Yes, we are still in correspondence.
- (29g) Open discussion of mutual problems.
- (29h) I don't think he ever could become a Party official. If he would become a Party member, that wouldn't make any difference.
- (30) My parents were members of the Reformed Church.
- (30a) We all had the same attitude toward religion and we were devout members of our church.
- (30b) (Missing in the Hungarian text.)
- (30c) I also was and am a devout member of the Reformed Church.
- (31) The Communist rule definitely interfered with religious life. It had a great influence upon young people, though it couldn't influence the older generations.
- (31a) First of all, there was no religious education in the schools; priests were the object of ridicule ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ all sorts of propaganda literature and ~~the~~ official publications. Young people (18-25) couldn't go to church on Sunday because the Party organized all sorts of more or less compulsory meetings during the time of the religious services. Group recreation and entertainment were also scheduled for the same time.
- (31b) All faiths had the same difficulties.
- (31c) Since all denominations had the same problems there were no sectarian strives. Perhaps Jewish communities had the least troubles for the time being, but this is only temporarily so I am sure.
- (31d) Communism and religion cannot live in "peaceful co-existence".
- (31e) The Communists wanted to liquidate gradually every religion. They started with the persecution of priests. They send the informants to the churches to get reports about people who went to church. Churchgoers were sooner or later dismissed. The press, radio, and propaganda literature were full of attacks on churches, priests, and religions in general.

- (31f) The open persecution was directed first of all against the church leaders and--in a lesser degree--against all believers.
- (31g) I could go to church whenever I had a chance to go in a district where nobody knew me.
- (31h) At least every second Sunday.
- (32i) Older people (I mean from the age of 30 on) attended services more often than before the war. The need for spiritual resources was felt more than ever. All churches were filled by believers, except the churches of the "peace priests."

(31j)

(E in the

English text)

We have to distinguish two classes among the new church leaders. Some of them were not influenced by Communism directly, they were only moderate political minded priests who tried to find ways for "peaceful co-existence"; the others were the "peace priests" proper who served only the interests of the Party. The first type^{is} represented in my church by Bishop Abbert Berecski, the second group by [redacted] and [redacted], both of them habitual drinkers. It is typical for the situation that these two priests had published the only licensed weekly of the Reformed Church, the "Reformatus Klet".

(31k)

(I in the

English text)

Yes, there were differences in degree and methods of adjustment, though the end-results were exactly the same. (See also Section R, question 11, paragraph i.)

(31l)

(M in English)

In consequence of Communist education, religion is less important to young people (up to 25) than it was to their parents.

(32a)

The Jews were really liberated by the Russians from the horrors of the

concentration camps. Perhaps it was an expression of gratitude that most of them joined the Communist Party. Many of them occupied very important positions. The result was that about 90% of the highest ranking Communists were Jews. Some of them used their influence to repay personal offences suffered during the war. I am sure there were many excesses. All that caused a new wave of anti-semitism in Hungary.

(32b) With the exception of the Party officials, the whole Jewish population of Hungary wholeheartedly supported the Revolution. Consequently, the anti-semitism has come to a low ebb again.

(32c) There shouldn't be any distinction on this basis.

(33) Best off: Party leaders, ministers, members of the different Central Committees of the Party. Worst off: peasant families with many children.

(33a) I fared a little better than the average.

(33b) I just wanted to stick to my position.

(34) ~~For the sake of the Party~~ I would advise him to study medicine.

(34a) This is the only profession in Hungary which is not yet infected by political influence and where talent and skill are the only factors which count, and besides it can provide financial security for life.

(34b) Skill and learning.

(34c) First of all children of physicians (one needs connections to get admission to the faculty).

- (1) I got most information through the radio.
- (1a) The BBC was the most important source.
- (1b) The Voice of America and Radio Free Europe were the next important.
- (1a2a) I read practically every newspaper published in Hungary, because we had all of them in our office.
- (2b) I read them regularly almost every day.
- (2c) To be as well informed as possible.
- (2d) I looked through the whole newspaper and selected those articles which seemed to be most important.
- (2e) No, I didn't read the ~~six~~ editorials because those weren't but Communist propaganda.
- (2f) In general, I didn't like these newspapers, I read them only to get general orientation. There was only one periodical I liked, that was the M Irodalmi Ujság. That was the only periodical where I could find factual clear criticism of the actual situation.
- (2g) I selected those articles where I could find the criticism of the regime or of the situation.
- (2h) Yes, we also had wall newspapers in our office.
- (2i) That was written mostly by the employees. It included mostly local news or some propaganda material which was given by the Party.
- (2j) There was a brief sketch of major political events then the local news filled a larger space and finally we could read lots of propaganda.
- (2k) Yes, we had foreign newspapers in our office, though only Communist papers.
- (2l) As I said at the Central Statistical Office.
- (2m) I couldn't have any good opinion of them, because all of them were Communist

publications which repeated the same propaganda slogans. Indirectly, however, we found valuable information in the advertisements, especially in the American Communist newspapers. We could hardly believe that in America one can buy a pair of shoes for \$8.00, or a pair of pants for \$3.00 when the minimum wage is a dollar for an hour. That way we had a clear and true picture of the American living standard. These facts were very well known all over the country.

- (3) I didn't go to the movies more than once a month.
- (3a) To the next movie theater, because at eleven o'clock our gates were closed and we wanted to be home before that.
- (3b) I preferred opera and ballets to escape politics and propaganda.
- (3c) Communist films aren't anything but propaganda.
- (3d) Before 1945, I liked movies very much.
- (3e) Yes, occasionally.
- (3f) I saw many Italian opera films, some Soviet ballets, and some Western films, for instance, WATERLOO BRIDGE and Chaplin's THE GREAT DICTATOR and so on. Comparatively seldom because it was too expensive for me.
- (3g) I went to the National Theater once in three months.
- (3h) Yes, very much so. Movies and the theaters became the loudspeakers of propaganda for the Party and for Russian culture. There were strict rules that a certain number of Russian plays or films had to be performed before any Western films could be shown. The Russian plays were kept on schedule for long periods (even when the theaters were empty) while the films of the Western world had only a day or two.
- (4) Certainly I read as much as I could.

- (4a) Not applicable.
- (4b) Since I had very little free time, I read about four or five books a year.
- (4c) I read first of all Hungarian classic, for instance books by Zsigmond Móricz, Géza Gárdonyi, Ferenc Móra. Among foreign publications I read the The Old Men and The Sea by Hemingway and I read several books by French authors.
- (4d) I read, first of all, for relaxation.
- (4e) I chose them in our library at the office.
- (4f) I had difficulties when I wanted to read Hemingway's book. Only three thousand copies were printed of this work, while average books were printed in fifteen to twenty thousand copies or least. There was propaganda in it. There were a few books published by American authors but only in a few thousand copies to show the free world that there is no Iron Curtain in cultural matters, but actually very few people could get hold of a copy. We, at the Statistical Office, were still fortunate, since our library was a depository of copyright copies, consequently we had access to all these publications. We had even forbidden books in our library (e.g. Hitler's Mein Kampf). I remember though that I wanted to read a book by Pearl Buck and I couldn't get^{it} because it was always in circulation.
- (5) Certainly, whenever I had the chance I was listening to the radio.
- (5b) My mother, who lived with us, had an old Orion radio with four wave lengths.
- (5c) I listened to music every night when I had a chance, and after ten o'clock I was listening to the news first on the Kosuth radio then from a foreign station.
- (5d) We listened to music and above all to the news. We were eagerly waiting something, some sweeping change which would liberate us from our endless every day toil.

- (5e) In the evenings for one and a half to two hours.
- (5f) In my mother's room.
- (5g) Concerts were my favorite domestic program.
- (6) Certainly I did listen to foreign stations.
- (6a) Not applicable.
- (6b) I listened first of all to BBC, Free Europe, Voice of America, and sometimes to Paris, Madrid and Istanbul.
- (6c) To get reliable information.
- (6d) As I said, every night at least for an hour.
- (6e) We enjoyed tremendously the mere fact that we could listen to the voice of the free world.
- (6f) I think BBC was the most reliable source of information, the Voice of America was sufficiently reliable also, though the program was disturbed sometimes. Radio Free Europe was least reliable, there was too much propaganda on the program.
- (7) I attended meetings very seldom, fortunately I was excused to attend compulsory lectures on account of my ~~lectures~~ ^{studies}.
- (7a) Not applicable.
- (7b) I attended some meetings of ^{the} trade union and, regularly, the meetings of the Petöfi-Circle.
- (7c) I attended voluntarily.
- (7d) I went to the trade union meetings once in every six months and every second week to the Petöfi-Circle.
- (7e) Current political problems were the main topics.
- (7f) The leaders of the respective organisations.

- (7g) The trade union meetings lasted about two hours, the meetings of the Petöfi-Circle much longer, sometimes six hours.
- (7h) The trade union meetings were uninteresting while the meetings of the Petöfi-Circle dealt with vital problems.
- (7i) Naturally, but only the questions asked at the meetings of the Petöfi-Circle had real importance. These questions contained already open ^{criticism} criticism, of the regime.
- (7j) The trade union meeting was a matter of routine. At the Petöfi-Circle there was a long lecture, then long and open ~~discussion~~ discussion which became more and more animated.
- (8) That was the richest source of information, if not the most reliable one.
- (8a) We heard rumors about Stalin's mysterious death, about deportations, persecutions, and foreign news.
- (8b) Usually from intimate friends, co-workers.
- (8c) I heard details about Stalin's death and the following events from a student who was in Moscow at the time.
- (8d) In general it was ^a less reliable source than the foreign radios, though after due critical selections one could get many good details from eye-witnesses.
- (8e) Official sources branded such information as false rumors, though a great deal of it proved to be true.
- (8f) I heard of a fire in a factory in Újpest, about scattered cases of police denied by official sources, although later proved to be true.
- (8g) I heard these things at the office.
- (8h) There were no such gatherings, we discussed news at the office and among friends.

- (8i) Yes, Party officials and their friends.
- (8j) Most likely at the office or at home, because that was the least conspicuous.
- (8k) Whenever we heard of somebody just released from prison from Russia and so on, we tried to get in touch with him.
- (8l) The news bulletins of the American Embassy were distributed ~~extensively~~ secretly. I didn't come across any other illegal publication.
- (9) I had a friend who was a Party Member and had access to reliable information; I asked him whenever I wanted to verify rumors about the Party. He always told me candidly whatever he knew.
- (9a) For foreign news I turned to the radio.
- (9b) Sport news, I got it from the papers.
- (9c) Economic and news: at my office.
- (10) I always checked the papers against the information received from foreign radios.
- (10a) I had to rely upon my own logical judgment mostly.
- (10b) It was always equally unreliable.
- (10c) Sport news was the only absolutely reliable item.
- (10d) Political and economic news was always unreliable.
- (10e) Domestic radio stations were equally unreliable. Among papers the Irodnyi Mir Hing was only reliable.
- (10f) Of course.
- (10g) This paper opened the way of free press.
- (11) Very much so.
- (11a) Everybody, without exception.

- (11b) There were no such people there.
- (12) From the foreign radio stations.
- (12a) That was the most reliable source.
- (12b) About local events, we received information on the phone, through posters, about the general situation, from foreign radios.
- (12c) Radio Free Europe gave us such information about the situation in other parts of the country. That was the most valuable service. (They gathered their information from local radio stations.)
- (13) Everybody knew about Russian forced labor camps.
- (13a) I had many friends who went through this experience. I was on my way to Russia with them, but I could escape in time. It was the day of the Japanese ~~winning~~ *Aristides*. All the guards were drunk, and I jumped off the train.
- (13b) I don't know the facts, but I think, as an experiment, it might have been possible.
- (13c) Definitely ~~supported~~ the Communists. That explains their fast ^{progress} ~~advance~~ in the first days.
- (13d) Hajk was Tito's friend and wanted to join him in his revolt against Moscow. That night ~~had~~ *could* have been advantageous for Hungary, though ^{Hajk} could never have won popular support in Hungary because he was ^{the} ~~a~~ most cruel Communist hanger-on.
- (13e) The German resentment was overemphasized in Hungary. Some people hoped for German intervention during the uprising.
- (13f) We heard all the details of the Berlin Riots through the foreign radios.
- (13g) I didn't hear much good about emigre activities. They couldn't even form a common platform, and that is the first step to any successful political action.

- (1) With the removal of the present Hungarian regime, free elections should be held and the new responsible government should decide the rest. I think the most urgent item would be the reorganization of agriculture. A new law is needed to regulate landed property. Collective farms should be transformed into free associations where members would have their individual ~~in~~ property. The association would provide expensive machinery and would serve as a marketing agency. I think these measures would end the anarchy which prevails in agriculture in Hungary. Industrial production also should be rationalized, it should produce consumer goods which are needed in the country and things for which we have ^{the} necessary raw materials. Trade unions should be reorganized on the basis of free elections, in order to represent the interests of the members. As far as foreign policy is concerned, Hungary should be neutral, like Austria is now.
- (1a) I wouldn't keep anything in its present form; although - after a radical re-organization according to democratic principles - certain organizations might be retained, e.g. the trade unions.
- (2) Yes, all people should be free to organize political parties.
- (2a) That is one of the basic principles of a real democracy. The population of Hungary had such a variety of political experiences that almost every citizen is mature enough to tell right from wrong.
- (2b) As I said, this is one of the basic principles of real democracy. If there are restrictions, there is no democracy any more.
- (2c) No, I wouldn't make any exceptions.
- (3) Everybody should be free to say anything.
- (3a) This is another basic democratic principle.

- (3b) In practice, it is impossible to forbid/^{people}to say something against the government. Such laws presuppose the existence of/^aspy and informant system.
- (4) Naturally, all people should be free to participate in meetings.
- (4a) Yes, even if the purpose is to attack the government.
- (4b) Judgments formed by free and open discussion are always sound and reasonable.
- (4c) This is also a fundamental democratic principle.
- (4d) Yes, here I should make one exception (on the basis of past experiences), organizations supported by foreign powers (not exactly friendly to Hungary) should be excluded. That might lead to the formation of pressure groups hostile to the real interests of the country. I think, first of all, of international Communism. National Communists, however, might be free to meet openly.
- (4e) If the government is forced upon the people by a foreign power, if there is great terror, exploitation, and there are no constitutional means (or the government blocks the way to such means) to stop such abuses, then - I think - armed uprising against the government is fully justified.
- (5a) In small countries it is desirable, if the state controls, in one way or the other, the main basic heavy industries, in order to prevent the formation of dangerous monopolies. The total nationalisation of all heavy industries, however, is more dangerous than any private monopoly.
- (5b) Planned economy is almost/^{an}inevitable necessity in a small country, therefore, state ^{guidance} ~~guidance~~ of production is almost inevitable, and if the government is sufficiently competent, it is very advantageous. State ownership requires a huge and improductive administration which paralyzes production instead of promoting it.
- (5c) Private ownership should be maintained, though the state should control either prices, or production, or both.
- (5d) By no means [is private profit bad]
- (6) I'm definitely not in favor [of state controls in light industry].

- (6a) In a small country, like Hungary, it is harmful for the working class; it might be the source of many abuses.
- (6b) In this field, there is no need for any control, except, eventually, for price control.
- (6c) Free production and - with few restrictions - free market is the best solution.
- (7) No, [there shouldn't be any state monopolies].
- (7a) That leads to exploitation of the working classes.
- (7b) Not applicable.
- (7c) All kinds of monopolies are bad.
- (8) In our times, almost every country has some sort of planned economy to more or lesser degree. That seems to be a necessity of modern civilization. The method employed by Communist countries, however, serves rather the disorganization of all kinds of production than the coordination of production.
- (8a) The totally centralized planning as ~~practiced~~ practiced by Communist states, requires great administration, and the usual red tape creates great difficulties and confusion. The detailed plans, with built in time schedules, are impracticable, especially in agricultural production, since local weather conditions are(and ~~can~~ cannot be) sufficiently considered. There are difficulties in distribution of industrial raw materials and products, as well as new machinery and spare parts (which are distributed equally to productive units, regardless of actual need).
- (8b) Central planned economy cannot coordinate supply and demand at local levels, cannot satisfy individual needs. Supplies are delivered according to fixed quotas, not according to demand.

- (8c) The Hungarian agricultural planning followed the Russian pattern. Naturally it had to be a failure, since climatic conditions weren't considered. All plans were revised every three months, and remained unfit even then.
- (8d) The dangers are: overgrown administration, red tape, a new emphasis on centralisation, slow distribution, etc.
- (8e) Short term planning, which is based on \approx the actual supply and demand situation and which is sufficiently flexible to consider local conditions, should be extremely useful especially in a small country like Hungary.
- (9) Yes, I am in favor of government control or ownership of transportation and communications.
- (9a) If transportation (especially railroads, bus lines, air lines) is nationalised, the coordination between lines is much better, personnel is usually better trained, security measures are usually better. That wasn't the case in Communist Hungary, because personnel wasn't well trained, since experienced employees and officials were replaced by untrained persons, for political reasons.
- (9b) I wouldn't make any distinction between the three services.
- (9c) No exceptions.
- (10) I am against government \approx guarantees.
- (10a) That means pressure from the part of the government. People may be forced to work at jobs which are unfit for them.
- (10b) Not applicable.
- (10c) Anything but freedom.
- (11) Yes, press and religion shouldn't be subjected to any government interference.
- (11a) There couldn't be free press any longer.

- (11b) The press of Communist countries is the best example.
- (12) I think it is natural that every citizen has certain duties toward his state.
- (12a) Not applicable.
- (12b) Paying of taxes, military service, (at least training) and obeying the laws.
- (12c) Yes.
- (12d) Yes, though it should be voluntary in peacetime.
- (12e) Certainly, every citizen has to respect and obey constitutional laws and orders.
- (12f) It is true of any legal and constitutional government.
- (13) No, my opinion didn't change since I left Hungary.
- (13a) Not applicable.
- (14) Yes, medical care has definitely improved in the last twenty years: there are more doctors and more medications.
- (14a) It is difficult to say. For private patients, the quality of treatment has also improved, but this cannot be said for the whole insurance system.
- (14b) Workers can afford it better now, because every worker gets medical care, while twenty years ago, he couldn't always afford it.
- (14c) Private services are much better. It would be better in general, if all patients could select their private physicians and the insurance system would pay the individual bills.
- (14d) Health insurance is ~~necessary~~ necessary and useful, if everybody gets equal treatment (which is not the case in Hungary).

- (14e) Patients willing to give extra pay to the doctor got better treatment.
- (14f)g) Not applicable.
- (15) I think there are more opportunities today than twenty years ago.
- (15a) Movies and theaters ~~are~~ ^{are} cheaper now. Probably for political reasons; these are the foremost instruments of Communist propaganda. In Hungary one can get about twenty ~~that~~ theater tickets for the price of one pair of shoes. In the U.S. one gets about five tickets (on the other hand, a few people can afford other forms of entertainment, e.g. television, cars, etc.)
- (15b) I couldn't afford it, because I had children.
- (15c) It is rather a financial question.
- (15d) Young people, without family ties, have more opportunity.
- (15e) The less cultured lower classes did take advantage of every opportunity.
- (15f) See 15 d and e.
- (16a) No, the food situation is worse than it was in 1940.
- (16b) No.
- (16c) No.
- (16d) The Party leaders, ministers, some first secretaries in the ministries received special supplies in the "Káder-magasin". Here they could get expensive imported articles which weren't available in other stores. (There were similar stores for diplomatic personnel.) Otherwise, there were differences in quantity according to personal income (e.g. doctors could afford more than average people). Champions also had better opportunities, their salary and premiums were comparatively high, and abroad they could get articles which weren't available in Hungary (some of them

sold such items on the black market.)

(16e) The champions are in the most favorable ^{position} families with many children (four or more) have great problems. Therefore many families (and unmarried girls) sell their children to the state which pays two to three thousand forints for each of them.

(17a) No, the situation is worse now.

(17b) No.

(17c) No.

(17d) Prices of clothing were increased, especially since December, 1951.

(17e) Party leaders and other high officials received good foreign materials at bargain prices in their special stores. In regular stores, foreign materials were ~~xxxx~~ at two thousand forints and up (about two months' salary for the average worker).

(18) Yes, industrial production did considerably increase in Hungary, although the population did not feel all the benefits of it. Up to ~~19~~ 1945, Hungary was an agricultural country, more than half of the national income came from agriculture. Today, industry has a larger share in the national income than agriculture. There are at least five times as many domestically manufactured tractors as before 1945, there are many combines (harvesting and threshing machines), which were hardly known before 1945. Almost all the trucks and buses are produced in Hungary. The production of radio sets is improving rapidly. The pharmaceutical industry maintains its pre-war reputation. I think Hungary is the most important producer of penicillin in Europe. Electrification is progressing rapidly, especially since the construction

of new brown-coal power plants at Inota, Székesfehérvár, Lőrinc. That was an important innovation, because Hungary has large brown-coal reserves, while she is poor in other sources of electric power. Before the uprising, Hungary had already exported electricity to Czechoslovakia. Aluminum industry is also growing, and certain chemical industries, first of all, the production of fertilizers.

- (18 b) This is certainly beneficial, although the population cannot enjoy all of ^{its} ~~the~~ benefits because of the Communist mismanagement.
- (18 c) Yes, many things should have been done differently. The heavy industry has been unnecessarily overemphasized: it produces many things which are not needed in the country, e.g., the combines (the harvesting machines) are not only unnecessary luxuries but, in addition, they do damage to the quality of the famous Hungarian wheat, which definitely needs the so-called "after-ripening period" between harvesting and threshing.
- (19) I think, the fate of the collective farms should be decided by the farmers themselves. Some of them would be reorganized into voluntary producers' cooperatives, some would be distributed as private property.
- (19 a) On ^a voluntary & basis, some sort of cooperatives could be retained side by side with private farms.
- (19 b) As I said, not necessarily.
- (19 c) As I said, the farmers themselves should decide what should happen to the land. I am sure, many of them will vote for the distribution of the properties: the Hungarian peasant likes ~~to work on his own field. From a social and economic point of~~

to work on his own field. From a social and economic point of view, the small farms (up to 200 acres) are the most suitable for Hungary. This way, the benefits of ~~the~~ this rich soil are better utilized; on the other hand, more people can find their livelihood in agriculture than if there were large estates or lots of cooperatives. Such solutions are feasible in countries where the population can find full employment in industry, which is not the case in Hungary.

- (19 d) Cattle and inventory are actually in private property: every member has its share, consequently that would not be a problem.
- (19 e) I am in favor of somewhat larger units: up to 200 acres.
- (19 f) Former owners also should get up to 200 acres of their former estates.
- (19 g) It should be restored up to the above limit.
- (19 h) Yes, if the members themselves do the work.
- (19 i) Nowadays, only the administrators get the benefits of the collective farms. There are about 45 to 60 administrative officials on each collective farm, who are totally unproductive elements: they do almost nothing, but draw their salaries. In general, the entire agricultural production was burdened with an oversized administration. There was the Ministry for Collecting Surplus Products and Livestock, which had a local collector for every ten producer; ⁱⁿ every district and county, there were collecting centers with statistical offices.

Evidently there were too many unnecessary duplications. The same is true of the state farms. All these farms were operated at great deficit, and most of them were prosperous private estates before.

- (20 a) The machine tractor stations should not be kept in government ownership.
- (20 b,c) I would dissolve them and distribute the machinery among the producers.
- (20 d) There were many abuses and wrongdoings in the operation of these stations. The whole organization was set up in a rush. Most of the machines were confiscated, then collected in improvised buildings which were sometimes demolished by the first storm. There was not a single station housed in an adequate building in Hungary. The machinery, naturally, deteriorated quickly. There was no expert personnel to do necessary repairs. When the season came, there were hardly any good machines available.
- (20 e) Mechanization of agriculture is certainly necessary, but with more reasonable methods and with consideration to local circumstances.
- (21 a) The trade union should represent the workers' interests. A trade union which promotes competition among workers and blindly follows orders, cannot be tolerated. The Hungarian Communist trade unions never represented the workers' interests, they were mere party organs.

- (21 b) The trade unions should be completely independent of the government.
- (21 c) Membership should be completely voluntary.
- (21 d) Fees should not exceed $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent of gross wages.
- (21 e) That was the case in Hungary, although workers often did not pay anything, only white-collar workers had to pay regularly.
- (21 f) Workers' councils counterbalanced the influence of state and party.
- (21 g) It is difficult to say how the first steps were done, though, I am sure, that some major factories organized such councils first, probably inspired by the Yugoslav example. The Central Workers' Council was formed later, consequently the workers had great influence upon the center, and not vice versa.
- (21 h) I think they should be very successful, and certainly are apt to represent the workers' interests.
- (21 i) Management should be responsible to the owner; in case of state ownership, to a workers' council or to a committee of experts, by no means to one individual.
- (22 a - e) Each individual should be screened thoroughly as to his ~~past~~ past activities, if criminal offenses are found, the case should be prosecuted, but plain membership alone or offices held (without any criminal activities) should not have any further consequences.
- (22 f) AVH should be dissolved, members should be subjected to special investigation and prosecution, if necessary.
- (22 g) The leaders of social organizations, like MINDSZ, MSzT, MOHOSz. These leaders were among the darkest Soviet favorites. Journalists

and members of scholarly associations, from the Academy of Sciences down, should also get special attention, and, above all, the members of the so-called people's tribunals, first of all the prosecutors.

(22 h) See: Section R, Q. 11.

(23 a) The most important change in education was the introduction of marxism into the regular curriculum. They started it already in kindergarten: children had to learn Stalin's songs; in elementary schools, the Pioneer movement continues the marxist education, from high school on, the DISZ takes over the same role. Religious instruction has been replaced by the study of marxism. (In school slang, the class is still called "religion".) A parallel feature is the inclusion of Russian language and literature as a compulsory subject. (About 4 hours a week.) Nobody likes it, because it has replaced the more practical Western languages. While the students are compelled to learn Russian, party leaders are learning English (if they don't know it already). I heard of an employee in one of the ministries who was dismissed because he was learning English (and probably talked too much in favor of English), and since then he is giving English lessons to party officials.

The quality of teaching did not suffer too much (except in the trouble^d/years of 1945-46), mainly because the old, experienced teachers were retained on their jobs (only inspectors and super-

visc~~ers~~ changed). In mathematics, the requirements were even raised, especially in lower grades. The teaching of Latin was restricted to the gymnasium. By the way, gymnasium did not mean the eight-year secondary school, only the upper four grades, the lower four grades were renamed "general school." On college and university level, specialized courses were increased, general education was somewhat neglected.

- (23 b) Elementary and general schools were open and compulsory to everybody; from gymnasium on, learning became class privilege; although outstanding students sometimes were admitted to higher studies in spite of unfavorable origin. Children of party leaders went to special private schools, they had unlimited opportunities. With the introduction of evening and correspondence courses, working people were given better chances to continue their education.
- (23 c) The old system was better as far as it was free of politics and social bias. I know of my own experience that aptitude and willingness were the decisive factors in that system. It is undeniable, however, that in the present regime, education was cheaper. Up to 1952, all public institutions were free of tuition and any other charges. After that, tuition fees were still moderate, and there were many exemptions according to achievement and financial status. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ (A "good" average student with average income paid about 50 forints for one term

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ at college level.) There were more scholarships available than before the war, and these scholarships, at college level, were very reasonable; it paid rent and food for a couple. Naturally, there was political bias in distribution, though a certain number of non-Communists also received scholarships. (In scholarship committees and admission committees the Communist Party always had at least one representative.) Opportunities for adult education were also better than before.

- (23 d) In our times, it is everywhere equally important to get a good education. It would be very useful to introduce the teaching of one official world language all over the world, e.g., English.
- (24 a) Churches should be completely independent of the state.
- (24 b) There should not be any difference.
- (24 c) In a comparatively poor country, like Hungary, Churches should get financial support from the state, because smaller communities would not be able to support a priest. (In Hungary, 1000 people cannot afford a priest, while in the United States 100 families can support one.)
- (24 d) I think so. It is in the interest of the community to raise the moral ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ standards of its members, and I am sure that this is the case, when the young are educated according to religious principles. On the other hand, I do not see any serious disadvantages in religious education.
- (24 e) No.

(25) Hungary's greatest contribution to Western culture has never been sufficiently appreciated by the West, i.e., that Hungary has been, throughout centuries, the Easternmost outpost and fortress of Western culture and civilization against Eastern invasions. In 1241 and 1242 Hungary sustained the Mongol invasion, after that she was fighting the Cuman invaders for decades, and from the middle of the XIVth Century up to the end of the XVIIth, faced the invading Turks. The bells of all the Roman Catholic churches are still rung at noon to commemorate a sweeping victory of John Hunyadi against Sultan Mohammed, which assured 70 years of peace for Hungary and the West. In spite of these heroic efforts, the Turks besieged later -- and kept for 150 years -- the center of Hungary, including Buda, the capital. These 150 years, ended by the recapture of Buda in 1686, meant continuous fighting for Hungary, and in spite of all the horrors, sufferings, disasters, the Hungarian people never gave up hope, never stopped their resistance. When liberated from the Turks, we had to defend our independence against Hapsburg oppression. In such circumstances, our culture could not develop uninterruptedly, as it was the case in Western Europe. Still, Hungary was always up to date in cultural matters. Matthias Corvinus, the last national king, was widely known as the greatest renaissance prince outside Italy. Transylvania was the first country in

Europe to grant religious freedom to all denominations. The unarméd uprising of 1848 achieved modern democracy in Hungary, its loss was due to Hapsburg and Russian joint suppression of the Fight of Independence. -- As far as other fields are concerned, I do not have to say anything of our musical culture, it is so widely known and, fortunately, appreciated. We have ^a similarly advanced (or even more advanced) literary culture, especially poetry, which is not appreciated, not even known sufficiently (mainly for linguistic difficulties: our poetry can hardly be translated). Our mathematicians, from the KÉZÁ Bolyai on, are sufficiently known everywhere, and other scientists are on the way of getting a well-deserved international reputation. (In the United States: E. Teller, John von Neumann, Theodor^{von} Kármán, etc.) And perhaps it could be the revival of the old fighting spirit, the outstanding place of our athletes in the Olympic Games.

(26) Governments in the XXth Century were not generally popular in Hungary, there were always ruling classes and oppressed ones, to a more or lesser degree. The last really popular government was that of 1848 - 49, during the Fight of Independence. The most popular rulers in early history were Louis the Great and Matthias Corvius, whose popularity surpassed all other rulers and governments.

(26 a) Under the Hapsburgs, national feelings, ~~and~~ national culture, and constitutional privileges were oppressed, while the country was

sometimes prosperous economically. (Especially at the end of the XIXth Century.)

- (26 b) I think, emigration to the United States and Canada was stronger in the 1920's, which was a consequence of the Trianon Treaty and the economic disaster Hungary suffered through that treaty.
- (26 c) Yes, up to 1945.
- (26 d) Rather bad and backward.
- (26 e) Economically it was worse than under the Hapsburgs, still considerably better than communism. Peasants and workers had no part in politics.
- (26 f) Yes, there were great inequalities, though no oppression.
- (26 g) Certainly not, although I realize (as I realized at that time) that in Germany's neighborhood neutrality was out of question. Practically, Hungary was as unwilling a satellite of Germany as she is now of Russia.
- (26 h) The last days of war, the so-called liberation, was horrible, beyond the worst imagination. We never believed what the German propaganda told us about the Russians, but our experiences surpassed in cruelty the worst German propaganda. In the first 2-3 years, we had to rebuild the country. In this period, we enjoyed more political freedom than before. From 1948, or rather 1949, the real "socialization" started. Rákosi himself called 1949 the year of decision; that was the beginning of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

- (27) Yes, there is a Hungarian national character.
- (27 a) The Hungarian is less arrogant than the German, has no domineering ambitions; the Hungarian is less diligent, though faster and more enthusiastic about novelties, his enthusiasm, however, does not last long. The Hungarian bears injuries, hardships, suffering, for a while, then suddenly explodes unexpectedly.
- (27 b) The comparison is difficult. The Russians we knew had no real national character, they came from different parts of the country and behaved in different ways. Consequently, they appeared capricious, unreliable, inconsistent, bad tempered. ~~WE~~ But I would not consider this their national character.
- (27 c) I cannot really compare Americans and Hungarians. I do not know Americans sufficiently. One is certain, though, that Americans are much more sober than we are, more interested in material well-being, while they are almost uninterested in politics, particularly politics of other countries. This is something we cannot understand.
- (27 d) No, there was no change.
- (27 e) /This question is missing in the Hungarian translation./
- (27 f) If one disregards the upper ten thousand, there are no great differences in character among Hungary's social classes.
- (28) I do not think that borderlines are really important, if the countries in question have equally democratic regimes.
- (28 a) Not applicable.

- (28 b) If there are equal chances for minorities, it does not particularly matter to which country the territory in question belongs. Naturally, large groups of minorities should not be kept under foreign rule, if they don't want to. Such problems should be solved by plebiscite or population exchange.
- (28 c) Yes, I think Hungary has rightful claims to territories beyond her present borders.
- (28 d) In Transylvania, where the Székelys live in a large homogenous block, furthermore, these territories along the Czech and Yugoslavian borders where Hungarians live in more or less homogenous groups.
- (28 e) I think, only Soviet Russia threatens Hungary's present territory.
- (28 f) No, there is no natural conflict between Hungarians and other peoples.
- (28 g) Not applicable.
- (28 h) I do not think such conflict can exist among peoples.
- (28 i) They get along very well.
- (28 j) Very well.
- (28 k) Very well. The friendship between Hungarians and Austrians was strengthened very much by the Austrians' attitude during the uprising and by their almost incredible hospitality and charity.
- (28 l) Also very well.
- (28 m) Not always well. Before the uprising, there was a widespread

anti-Semitism in Hungary, because the highest ranked party officials were up to 90 percent Jews. Many of the AVH members were also Jews. During the uprising, many Jews were fighting against the Communists, that created^a better relationship.

- (28 a) I really do not know. I think it depends on the individuals themselves, how ~~HE~~ they feel.
- (29) All these countries should join a United States of Europe as equal members. There should not be any other regional federation.
- (29 a - d) Not applicable. See above answer.
- (30 a) Certainly, there are different kinds of Russians.
- (30 b) I think the Ukrainians are better than the rest. They are more religious and more educated than the others. I think, in general, education is the measure; the more educated, the better.
- (30 c) ~~HE~~ I think about 6 percent of them are Communists.
- (30 d) No, I did not know any of them closely.
- (30 e) We were expecting them with mixed feelings: we hoped that they would restore our national independence, and after the initial difficulties, everything will take a better turn. But, as I said, they proved to be worse than the darkest German propaganda. They were robbing, plundering everywhere, beating and killing innocents; what they did to women is so repulsive that it cannot be described. And everything was repeated in the second phase of the Revolt, except what they did to women.

- (30 f) We were convinced later that they are completely unreliable. One cannot trust their word.
- (30 g) Nobody expected that they would be as cruel again as they were. Their politicians were smiling for about two years before the uprising.
- (31) Yes, I think I knew marxism well enough.
- (31 a) It is a theory which cannot be realized.
- (31 b) The whole is impractical, it is not based on human realities.
- (31 c) In my office, I had good chances to look beyond the words, and see from the facts the enormous gap between theory and application.
- (31 d) Yes, for three and a half years in school and also in the office.
- (31 e) Nothing.
- (31 f) See the above answers.
- (31 g) Lenin was a well-informed and resourceful marxist, he most likely planned innovations, though he had no time to realize his plans. All his time was taken up by the liquidation of the former ruling and exploiting classes.
- (31 h) Stalin was a conceited dictator who thought that he is greater than Marx, and he did not care about principles, he did not care about the opinion of the people.
- (31 i) Social Democrats are not real marxists, either.
- (31 j) A convinced marxist cannot be a democrat.
- (31 k) To rule according to the people's will.
- (31 l) For a brief period after March 1848, which was ended by the allied Austrian and Russian armies.

- (31 m) Tito is definitely a marxist.
- (32) National communism does not recognize the Comintern, and does not accept the Russian leadership.
- (32 a) Yes, almost all the Communists who joined the uprising.
- (32 b) Imre Nagy, Géza Losonczi, Aladár Mód, etc. They hoped to regain national independence, the opening up of the Iron Curtain and to achieve an economic revival.
- (32 c) Gomulka's policy is the best possible under the actual circumstances.
- (32 b) He is a Communist, but with strong national feelings.
- (32 a) I don't think so. They might have some national feelings, but no real patriotism.
- (33) Yes, Imre Nagy would have been able to improve conditions.
- (33 a) I think he would have transformed Hungary into^a national Communist state. I suspect, he would have gone even further and accept the idea of free elections.
- (34 a) Socialism: good in theory, bad in practice.
- (34 b) Colonialism is bad (oppression, exploitation).
- (34 c) Class struggle is also bad. It has no sense at all.
- (34 d) National (popular) front is not good either.
- (34 e) Bad.
- (34 f) The Communist variety is not sincere, therefore it is bad and useless.
- (34 g) With moderate state control of prices and minimum wages, capitalism is beneficial.
- (34 h) Nothing wrong about it.

- (35) Many young people would think similarly.
- (36 a - h) They got less than they deserve.
- (36 i) Party members got more than they deserve.
- (36 j - l) They got less than they deserve.
- (37) All the above categories were better off before 1944, except party members.
- (38 a) Economic interests are sometimes in conflict.
- (38 b) Workers do not like intellectuals, although I do not see any serious political or economic reason for their dislike.
- (38 c) In conflict.
- (38 d) In conflict. (If we consider the convinced Communists only.)
- (38 e) No conflict.
- (38 f) The relations are not good.
- (38 g) There was no conflict between city folk and peasants, although this is usually not the case. I think, peasants were oppressed so much that everybody felt sympathy for them, and beyond that, black marketing created a friendlier atmosphere.
- (38 h) I think, it has always been so, except the last item.
- (38 i) There was no serious conflict between aristocracy and intelligentsia, though there were some intellectual movements which were directed definitely against the aristocracy (particularly against the cosmopolitan, anti-social, backward aristocrats).
- (38 j) In conflict.
- (38 k) In conflict. The agrarian reform was welcomed by smallholders.

though, at the end, they were also disillusioned.

- (39) That depends on the circumstances. If there would be a possibility of a relatively free choice, I think only the AVH would fight for the present regime. ^{However,} Through the compulsory military service and through law enforcement agencies, many people might be forced to fight for the regime, at least until they have a chance to join the opposite side.

- (39 a) Again, if there is a chance to follow one's own will, the Hungarian people as a whole would fight against the regime, except the AVH members.

- (1) I do not have any questions.
- (1 a) It was very detailed, and I was glad to tell you anything I knew,....
- (1 b) I think everybody can contribute some new aspects, especially about the uprising, which was rather confused, and no individual can have a broad and coherent view of all the events.
- (1 c) I cannot think of any such things.
- (1 d) I am convinced you will.
- (1 e) I could not think of anything else.
- (2) I do not know. Maybe I could supply some statistical data, although my memory might fail sometimes.
- (2 a) If the situation would change radically in the near future, I might still return to Hungary; later, probably, only to visit my relatives.
- (3 a) Eventually I might be able to get copies of newspapers published during the uprising.
- (3 b) I did not write anything yet, I might write some articles for the Hungarian newspapers in the United States, if I will have more time.
- (3 d) Not for the moment.

Remarks about Respondent's personality: Respondent is an ambitious young man, willing to learn and capable of adjustment in any new situation. He is realistic about his own capabilities, and within these limits he seems to be self-assured and self-

confident. He has no illusions about the future, but he pursues his goals with tenacity. He wants to continue his profession (statistician), and finish his studies he started in Budapest. He seems to be on the right way already. His answers show clearly that he always followed, with interest and alertness, the political fights, the economic and social changes he has witnessed, and he has a good capacity to size up situations and to place the details into broader perspective. He is open-minded, reliable, and willing to tell his opinions.