

- (1) This is an all embracing question. I must consider it under separate heads. Let's consider it first from the point of view of history. Various groups were held back and were repressed, others were thrown to prisons, still some others experienced a relative stability in their status. There was another group that made definite advances--people who were illiterate <sup>who</sup> served like farm hands before the war. These people rose both from their illiteracy and <sup>FROM</sup> their economic stagnation and many of them acquired the rudiments of civilization. In some instances they even possessed a piano. In general many suffered, some benefited <sup>benefited but</sup> but practically all were dissatisfied with their lives. They did not have, and were missing such things as freedom of speech, freedom to move from one place to another, etc.
- The nature of the general dissatisfaction was generally economic. It is true there were some additions, perhaps too many additions, to the <sup>nation's</sup> nation's physical economic structure, but people had to work very hard and yet lived miserably. Unemployment did not exist, but one would have been obliged to work five times as much, and five times as hard as he actually did in order to substantially improve his purchasing power. This was impossible to do. There ~~was~~ simply wasn't enough time to do it, so everyone gave up even trying. People lost their incentive first, and later even their faith.

The regime was probably erring in its economic policies. And as regards to foreign policies, who knows? To put it in a word, an avalanche started rolling and, while I was at the center of it, at the university, I myself don't know what happened or how it did come about. There were so many contradictory things; I lived in the same house with an AVH supply officer during the revolution. He related to me that they knew about the whole thing, one day before it started. But strange as it may seem, they had no orders to stop it. There is another thing; they were demonstrating in front of the Central Police Building. We yelled and shouted our demands. Thereupon, the Hungarian <sup>national</sup> ~~national~~ flag was hoisted and the police came over to our side. There was most probably discontentment even in the cabinet. This discontentment was probably directed against Gerő and Rákosi.

(2) It was <sup>not</sup> ~~not~~ a sudden thing. It probably even had an organized nucleus.

(2a) There was a considerable loosening up of things, and a relaxation of the rigidity of the press <sup>was noticeable</sup> ~~was noticeable~~. Political criticism was much easier to indulge in. I should say, it probably started one year before the revolution. It probably started with the dynamiting of the Ministry of the Interior and with the death of Stalin. We were told that Stalin was a god, but he, too, died, so he could not have been a god, and, if there is no god, why should <sup>one respect</sup> ~~one respect~~

and worship a mere human being. Also, the 20th Congress is very important in this respect.

(2c)

I did not like <sup>Imre</sup> ~~Imre~~ Nagy, because he was a man of no great will power. He could easily be swayed one way or another. During his first prime ministership, he made an impressive proclamation, promising that all concentration camps would be opened and other reforms instituted. Now Imre Nagy vanished as you know, but the fervent hope to gain what he had promised persisted in the hearts of many. This is why people demanded to hear him speak again during the revolution. They wanted to hear his proclamation again. Otherwise Imre Nagy was just a figurehead.

(2d)

Tito did quarrel with Moscow. He was the man, who was once branded as a chained, or leashed, dog. (The actual Hungarian expression used: ~~Hungarian~~; *L'ancoskutya* )  
He has forced upon the Russians a discussion of the issues on the ideological plain. And now the Russians were ready to compromise with him.

(2e)

I once was riding on a trolley car. There, an acquaintance <sup>mine</sup> of ~~mine~~, a higher official in the foreign commerce department, loudly gave vent to his emotions, telling to <sup>everyone who</sup> ~~everyone who~~ cared to listen that now the whole Stalin system would be going to hell. He was a great hater of the Russians. Many people were <sup>criticising</sup> ~~criticising~~ a great many things, in the spirit of the 20th Congress, and the cumulative effect of all this was that a great dent has been made in the body of the regime.

(2f) I was a soldier at the time. And the army is a very *SCREENED* place. I knew nothing of the Polish events at the time.

(2g) I did not know Rákosi as a person. I had a great respect for him. He was a very smart man. There were very few like him. Others were merely numbers in the party. Rákosi was extremely versatile and politically keen. He was the Hungarian Stalin. He had to go because Stalin was no more. I used to be a pioneer leader (Hungarian: *úttörővezető*) in a youth organization, ~~and~~ <sup>There</sup> I have seen how greatly he was admired and worshipped. Now, if one is faced with a sudden reversal of the situation, and is told that Rákosi is laid aside, because he is a nobody, a zero, one is bound to become cynical. Gerő was hated. Gerő was very good and efficient while he was a minister of industry, and later as a minister of finance. These were his spheres. He ~~was~~ <sup>was hailed</sup> then as a great builder of bridges. (Hungarian: *Éljen Gerő, a hidverő.*) But in politics, he was a nonentity.

(2h) We were sitting in the university garden and waited. We were awaiting the reply from the ministry of the interior. If we should be permitted to march and demonstrate, then, we knew it would come. If permissions should be refused, then not. Previously we were at the student hotel of the ~~University.~~ <sup>University.</sup>

There was a meeting. The object of our discussion was the *University Question*. ~~University question;~~ we wanted such things as permission to study ~~abroad;~~ <sup>abroad, in the West;</sup> we wanted a regulation of the scholarships, a raising of the scholarship ~~stand,~~ <sup>awards,</sup> university

autonomy, the abolition of the catalogue system, (this was the system of compulsory attendance at the university, interviewer's note.) We also wanted the establishment of greater scientific contact with the rest of the world. We also demanded a public discussion of the Farkas affair.

It was decided that, in case the government should refuse our demands, we would hold a demonstration. Guillermet, director of the Budapest Institute of Technology, presided over a meeting of the Institute-students. He took up the demands point by point. He was not prepared to discuss the Farkas affair, but otherwise he strongly supported our demands. There was great excitement and the spirits ran high. This whole thing was also discussed in the University newspaper.

The following day, in the evening, the Building Industry Section of the Technological Institute of Budapest (Hungarian: Építőipari Műegyetem) also held a meeting. But this meeting was much more vehement than that of the previous day. Speakers were coming and going. The meeting decided that there would be a demonstration the following day. In this meeting delegates from other universities also participated. Szeged, and other university sections from Budapest were well represented. The following day one could enter the University grounds with a university pass only. Everyone wore national cocards (tricolor buttons). It was a real carnival (Hungarian: Egy igazi majális volt ez.). The air was filled with suspense. We were wondering when the lightning would hit us,

when would it be all over. (Hungarian: Vártuk, hogy mikor út be a mennykő, mikor lesz mindennek vége!)

In the afternoon, [REDACTED], the head of the Military Science Department of the University, informed us on the public address system, that our petition for a demonstration-  
permit was rejected by the Ministry of the Interior. There were rousing protest shouts that we would demonstrate anyway. A delegation of the students started out for the Ministry of the Interior, others had established contact with the various industrial plants in the city.

We had some fifty odd demands. But there was no concrete aim or goal.

A Ministry official by the name of Fekete came to the meeting to inform us of the rejection. (Fekete in Hungarian means black.) He was severely criticized by some, others defended him, saying that it was not he but Piros, who is responsible. Piros in Hungarian also means red. (Interviewer's note: This was an interesting play on words.) Piros has the Minister of the Interior at the time.

Later in the day the permit was granted. We had interpreted the sudden reversal as a sign of vacillation, a sign of weakness and indecision on the part of the Ministry of the Interior and on the part of the AVH.

We marched to the statue of Bem. (Interviewer's note: The statue of Bem was in commemoration of General Bem, a Polish patriot who came to the help of the Hungarian

revolutionists in their fight of 1848 ~~in their fight~~ against the Hapsburgs. *Bem's* role was similar to that of Lafayette <sup>the</sup> in ~~the~~ American Revolution.) As we marched, everywhere we saw flags. There already was a large crowd on the *Bem* Plaza. At this Plaza the restoration of the ~~Kossuth~~ <sup>Kossuth</sup> emblem was demanded. The crowd ripped out the present emblem. After this one could not stop anymore, if for no other reason than <sup>for</sup> fear of repercussions.

Many people were swept into this revolutionary stream, some consciously, always knowing what they were doing, some unconsciously giving way to their emotions.

These were the beginnings. Somewhat later came the slogans. Later, when we marched to the Parliament Square, the government tried to dissuade us by shutting off all the lights. I, personally, did not stay there long, I joined a group of students and we went home. (Interviewer's note; Here the interviewer posed the following question: Did the question of the uranium <sup>ORE</sup> ~~etc~~ deposits come up at any of the student meetings? Respondent's reply follows: Yes, uranium <sup>But</sup> was spoken of a great deal. It served as a symbol. ~~But~~ my father was chief engineer in a very important plant, <sup>Respondent</sup> refused to name it, because this was the only one of its type in Hungary. <sup>and</sup> and so in a position to know something about uranium. He said prospecting was going on and that that was all. Students considered the whole question a joke.)

- (21) Yes, there was this process of loosening up of things. We all knew that this indeterminate condition would not last long. We could not say if it was heading towards further demoralization or towards stabilization.
- (3) Besides those already enumerated, Hungarian emigrant groups abroad must have been very decisive. I have seen in Budapest foreign made automatic weapons. I don't know what make they were, but I am certain that they were ~~neither~~ <sup>neither</sup> of Russian nor of Hungarian origin.
- (3c) The general discontentment has reached the ~~breaking~~ <sup>breaking</sup> point. The glass was ~~already~~ <sup>already</sup> full and one ~~more~~ <sup>MORE</sup> drop made it flow over. This drop was supplied by the attitude of the government when it proposed to stabilize the situation. I am referring here to Gerő's speech. @az
- (4) Assuming that the revolution was the conscious work of a few individuals, ~~their aims were, I should say,~~ <sup>their aims were, I should say,</sup> about as follows:
- a. To get rid of the existing government.
  - b. To get rid of the Russians. In this ~~way~~ <sup>way</sup> they made their big mistake; they wanted ~~so~~ <sup>too</sup> much.
  - c. There were isolated instances when some desired, and at times demanded, a return to the old regime.
  - d. I have also heard of isolated instances where clergymen demanded a return of the church lands.
- Revisionists did not have much support. Youth was definitely against them.

There were those who desired a reestablishment of commercial relations with the West.

(4c)

No. Everyone wanted a change, but on the whole, this was negative, that is to say, getting rid of what was considered ~~intolerable~~ <sup>intolerable</sup>. There were no ~~crystallized~~ <sup>crystallized</sup> aims. There were isolated instances of hate and revenge. Someone got killed in the street. Thereupon the whole street stood up in revenge. There were also those ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> personal grievances.

There were those who felt compelled to shoot, no matter what or where. I have heard of an instance where a ~~girl~~ <sup>girl</sup> equipped with a sub-machine gun, kept shooting wildly at a building. The building happened to house a midwife's training school. Then one of the physicians came out and asked the girl what she was doing, ~~She~~ <sup>She</sup> said she thought she was shooting at a government building.

(4d)

There was for instance a university ~~unit~~ <sup>group,</sup> organized into a company. This unit was meant to maintain order.

(4e)

Everyone rebelled against what he considered personal grievances. ~~And~~ <sup>And</sup> practically every man has suffered grievances ~~or~~ <sup>OR</sup> injustices of one kind or another. Each man knew that these personal ~~and~~ matters could only be rectified after the system that created them was swept away first. This is the key to the whole revolution.

(4f)

There was no ~~crystallized~~ <sup>crystallized</sup> idea on this. Everything was foggy. People trusted blindly in Imre Nagy.

(4g)

There were a great number of slogans. I can ~~only~~ <sup>REMEMBER</sup> distinctly a few now. Some such slogans were: "The soldiers of every

nation should go back to their countries." "People are asking in Pest and Buda what has happened to the Hungarian uranium."

(4h) They wanted to establish Hungary on a basis similar to that of Austria and Switzerland. They wanted to be entirely free and independent of Russia.

(4i) One cannot identify the system that existed in Hungary with either Communists or Communism. People opposed the situation as it existed, rather than the ideals. What we had there was a deformed creature. (The actual Hungarian: torzgyermek.) It is hard to establish generalizations here. The youth, to be sure, believed in it. (i.e. in Communist principles.)

I, too, believed in it until I was fourteen years old. Secondary school and university students were acquainted with the Communist theories. The masses knew them only through extracts and second or third hand interpretations, that were designed for beginners. Everyone who came in contact with Communist theories found something in them that to him were particularly appealing. He would take these appealing parts of the theory out of the context, and would keep on talking about them. In a word, then, not the whole system was opposed as such, but certain parts of it.

(4i) It is difficult to say what would have happened. Would they have stopped with Imre Nagy? It is quite possible that the revolution would have rotted away, if it had not met the resistance as it did.

- (4m) I don't know. But I don't think so, Either double or nothing.
- (4n) *Revisionists* Revisionaries and intellectuals who had some training in *the Reestablishment* political science. These desired either ~~the reestablishment~~ of the old order or the creation of a Hungarian Switzerland. Others preferred the Austrian model.
- (4o) ~~Especially~~ Pacifists for one. I, too, opposed it as a method. Let us try to negotiate. It would have been better if it ~~unle-~~ *had* been without violence.
- (5) I know of the *Dem* statue episode. They were active till late in the night on October 23, when the lights went out.
- (6) I was home during most of this period. I became sick on the second day of the revolution. Later the whole thing was misty and foggy. (The actual Hungarian: *Zürös* .) I did not know who is who. I did go to the university. There they established the university companies. But we went home quickly again.
- (6c) We heard radio announcements, we made contacts *personally* and on the telephone. *could have happened*
- (6d) We knew that the worst that ~~did~~ happen was expulsion from school. There were too many participants to worry about *Reprisals.* ~~cheap~~ prices. And, after all, one had to accept some share in the whole thing. Of course, no one likes to be a ~~and~~ *dead* hero.

- (6e) No consequences. And why should there have been any?
- (7a) I have seen AVH members on rooftops engaged in shooting. Many people said those guilty should be put to trial, but there should be no lynching.
- (7b) Yes, at the <sup>MARGIT</sup> ~~Margit~~ Bridge. This was before the second Russian attack. The Russians sent the Hungarian soldiers home. These men then joined the revolution.
- (7c) A young man went with another on the <sup>MARGIT</sup> ~~Margit~~ Bridge. They were probably acquaintances. The one wanted ~~wanted~~ to make a joke and cried out aloud, "Seize him! He is an AVH member." A crowd seized him and before things got straightened out, the poor fellow got a terrific beating.
- (9) I participated in the *Bem* demonstration, as I already described it.
- (9a) I did not participate in demonstrations thereafter. Others did demonstrate in front of the Parliament building at a time when martial law was declared in Budapest. Many of the demonstrators were <sup>mercilessly</sup> ~~mercilessly~~ cut down by both the AVH members and the Russians. I personally reject such demonstrations. After all, there was a martial law. I did participate in the university strike. I now recall another demonstration that comes to my mind. This one was staged in support of <sup>Cardinal Mindszenty.</sup> ~~Colonel Mindszenty.~~
- (9c) There were no fights in the immediate vicinity of my home. I was living on a side street. It was relatively quiet there.

- (9d) No.
- (9e)a At the university.
- (9f) No.
- (9g) At the start of the revolution everyone entered it collectively.
- (10) I received my information in various ways. I was listening to the radio broadcasts of the broadcasting stations of Budapest, <sup>London</sup> Londond, Free Europe, and <sup>U</sup>Moscow.
- (10a) Newspapers had a ~~serious~~<sup>SERIOUS</sup> role in the immediate beginning. Later they degraded themselves. As time went on, everybody began to write newspapers, or if not newspapers, handbills. There were at least 50 different papers. There was of course the university paper also. I was definitely fed up with all those publications.
- (10b) In the beginning people practically swallowed them, later they held aloof. Personally, I preferred to read the newspaper entitled *Honvédség, Magyar Honvéd or Forradalmi Magyar Honvéd*. I don't recall the exact name of the paper. This was a publication of the Hungarian army. My second choice was ~~the~~ the university publication.
- (10c) I usually received news from the vicinity of Budapest by word of mouth. Practically everyone coming from there was a source of information. I found the Free Europe broadcasts to be untrustworthy very often. The broadcasts reaching us from London were much better. The broadcasting of the radio Paris seemed to me to have been the most <sup>Realistic one.</sup> real. I also found it inadvisable to listen to the German radio broadcasts of the radio Vienna as well as the various German radio stations.

(10e)

I was also listening to Russian and Czech broadcasts. The events that took place in our own city of Budapest were <sup>reliably</sup> reported on the telephone by friends and acquaintances. We were using the circular telephoning system. If I heard something that was noteworthy I would telephone <sup>it</sup> to all my friends. They would do the same thing in turn.

(10f)

Of all the information media I found the telephone to be the most trustworthy ~~medium~~. There was absolutely no censure in this respect. When I finally decided to escape with my family, I informed all my friends about the whole thing. Probably the least trustworthy medium was the Hungarian radio, to be followed by the Radio Free Europe. The <sup>later</sup> tried to do very often more than it should have done. It agitated us.

(10g)

We also availed ourselves of the services of those who were in possession of short wave radio receivers and transmitters. We were able to <sup>listen</sup> ~~listen~~ to the broadcasts of the Voice of America. We were also able to hear police and military broadcasts. Those few that did have short wave transmitters and receivers, actually tried to use them. I don't know how successfully.

(11)

The various government offices and Party offices simply disappeared during the revolution. The only Party from the Communist side that actually <sup>remained</sup> ~~remained~~ and operated, was the M. S.M.P. (Interviewer's Note: this is the abbreviation of the Hungarian term; *Magyar Szocialista Munkás Párt, M. Sz. M. P.*)

Since we had a coalition government in those days this Party retained its raison d'etre. Of course, this Communist Party organization started operations from scratch. Some of the former Party buildings were destroyed, a great many ~~other~~ <sup>other</sup> such localities were handed over to other ~~Parties~~ <sup>Parties</sup> that were just in the process of formation, or else were handed over to private individuals for habitation purposes. As far as the various former Party ~~functionaries~~ <sup>functionaries</sup> are concerned, many of them entered into the ~~new~~ <sup>NEWLY FORMED</sup> MSMP Party. Some others stood aloof. There were, of course, a great many opportunists among the card carrying members of the Communist Party. I would set the minimum of their number to about ~~80%~~ <sup>80%</sup>. 10% of the remaining number you could probably term sympathisers only.

(11b)

The blue police remained and functioned. (Interviewer's note: Under the blue police is meant the regular police force, identified by the color of their uniforms.)

(11c)

I know in the city <sup>of</sup> ~~Veszprém~~ <sup>Veszprém</sup>, the AVH members were taken over by the Hungarian army. The regular enlisted ~~men~~ <sup>NEW</sup> that is. Officers were ~~wither~~ <sup>either</sup> let free or they were punished. In Budapest, many of them were captured, some others managed to submerge under the police.

(11d)

I know ~~in~~ Doctor ~~██████████~~ <sup>██████████</sup>, the Hungarian attorney general, was seized and was dragged ~~in front of~~ <sup>to</sup> a court. I don't know what really happened to him.

- (11f) Labor unions continued to exist with slight changes in their activities and their status. They were not to be involved in any politics. Their leaders, of course, were replaced. The Szot organization, however, was retained.
- (11g) Their situation varied from place to place. As an administrative arm, this organization was generally retained. Its commercial subsections were responsible for the distribution of food.
- (11h) They were in the process of being reorganized. But there was no time to complete this reorganization.
- (11i) Churches as buildings were not used very much during the revolution. Churches as religious organization, in general, maintained a passive attitude throughout. There were some intradenominational frictions. The attitude of some of the denominations was definitely anti-Semitic.
- (11j) The AVH organization, the cabinet, the National Planning Bureau, OT (the Hungarian equivalent: Országos Tervhivatal) were discontinued. Of these the cabinet was replaced by a coalition cabinet. Several ministries were consolidated.
- (11k) The organizations used by the revolutionaries were the following: Petőfi Kör, the society of writers, (Írószövetség; Irodalmi Ujság), the weekly periodical, Társadalmi Szemle another periodical, Mefesz, the organization of Hungarian university students, (Magyar Egyetemi Szövetség), and a similar organization, DISZ, (Dolgozo Ifjúság szövetsége).

(111)

First of all, there were about 50,000,000 Parties.

(Approximately 40 Parties.) Some of the more important reestablished political parties were as follows: the Small Land Holders Party, the Social Democratic Party, the National Peasants' Party, various extreme rightists parties, including, as I understood it, the National Socialist Party (*Nemzeti Nyilaspart.*)

And there were the Revolutionary Councils. These were found in every factory, elected by the workers.

These councils were for the most part autonomous. Their political power was constantly on the increase. The various local councils had territorial super-organizations on the one hand, and those <sup>in</sup> on the city of Budapest were consolidated, on the other. The main Budapest council represented some 90 odd delegations. The activities of this <sup>Budapest</sup> council had a decidedly political flavor, and had considerable political power during Nagy Ferenc regime. These Revolutionary Workers Councils elected the management of a factory, they managed the finances, and supervised the activities of a given plant. A council had its president, vice-president, and members. 75% of the members present constituted a *quorum*.

(11m)

I don't know. I assume there would have been a decided swing to the right, but then again, who knows?

- (12) My only information regarding this question is from hear say. According to this, many of them went over to the revolutionists, they did not want to fight. Others were shooting one another.
- (12c) Yes.
- (12d) This was a question of prestige on their part. They had tried to do everything in their power to <sup>alleviate</sup> ~~alleviate~~ the needs <sup>of the</sup> ~~of the~~ Hungarians. They had sent food and all kinds of assistance. They were trying to buy us back. (Hungarian: *Le akartak bennünket kenyerezni.*)
- (12e) Definitely. They were in constant contact <sup>with</sup> ~~with~~ the Russian ambassador.
- (12g) No. There was too much spying going on. The whole system was based <sup>on</sup> ~~and~~ did operate on fear. I should say 100 men in the party ~~in~~ or in any of its organizations were afraid of some 20, these 20 in turn would be afraid of some 5, these five would in turn be afraid of one. Now, if this one is killed, all the others are not afraid any longer because they haven't done the whole thing out of conviction in the first place. Most of the Party members were not real Communists in the real sense of the word.
- (13) As soon as I heard of the possibility. My family has wanted to emigrate for <sup>a long</sup> ~~along~~ time. We have felt the constantly tightening situation, <sup>he experienced</sup> ~~the~~ terror and the misery.
- (13a) A great number of university students were picked up, and this to me indicated the beginning of the repression. There were

some 60 students in my class. Out of these 60, 14 have left Hungary.

(13b)

Yes. We had to discuss our problems with our professional benefactors. My family has paid them 15,000 forints for their services. This was the fee for leading the four of us across the Hungarian-Austrian frontier. There were many *professional guides* ~~relatives~~, who have accumulated unheard of sums during these weeks. Some of them have been reported to have earned many hundred thousand forints. Unfortunately, these people have sent many an escapee directly to the AVH hands. In our case we had discussed our escape with three families. We have undertaken the journey together.

(13c)

Yes, we have equipped ourselves with forged papers. My father had many patents. So we organized our journey as if we were following a clear cut government assignment. My father was the head of the expedition. I was his assistant, and the others were assigned some other positions.

(13d)

We had established telephone contact with some of our relatives who were living in London, England. We have spoken to them three times during the revolution. We were assured <sup>by them</sup> that our visas, our positions, our homes, and everything else necessary was secured. We have some other relatives living in the United States. While in Vienna, we changed our plans and, instead of going to England, we came to the United States.

- (13e) We had considered the possibility of remaining at home. But we would not have remained under the regime of Nagy *IMRE*. ~~IMRE~~. We left on December 16.
- (14) Yes, I think very often about the revolution. I had quite a few friends who offered their lives for it. *Also,* ~~Although,~~ I personally was too much involved in it not to think of it.
- (14a) Yes, it was useful. This revolution had inflicted a terrific blow <sup>on</sup> ~~to~~ the Russian glory. Perhaps more important still, it has shown to the world, and to other interested nations, that it is possible, that it can be done. Perhaps its usefulness would have been far greater if the revolution could have been stopped at an earlier date and the negotiations initiated.
- (14b) Perhaps. There was no contact, no organization between the *revolutionists* ~~organizationalists~~ themselves on the one hand, and no attempt at negotiations with the Russians on the other. Maleter and the others have fought their lonely fights. This possible success would of course have depended on where and when the revolution decided to stop, on the questions and demands raised, etc. I think we should have satisfied ourselves with demands more realistic than those actually advanced. (Respondent underlined his notion <sup>in</sup> on this respect by citing one of the Hungarian proverbs. The proverb is as follows:  
*Inkább egy veréb ma, mint holnap egy tűzok.*

(14c)

I would have a different attitude, definitely. Perhaps I would fight, perhaps immediately from the beginning. But then again perhaps I would stop at even an earlier date. One definitely ~~cannot~~<sup>cannot</sup> fight forever. I also think Hungarians should realize their strength and ~~assess~~<sup>assess</sup> it realistically. ~~He~~<sup>We</sup> must have some sense of proportion.

(14d)

Because it was in Hungary that we experienced some relaxation of the pressures. Rumania is a suppressed country. Bulgaria ditto. At the time of the ~~outbreak~~<sup>outbreak</sup> of the Hungarian revolution, the Rumanian army was demobilized. The Czechs are ~~in~~<sup>a</sup> number entirely their own. They are in a separate category. ~~The~~<sup>The</sup> Russian influence there is not so great as we knew it in Hungary. They don't have any reason to revolt on the one hand, and they are very much afraid of the Germans on the other. The same applies to Poland as well.

(14e)

Imre Nagy is an excellent university professor. In economics he is ~~is~~<sup>is</sup> great. However, he is weak, and he is capable of being influenced very easily.

(14f)

Maleter, I believe, is an ox. ~~Kolach~~<sup>Kovács</sup>, I have a very high opinion of him. Tildy is good, too. In connection with the churches, I should single out the Reverend ~~LÁSZLÓ~~<sup>RAVASZ</sup> ~~baszto~~<sup>Mindszenti</sup>. I don't have such a high opinion of ~~baszto~~<sup>Mindszenti</sup>. He has raised the question of ~~the~~<sup>retaliation, of</sup> church estates and ~~of~~<sup>of</sup> the church schools too early in the revolution. He has

started to hit back too early <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ too hard, he is definitely not a realist.

(14g) Those students who have died for a great, wonderful aim, for a *true* and free Hungary, <sup>who were</sup> ~~and not while~~ fighting for *something* other than their own selfish interests. There was a great number of both categories.

(14h) I would consider them in the following order:

1. Students and writers
2. Factory laborers and the *intelligentsia* ~~intelligencia~~  
Also the professionals.
3. The white collar workers
4. Soldiers and peasants

(14i) No.

(14k) It was just a cover that allowed free assembly and free exchange of ideas and information. It was that *place* where a new life could spring out. I was not surprised at this.

(14l) The peasants have gotten the most from the Communists. They have gotten four or five times as much as have the workers. They have demanded, they have wanted the impossible, a freedom from compulsory surrendering of their produce. It was the peasant class where most people were able to buy such things as pianos, motorcycles, and other luxury items. I recognized of course, that the peasants always have been a difficult group and that they are passive.

(1) (a)

I was a university student, attending the Budapest Institute of Technology (Hungarian name given *Bpesti Műszaki Egyetem*) and was studying to become a chemical engineer. I was in my second year there.

(1) (b)

My father was a ~~make~~ mechanical engineer, he was engaged in ~~making~~ <sup>the?</sup> <sup>?</sup> (boring) industry (the Hungarian expression *Mélyfúró iparág*). As a result of his work he had reached a high degree of prominence and, therefore, I do not care to identify his position ~~as~~ specifically nor to name his place of employment.

(2)

I used to work in the summer during the school vacations. I worked, not because I had to, but because I enjoyed spending a few months this way. So, in the summer of 1951 I worked in a machine shop where I learned how to operate the various machine tools. In the summer of 1952 I was an employe of an electrical research section (Hungarian name *Elektromos Kutató Szakosztály*). In the summer of 1953 I worked in the physical research section (Hungarian name *Fizikai Kutató Szakosztály*). There I was assigned variously problems on which I was to work in order to find an independent solution. During the summer of 1954, I was engaged as a tool and die maker. During the following year I was a pioneer leader (Hungarian name *Úttörővezető*). During the summer of 1956, I was a soldier. I served for one month, and held the rank of corporal.

I was able to get all these summer jobs with the help of my father, who was engaged in responsible positions with well known firms. I was able to make use of the many connections he had.

(2) (c)

Speaking of the physical research laboratory, - it operated successfully as long as it was run by good management. Later, there were many <sup>frictions</sup> ~~structures~~ within this place, the morale suffered, and the whole place was "down".

(2)

The place was modern, beautiful, pleasant, though somewhat crowded. We had many foreign-made machines (machines from Switzerland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Russia. The main part of our equipment was of Russian, Czechoslovakian, and of Hungarian origin. We had Swiss measuring benches (?) (Hungarian name *Sveici MEKOPADOK*).

(3)

This was a special laboratory, where all new discoveries and all new machines were <sup>first</sup> tested. It was here that the first model of <sup>a</sup> new machine, *and* perhaps 10 or 20 experimental models were built.

The various products that we worked on were classified according to their nature or according to their importance. Classification "A" stood for military or secret things. Classification "B" stood for very important, but not military devices. The rest consisted of purely experimental work, and also some work involving export-import.

(4)

My work was only of a temporary nature. Therefore this you cannot take as a basis of comparison. I was paid by the hour. Belonged to the fifth category, and as such received some 500 to 700 forints per month.

Wages in Hungary were scaled according to category. Not the work, but the worker, the individual was categorized. The lowest category was 3, and the highest was 8.

Apprentices were placed in the 3rd or ~~4th~~ 4th category, depending upon their experience. Those in the 7th or 8th categories received an hourly wage of from 8 to 10 forints. If the worker wanted to earn more money, he had to apply for admission to a higher category. His application was decided upon by a commission. Before one could reach the 7th category he had to pass a minimum technical examination. The first examination has a theoretical part, with understanding mathematics, including trigonometry required for the 7th and 8th categories. It also

had a practical part where the applicant had to demonstrate his ability to perform <sup>quality</sup> ~~quantity~~ (?) work (Hungarian name *selejt mentes munka*). Once a worker reached a certain category, his status was registered in his workbook, and he was treated accordingly thereafter.

Category 3, then, identifies a semi-skilled worker. Unskilled workers were in the 1st or 2nd categories.

Hungary had excellent apprentice schools. These were directed by the *Labor Reserve* Office of Reserve Labor (Nunka *erő-tartalékhivatal* Hungarian name, MTV). Pupils who have finished the 8th grade of the elementary school (Hungarian name *általános iskola*) would be accepted in some such apprentice school. There they received food, housing and clothing. They also received a salary of 120 forints a month. Their instructors were engineers and technicians. After two or three years of such training apprentices became journeymen.

It was very hard to train apprentices in the beginning. But as time ~~went~~ went on the apprentice would receive instruction not only in technical skills, but also in such subjects as history and literature. An apprentice would usually be placed in ~~in~~ the 3rd, 4th and at times <sup>the</sup> ~~in~~ 5th, and occasionally even in the 6th category.

Recruiting of apprentice personnel was on a voluntary basis. Those who for some reason or another were not accepted in a *Gimnázium* ~~Gymnasium~~, or were thrown out of such an institution, or were refused admission to a university, would avail themselves of the opportunity to so acquire a technical skill. There were also advertisements in which young men were asked to become skilled technicians.

(Interviewer's note: Respondent here protested mildly that ~~some~~ some of the questions treat of a subject that is an organic whole as if it consisted of parts which bear no relation to one another. He promised to answer some of those

questions later putting them together under the label "Hungarian Economics")

As soon as I put on my working clothes, I became a worker (<sup>Melós</sup>Mele). At that very moment I acquired the same status as all the other workers had. They knew that I was not one of them, they knew that I was the son of the chief engineer, but I never had any difficulty with them. They did not envy me and I joined them more than once in criticising my own father.

(3) The average worker made 1,200 forints a month, the skilled worker 1,400 forints a month. Here are some of the average expenses: Apartment, three rooms, unfurnished, 120 to 130 forints a month; electricity, 30 forints per month; gas, for cooking, 15 to 20 forints a month. Trolley car tickets, ~~permitted~~ permitting 4 transfers, 17 <sup>Fillérs</sup> fillérs. Buses, with four transfer possibilities, 1 forint and 15 <sup>50!</sup> fillérs. Local telephone calls, not limited in time, 60 fillérs. <sup>e</sup> One kilogram of bread, 3 forints. One liter of milk, 3 forints. One kilogram of sugar, 6.20 forints. One kilogram of meat, from 20 to 30 forints. Ready-made suit, for adults, of English wool, 1,300 forints. Custom made suit, of better quality, English wool, 2,000 forints. Radio receivers, with 4 to 5 wave lengths, capable of receiving from the whole world, 800 to 3,000 forints. Radio receivers with capacity to receive 3 or 4 local Hungarian stations, 300 forints. Televisions sets, black and white, 5,500 forints. There were very few/ <sup>only.</sup> It had a picture tube of about 22 inches. There was a small experimental station, operating from the top of the <sup>Svábhegy</sup> ~~Svábhegy~~ <sup>(?)</sup> mountain. Another huge station was under construction when we left. The experimental station reached an area of 25 kilometers in radius. Washing machines, with no drying or rinsing attachments 1,500 forints. Shoes from 100 to ~~450~~ 450 forints. Ladies' shoes, ready made, from 100

to 150 forints. Custom made ladies' shoes, 550 forints. Lady's dress, 100 forints. ~~nylon stockings~~ Nylon stockings, U.S. made, 110 forints. ~~Nylon stockings~~ Nylon stockings, made in Hungary from imported thread, 25 forints. Razor blades were from 5 to 10 forints apiece. These last two items came to Hungary from various places abroad, mostly from the United States. They usually came through IHKA (Interviewer's note: this is an abbreviation identifying a Hungarian government office through which relatives in the United States and other places were able to send packages to their loved ones in Hungary. Some other such items were brought to Hungary by officials who went abroad on official business. An official visiting Czechoslovakia for instance, would receive 30 Czech crowns, as a per diem allowance. Actually, he would be subsisting there on 5 Czech crowns, thereby saving 25 Czech crowns a day. This amount he would use in Czechoslovakia to purchase various items he wanted to buy either for himself or in order to resell it. One of the items that were brought to Hungary in this way was nylon watches, selling for about 500 forints apiece. We also received through various import channels a leather jackets and leather coats from Bulgaria. These imported coats would run to 2,200 ~~and~~ forints. Leather coats made in Hungary would run to 4,000 forints. The price of a ~~best~~ bicycle ran anywhere from 600 to 1,100 forints. A motorcycle, - the best known Hungarian make was the ~~Pannonia~~ <sup>Pannonia</sup>, cost 14,500 forints. This motorcycle had a capacity of 500 cubic centimeters, and won the first prize for reliability a few years ago at the exhibition in Paris. These were very heavy machines. Other machines with a capacity of 100, 125, 250 cubic centimeters were much more preferred. The 100 cubic centimeter model would cost 4,000 forints. The most widely used foreign-made motorcycle was the Java and the Zetka, these were very good Czechoslovakian models. The mere fact that I was able to work. In my ~~own~~ early childhood I was already a

very enthusiastic amateur.

(4)<sup>c</sup> As I have already explained my basic salary ran from 700 to 800 forints a month.

(4e) I had to give up 1½ percent of my earnings for the old age pension insurance plan. One was not obliged to join the labor unions.

(4f) Premiums were various in type and ~~amount~~ differed in amount from time to time. There was a premium based on the factory <sup>Plan.</sup> There was a so-called goal premium (Hungarian name *Célprémium*) which was paid out if a <sup>given</sup> ~~plant~~ plant reached its target. (I may be able to discuss these premiums in greater detail at a later time.)

(4g) I have constructed and repaired radios on an amateur basis. This gave me some extra money.

(5) We have had an eight hour day, and a six day week. A half hour lunch period was paid. Any overtime that a person made had to be authorized by a person in charge.

(5b) There were paid holidays in Hungarian plants, these holidays were observed uniformly in every plant. Plant workers were not permitted to choose their own holidays. The following national holidays were paid: the Fourth of April, the Day of Liberation, the <sup>First</sup> ~~Month~~ of May, the Labor Day, the Twentieth of August (the Constitution Day), November the Seventh (the day commemorating the October Revolution), at times May the <sup>Second</sup> ~~Seventh~~ was proclaimed a holiday if May the First was on a Sunday. We had then about 5 or 6 paid holidays in a year.

For the purposes of school, March the 15th, October the 6th, December the 21st, and another day were also considered holidays. March the 15th commemorated the beginning of the 1848 Hungarian Revolution, October the <sup>6</sup> 6th commemorated the hanging of the <sup>heroes</sup> ~~the~~ heroes of ~~the~~

that Revolution. December the 21st commemorated, I believe, the birthday of Stalin, and another holiday commemorated the birthday of Lenin. Every worker had a paid vacation consisting of a minimum of 14 days a year. Every additional year worked would add one day to the paid holidays. The maximum amount of paid holidays was attainable was 24 days. Paid holidays were arranged on the basis of consecutive work performed, so one could lose his legal holiday continuity if he left his place of employment voluntarily or for some other reasons. There were some places of employment where a worker was permitted to rearrange his work schedule to suit either his own purposes or for some other reason. Thus one was permitted to work more one day and have off the following day a few hours. While this system of rearrangement of work schedule was indulged in in practically every plant, it was most widely used in government retail stores.

(5f)

Coming late was taken very seriously. If someone was late, his being late would be made known through the public address system of the plant. At other times, the name of the late-comer would be posted on a special board that listed late-comers. This board was called the board of shame (Hungarian phrase given *Szégyentábla* ). This happened if anyone was 10 to 15 minutes late. If someone was a habitual late-comer, the plant would deduct from his pay anywhere from 15 to 50 forints. If someone was unable to come to work because of sickness, he was required to bring in ~~some~~ a medical certificate to that effect. This certificate would be issued by the physician of the precinct <sup>SZTK</sup> STK organization. If someone was sick, he received no pay; ~~instead~~ instead he would receive support money amounting to 75% to 100% of his base pay during the first half year. After that the amount would be reduced to 50%.

- (5i) Subquestion i and the questions following it actually belong to an organic ~~unit~~ unit. I should like to discuss this later, if possible.
- (6) One cannot make generalizations in this respect. In some industries, like the smelting industry, workers received additional bonuses. There were also bonuses given out to heads of large families. ~~An automatic~~ raise would come about automatically by the addition of a newborn child. Any of these bonuses were bonuses based on a percentage of the base pay.
- (6a) These varied very widely from place to place.
- (6b) Labor unions were constantly trying to improve the situation in this respect.
- (6c) This, too, varied very widely.
- (6d) The same as above.
- (6e) I commuted by bus to my place of work. It took me 35 minutes.
- (7a) These were older people, coming from a good generation.
- (7b) It depended upon the policies of the head of the firm. I knew I was able to address some very important figures by using their first names, whereas my immediate supervisor did look down upon me.
- (7c) Not very much.
- (7d) Those who knew each other very well, discussed all kinds of questions with each other. They would discuss even political questions. Many have suffered in this respect, however, because, they were reported and they would lose their jobs.
- (7e) No.
- (7f) No.
- (7g) No. I discussed politics only with those whom I knew very well.
- (7h) There was the basic unit, the cell, in every plant. This cell consisted

three of ~~the~~ people, one of them was the Party Secretary, the other was the plant director. ~~Shamshamig~~ I don't remember who the third man was. The Party secretary was only an adviser in principle, but in reality ~~Shamshamig~~ all his pronouncements were ~~valid~~. *sacred scripture.*

It is interesting to note here that even in the Communist Party headquarters, where over a thousand employees ~~worked~~ worked, all of whom were trusted Party members, the same organizational principle would prevail. Even there, these hard core Communists would be organized in cells.

(7i) Party members were considered more trustworthy than others.

(7j) According to form, the Party was the leading force, the elite force of the workers. Only the best workers were entitled to join the Party. One had to earn his Party membership. An applicant to the Party became a candidate first. Then, if his attitude and behavior were good, he was elected a member. Only higher authorities could decide on whether or not a candidate was to be elected to the Party.

(7k) Yes, labor unions have done many nice things. There was no politics involved in their organization or actions. If one decided to join a labor union, he was required to pay 5% of his <sup>total ~~gross~~ or *brutto*</sup> earnings as a fee. The labor unions were handling the insurance. This insurance had a very wide range and covered many things. Covered, were all the doctor's expenses, expenses for the hospital and medicine, as well as dental expenses. An insured was entitled to use every other year, any of the many nice and wonderful vacation spots maintained by the labor unions, for two weeks. The prices at these vacation spots were nominal in nature and were very low indeed. Labor unions provided excellent camps for children. They provided various

possibilities for sports. Many of their services were absolutely free. Also labor unions constantly improved the adverse <sup>working</sup> conditions in the plants. Labor unions provided support money when a new child was born, they provided the money ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ to buy the various things necessary to a newborn baby. They were engaged in such things as creation of cultural halls in the plants, <sup>in</sup> ~~at~~ organizing many minute activities, and in trying to raise the wages of their members.

(71) Labor unions were organized on a basis ~~was~~ extremely similar, if not identical, to the system that prevailed in Fascist Italy. There were no industrial unions, that is to say not the workers of one industry were organized as a unit, but workers from separate lines of industry were organized separately. Labor unions had a basic unit, one or several in a given plant, with elected leadership. Opposite this organization, at the <sup>top,</sup> ~~bottom,~~ were national organizations embracing all of ~~the~~ the labor unions.

(7m) I don't know.

(7n) This question does not belong here. I shall come back to it when I speak of the Hungarian industry.

(7p) I knew quite a few people who did succeed without being members of the Party. My father, for one, was not a Party member. Similarly many of ~~the~~ the university professors did not belong to the Party. Those who held a position of eminence, <sup>i. e.</sup> jobs that were necessary to the continued existence of the regime, were tolerated. Also persons to whose names a certain prestige was attached were left alone.

(7q) Those who were politically neutral did have some sort of an esteem in the eyes of the Communists. They felt that, if someone was not a Party member, but did not combat them either, was, at any rate, a person in whose political attitudes they could be sure. People of this sort,

mostly intellectuals, belonged to a category of their own. (The Communists had a name for this category in Hungarian, *a néphez hü pártonkivüli értelmiség.*

(7r)

Yes, very much so. These people contributed a great deal to subsequent degeneration ~~generally speaking~~. Generally speaking, there were three social groups in this respect, those who were faithful to the regime, those who were neutral, and those who opposed the regime. ~~Parallel to this there were~~ <sup>Cadre</sup> three types of Kaders (Kader). The working class was considered ~~amongst~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~to have been~~ a good Kader, the neutral Kader consisted of the ~~lower~~ bourgeoisie or lower middle classes (term given in Hungarian *polgári Kader*), and the bad Kader is composed of people who have been exposed politically or who have held high official positions in a previous regime. At the university they had another designation, it was called technical middle Kader (Hungarian name: *Műszaki Közép-Kader*). It was called technical because it embraced people who would be future Hungarian technicians, and it was called middle Kader because ~~its~~ its members have not yet become members of the Party but who <sup>would</sup> in time ~~will~~ be such. Etymologically, the word Kader is a word taken from the Hungarian for a former military kadron. Originally it designated a military officer who had authority to give out orders.

(7e)

This system prevailed until 1955. Reforms were gradually instituted <sup>Practically</sup> thereafter. ~~and~~ Consequently every plant director was a person of this kind.

(7t)

Yes, there were spies everywhere. ~~The~~ <sup>Recruited</sup> system of their operation, however varied from plant to plant. They were ~~recruited~~ from all walks of life and belonged to all sorts of age groups. Their duties were to report incidents and attitudes of people, thereby enabling the management to

know in advance the next move of its opponent in this constant industrial chess game.

- (7u) I am not in favor of them. They don't know how to operate a factory. without a  
A factory cannot be operated/despotic rule. These were organized after the revolution, they are of Yugoslavian origin.
- (7v) I don't know. *utilizing*  
~~utilizing~~
- (8a) One usually tried to change his place of employment by ~~questioning~~ *utilizing* his acquaintances. His acquaintances would inform him of positions available elsewhere. Once the existence of a need was so established, a worker would try to ask for the release of his work book. This was a very difficult task. Then there was the MTH (in Hungarian, *Munkaerök* *-tartalekhivatala*), the Office of Reserve Labor, with its offices in Budapest and suboffices elsewhere. This organization would also find suitable employment if necessary. There were also employment bureaus.
- (8b) These are absolutely personal, individual factors. ~~There~~ No generalization is possible here.
- (8c) Yes, at first I wanted to become an electrical engineer. During my first year in the *Gimnazium* I ~~was~~ changed my mind and decided to become a chemical engineer instead. I have based ~~my~~ *my* decision on purely internal reasons, the considerations which went into this decision were purely personal.
- (8d) If I could have finished my education there, then, yes.
- (8e) One usually wants both success and a position of leadership, I think.
- (8f) Because of human vanity, considerations of money, and the urge to rule. I would aspire to have a stable life. I would not ~~like~~ like to be too rich, I would not like that. I would like to have a laboratory in my own home.

- (8j) No.
- (8k) Yes, this is the general desire of an intellectual. It is part and parcel of his Weltanschauung.
- (9) There were times when we were living relatively well, and times when we were living very poorly.
- (m9a) One. My father made <sup>enough</sup> ~~some~~ money to support the family.
- (9b) There were no great changes in our lives after the war.
- (9c) We could have bought everything we desired if we only had the money.
- (9d) My father's base pay was 2,838 forints a month. If you add to this on the one hand the premiums, and subtract the various deductions, he took home 3,400 forints clear every month. We have spent 1,000 forints for food for two weeks. We paid 280 forints for our modern apartment. We were living in a modern house. 200 forints were spent for gas, electricity and various minor expenses. Except for the <sup>food</sup> ~~same~~ item the others are calculated on a monthly basis. ~~(\*)~~ There was no income tax in Hungary. As far as the forced loans are concerned, one was obliged to sign up <sup>yearly</sup> his earnings for one month, <sup>this</sup> ~~these~~ he paid in ten equal <sup>monthly</sup> instalments. My father signed up for 4,000 forints.
- (9e) 280 forints per month. We had an apartment of our own.
- (9f) The housing problem was very bad in general. Many apartments were destroyed during the war, others were taken over by the people who came up to Budapest to live there after the war, still others were taken over by the government and were converted into office space.
- (9g) We had spent 2000 forints a month on food. One had to stand in line sometimes when buying meat.
- (9i) One could buy everything in government owned stores. Articles in these stores were not of high quality. Only idiots frequented the black market. Those who cared to do so were able to purchase on the black

market such things as gold, ~~foreign~~ dollars, colonial wares, and whatever was sent to Hungary in the IKKA parcels.

(9j)

The labor unions helped a great deal in the purchase of fuel. Our own Hungarian coal was of very inferior quality. We were obliged to import coal from Poland and Germany. Because we did not have foreign currency reserves, the importation of coal was limited. A family was issued tickets for one or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tons of coal at a time.

(9l)

We had insurance in this respect. The <sup>SzTK</sup> service was not always ~~satisfactory~~ satisfactory. If one had the misfortune of being obliged to go to a private doctor, he was obliged to leave there even his undershirt. A visit to a private doctor would run anywhere from 20 to 100 forints. A private dentist required for the filling of one cavity anywhere from 15 to 65 forints. Every hospital was state-~~man~~ owned. The doctors there were excellent. Very severe laws regulated the actions of a physician.

(9m)

We did receive some advantages. The factory gave my father permission to use part of the factory force to erect protective bars on our windows after factory hours. Also, when we moved, we were assigned a factory truck and driver. We paid for this service ~~for~~ <sup>to</sup> the factory 15 forints, whereas otherwise we would have paid 500 forints. Also the factory maintained a resort where members of my family were able to spend their vacations.

(9n)

The radio tax was 10 forints, whether you had one radio or 25. Movie tickets ran from 3 to 6 forints. Theatre tickets ran from \$ 6 to 10 forints. Tickets to the opera ran from 8 to 22 forints. If one bought an opera series ticket consisting of ten performances and covering the entire season, one paid anywhere from ~~from~~ 50 to 150 forints for it.

The price of a daily newspaper was 30 fillérs, that of a magazine 2 forints. Books, serious, important books I am talking of,—ran from 10 to 35 forints apiece. There were also cheap editions of course. If one wanted to engage in some sport activity, he usually joined a sport club, and he then paid only 1 forint membership fee and he was able to use all the facilities.

(10)

(10a)

I always knew that our standard of living was relatively high. <sup>(10a)</sup> Very definitely. My father gave to the regime a great number of his own discoveries, patents, worked innumerable extra hours for them without ever being compensated for it.

(10b)

Generally speaking, yes, the monetary policy of Hungary had much opposition. It left much to be desired. It is a statistical fact that every day a new factory was built in Hungary.

(10d)

There wasn't much change in this respect. On paper workers had all sorts of rights, but in reality it was *almost* ~~(nothing)~~ *nothing*.

(10e)

It was absolutely worthless (the actual Hungarian expression used:

*Fábol vas karika* ), it amounted to the government giving you something from one of its hands, and taking it back with the other. But I firmly believe that people <sup>will</sup> get back their money sooner or later. Those who were lucky enough to have their numbers pulled on the lottery, have already got back their investment. How is it anyone's fault that the numbers of other people were not pulled?

(10f)

As far as I know the Russians have reduced the Hungarian reparation payments to 30 percent. Also, the regime has come to an agreement with England, according to which only 20 percent of the value of Hungarian exports to England would be retained for reparations and 80 percent would be paid in cash.

(10g)

One was obliged to attend all these activities. One was even obliged

to go and listen to what went on at the MDSZ (Hungarian name given in full *Magyar Nők Demokratikus Szövetsége*). A political organization of Hungarian women. One was obliged to go to the seminars, political discussions, etc.

(11)

The Hungarian industry was completely reorganized after the war. The nationalisation program was carried out in several steps; first came the large concerns, then places employing over 500 people, then those employing over 100 people, and then everything.

The industry as a whole was supervised before the war by the Ministry of Industry. This supervision was tremendously increased, so that every branch of industry had its own supervising ministry after the war. This required a very large mass of administrative personnel, and bureaucratic red tape took enormous proportions. Not only was it difficult to synchronise things between a given plant and a ministry, but an order had to go through so many hands until it reached its destination that there was ample room for alteration and even sabotage on the way.

The supply of raw and semi-finished material was also entrusted to a ministry. This centralisation of supplies was hampered by the almost total lack of warehousing facilities. If there were any delays in supply,-- and there were many such delays--the plants, to which these supplies were destined, were forced to shut down.

A given question had to travel through a prescribed channel in the Ministry. There were the departments (name given in Hungarian *Főosztályok*), sections (name given in Hungarian *osztályok*), groups (name given in Hungarian *csopontok*), and commissions (name given in Hungarian *bizottságok*). These divisions had to account <sup>their</sup> corresponding opposites, i.e. divisions of the same order.

~~factories~~ in any given plant. / ~~Some~~ <sup>any A</sup> given plant, was not an independent, self-sufficient unit, but was obliged to clear every minor question with the Ministry first. If a problem arose where the consent to a question ~~where~~ <sup>of</sup> two various plants' departments ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> necessary, the originating department would refer the question to its counterpart in the Ministry. There it would be discussed with the other ministerial department in question. That department, in turn, would inform its counterpart at the local plant. Eventually, after a tremendous delay, the one local plant department would inform the other of the decision made. It happened very often that by the time a question was so solved, some other factors entered the picture and ~~had~~ further advice from the Ministry became necessary.

So we had centralization at first. But it did not work. In fact, in some areas it became disastrous. Some perishable food would be sent from Szeged to Budapest, from there, it would be channeled to ~~Debrecen~~ <sup>Debrecen</sup>. Another shipment, originating in ~~Budapest~~ <sup>Debrecen</sup>, would be shipped to Szeged, via ~~Budapest~~. The net result was a 100 percent loss and a great deficit.

As a result, the food industry was decentralized and local kőszert stores were established. The production of such articles as shoes, textiles, and others continues to be highly centralized to this day. A plant is told to produce so many green jackets, another to make so many red ones. They are getting their raw materials through the Ministry, and are told where to sell their products and at what price.

Other industries receive some degree of autonomy.

As centralized direction was disastrous and some synchronization was obviously essential, the National Planning Bureau (name in Hungarian

*Országos tervhivatal*, abbreviated: <sup>OT</sup> ~~MS~~) was established.

This bureau established targets for the various industries and for the nation as a whole. But in doing so, 90 or 95 percent of the production capacity of the nation's factories were engaged in some specific production. When, as time went on, major changes in the nation's planning became necessary, these changes could not be brought about, because there was not enough free production capacity available. Thus, if something went wrong in the planning bureau, the whole economy suffered.

The system did have some advantages. We had consumer goods of uniform quality, at uniform prices. And there was no competition. The disadvantages, however, were far greater. This bureaucratic system required the services of a great number of experts. And this in times when the nation's industry was in dire need of them. Also whatever we produced <sup>produced</sup> ~~was produced~~ in Hungary, was produced with an overhead of over 300 percent.

The labor force was also directed by the Ministry. The ministries decided who was to be the director, the chief engineer, and the chief accountant of a given plant. These were often political appointments, and the beneficiary could not be removed except by the Ministry. Every plant had its personnel department, and there was a ministerial personnel <sup>plant</sup> department embracing all the ~~plant~~ personnel departments under it. Many people, without being suitably trained, were placed in important positions. Naturally chaos and waste resulted.

There was a department for expansion and development on a ministerial level, (Hungarian name given *fejlesztési főosztály*). There was no patent bureau and trade-marks could not be registered. One could not have exclusive rights to his inventions, that is to say he could not patent them. Those who had suggestions for improving things, or had developed an invention could offer them to the above-mentioned Bureau and

could receive a reward for it. The average award amounted to some 400 to 500 forints. The inventor also received a percentage in royalties. There was no waiting period and no checking of these inventions. Many a person would simply steal foreign patents, by copying ~~them~~ its main features, and declare them to be his own, in order to make some money. Also, people had ~~various~~ <sup>registered</sup> minute, ~~wholly~~ <sup>wholly</sup> useless improvements with the same aim in mind.

Inventory was also handled by a central inventory department (name given in Hungarian *Beruházási Főosztály* *Beruházási Bank*). They received the money from the Magyar ~~etc.~~ (Hungarian term) Bank, (Interviewer's note: This was a sort of commercial bank on a national scale).

The money market was entirely centralized.

The only Hungarian coal which could be converted into coke was mined in the coal mines of ~~Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén~~ <sup>Pécs</sup>. Other Hungarian coal was of recent origin and unsuitable as industrial fuel. As a result, Hungary had to import coal from Poland and Germany. We received iron <sup>ore</sup> from Russia. We had to import practically all our raw materials except aluminum.

One could say here that we needed a planning bureau. The trouble was, that it did not function. It was decided, ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup>, instead of bringing in semi-finished iron from Russia, we should expand our iron smelting facilities and produce our own iron from Russian ore. They built a whole new city for this purpose, named (Hungarian name given

*Stalinváros (Dunapentele)*, ). It had a big, modern iron industry. But the transportation of the ore ran into a bottleneck on the Black Sea and the entire capacity of the (City) plants <sup>*Dunapentele lay there*</sup> ~~was~~ producing nothing. The already existing smelting capacities at (Hungarian name *Diósgyőr*)

was also abandoned. *expanded.*

To minimize the import difficulties, a whole new ball bearing industry was built in the city of *Debrecen*. This, and many other plants like it are not capable of producing export quality materials, and <sup>as their</sup> full capacity exceeds domestic demands, they must, at least partly, be converted. A few scapegoats are dismissed and punished, and plants which cost millions to build are idle.

The result is a tremendous deficit. Someone, of course, must pay for it. The state recovers its losses by either keeping down the wages or by maintaining higher prices,--whichever way you want to look at it.

The planning bureau requires factories to meet ~~the~~ production targets at a specified time. These in turn put the pressure on the workers. Quantity became paramount, <sup>and</sup> as quality became secondary. People were required to do a certain minimum. But they were prepared to do even more than the minimum, because premiums were at stake.

To counteract the constantly falling quality of the finished products, and to eliminate as much as <sup>possible</sup> the production of "seconds" (Hungarian name given *selejt* ), the quality control section (MEO, *Mivóségi Ellenőrzési osztály* ) was established. Quality was <sup>export</sup> graded thereafter. I-A was <sup>very</sup> quality. Other grades were I-B, etc. A quality stamp would be attached to ~~the~~ finished article. All finished goods had to pass the MEO before they could be marketed. Now one could produce goods only at a normal speed; but the minimum requirements continued. The whole production system was based on norms. There were occasional <sup>(minor rectifications?)</sup> *and* ~~changes~~ changes in the norm, and there were <sup>various</sup> differentiations and adjustments that varied from place to place, but, on the whole, norms were rather reduced and not increased. In other words, one was required to

do more, as time went on rather than less. Now people tried to produce more and more, in order to reap the ~~premium~~ premium benefits. Factory management was equally interested in the ~~same~~ speed up. If the factory reached its target in time, everybody received premiums. If a factory~~s~~ managed to reach its target before the target deadline, everyone connected with the plant would participate in the profits so realized. This participation meant the payment of a certain percentage of the profit, based on the individual's pay. It would amount to as much as 30 to 50 percent.

The important thing, then, was to produce a quantity, and have it pass the MEO inspection. Common sense standards and the feeling of individual responsibility/~~responsibility~~ <sup>soon</sup> were deteriorating and a chaos and ~~de~~ degeneration then ensued. Some, I heard, preferred to hammer in the screws, rather <sup>than</sup> to follow conventional methods, in order to save time. If our goods were designed for export, we could never hope of receiving another order from there. But things like this could not be permitted. <sup>therefore</sup> The export production was totally segregated from the other industry. It became an entity <sup>in</sup> itself.

The quality continued to decrease. The MEO inspections were tightened but no results. They experimented with time payments ( *órabér* ). Interviewer's note: A worker would be paid according to hours worked, not according to quantity produced. They then experimented with pay based on productivity, ( *Teljesítménybér* ) a variant of the norm system. They tried everything.

Under centralization the director of a plant is reduced

to a figurehead. This does not bring results. Thereupon some autonomy was granted to the plants. Only 50 percent of the capacity was engaged for ~~plant~~<sup>plan</sup> purposes, the other half of the capacity was left free, to be used according to day to day requirements. There were many machines of all sorts. There were many new tooling machines (*Szerszámgép*). Most of these came from abroad, but there were still too many old machines, capable of producing only inferior results. There were many controversies between the various plants as to who was responsible for poor, inferior machines. To settle these disputes, the Conciliation Commission (Hungarian: *Egyeztetőbizottság*) was established. There were Ministerial Commissions handling disputes between plants, and there was an even higher conciliatory body, the highest forum of its kind (Hungarian: *Döntőbizottság*).

There was the ÁEK (Hungarian: *Állami Ellenőrző Központ*, State Control Center. This was an all powerful economic investigative body. It could go any place, with no limitations to its power. If something went wrong, investigation would follow. Those found guilty were severely punished. This was not a political, but an economic arm of the government.

We had the OT (National Planning Board), with authority within Hungary and the KGST (Hungarian: *Kölcsönös gazdasági segélynyújtás tanácsa*, Council on Mutual Assistance), an international planning board, advisory in its nature, that made the economic plans for the entire Soviet system. It was on the basis of this organization's plans, that international trade

was carried on within the Soviet orbit. No money payments were involved here, each nation had a running account (Hungarian: folyószámla<sup>m</sup>) and barter-like trade was carried on. We received skodas from Czechoslovakia<sup>c</sup>, we sent electric motors there. We received oil from Rumania and we sent something to the Rumanians. There was also an exchange of technical personnel.

ODK (Hungarian: Országos Dokumentáló Központ, National Information and Archive Center) was keeping tab on economic development in other satellite countries. One could find out through this office what went on in, say, Czechoslovakia or Poland, discoveries, processing, etc.

Hungary was very short on foreign currency. Rubles on the other hand were rather easily had.

During the Revolution all state warehouses<sup>s</sup> were thrown open. A tremendous amount of goods were purchased in those days. We had at least a two months supply. If we had had free, open trade in Hungary, people would have starved to death. This is another advantage of this sort of a regime. It had a tremendous reserve (Hungarian: Áruképeesség).

The forint was based on work. It was based on that margin that existed between production<sup>c</sup> and purchasing power. This was our Valuta.

We exported railroad equipment to Argentina, bridges to Egypt, butter to Switzerland. We even exported Hungarian oil, just in order to get dollars. We purchased Rumanian oil for forints and exported Hungarian oil for dollars. Actually, we converted forints into dollars.

The emphasis always was on producing production equipment,

rather than consumer goods. We were told that we may have to suffer for some 30 years, but thereafter we would have it very good. But our expansion suffered because of poor technical leadership. I know of a g man who used to be a gas meter checker in his former days, who was appointed chief engineer in a big machine factory. The old chief engineer was dismissed, because, it was said, he was not good enough. *He did not push the workers hard enough.*

Hungary is known to have the greatest ~~a~~ bauxite deposits in the whole world. We used to export this ore to Germany before the war, and bought back the finished aluminum at exorbitant prices. We did not have enough electric power to do the process ourselves. The regime has built a great hydroelectric work on the ~~Tisza~~ <sup>TISZA</sup> River at ~~Tiszalok~~ (~~and~~ <sup>TISZALÖK</sup> ) and aluminum production is in full swing now. Of course, the problem of amortization is immense in this respect. We have a heavy aluminum export. Within Hungary aluminum was substituted for many other metals. We were trying to discontinue the use of copper. Even dishes are made of aluminum. We had boats, ships, motors, and even buses made of aluminum. <sup>Chrome</sup> ~~Chrom~~ was very scarce. In the former Rakosi-<sup>MATYÁS</sup> ~~MATYÁS~~ Works, a section did nothing else but try to regain chrome from discarded cans.

- (11a) It had its advantages, and it had its disadvantages.
- (11b) Yes.
- (11c) I did not like the various organizations in the economic life. There was practically no room for initiative there.
- (11d) I don't know.
- (11f) It was very good. It was necessary. It was a good plan. It was

a reconstruction plan. It had wonderful results, <sup>such as the building of</sup> bridges, and <sup>stabilization of</sup> the forint.

It wanted to establish more, it wanted to reach more than it intrinsically ~~gamin~~ could. Actually, they even tried to finish it in 4½ years.

- 11g
- (11h) He was a good economic expert. He was a good economic's professor. I believe he is good.
- (11i) This was a constant theme of discussion. It was good. It was the first year that we had a positive international trade balance. Actually, we even ~~had a dollar surplus~~ <sup>had a dollar surplus.</sup>
- (12a) I personally believe economic circumstances had a very great role. But one cannot generalize here.
- (12b) It is very hard to say something on that.
- (12d) No.
- (12e) In private discussions between one another. In personal opposition, and even in sabotage sometimes.
- (12f) Some so, some otherwise. I couldn't answer this question. There were so many variations. They are capable of being led, of being influenced. They have the tendency to extremes.

(1)

I have gone to a great number of schools. Let's take the elementary school first. I completed my first year of the elementary school in Olaszliszka. The second and third classes I completed at a private school in Magyaróvár. In my fourth year I went to school in Budapest to the Sziget Street School. My fifth year was completed at the Gimnazium of the Piarist Fathers in Budapest. In the sixth year I went to ~~another~~ another school in Budapest named Ady Endre Gimnazium. My seventh and eighth years I have completed at a school called Irányi Uccai Állami Pedagógiai Főiskola gyakorló Mintaiskolaja. It was excellent. (Interviewer's note: This last school was a practice school conducted by a teacher's college of Budapest.) The next four years I spent at the Eötvös József Általános Gimnázium. Thereafter I went to the Budapest Institute of Technology and I was in the second year there. (Hungarian name given: Budapesti Műszaki Egyetem). I was studying to become a chemical engineer.

(1a)

In the Gimnasium I attended the DISZ political club.

(1b)

I took courses in military science.

(1f)

It was necessary for me to do so. I had completed the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd years of the elementary school privately (did not attend classes, passed examinations only). I went to the other schools either because I knew that they were very good or that they had a very good reputation.

(3)

I wanted to get a degree in chemical engineering.

(3b)

I had a great ambition. Every member of my family had a degree.

(3e)

My scholastic averages were always very high.

(5)

I had ideal conditions all around.

- (6) I was an excellent student.
- (6a) I wasn't always an A student. Generally speaking I was a B student previously. But my father was an industrialist, and my mother came from a great landholding family. This information was contained in my birth certificate. I had to ~~write~~ <sup>CORRECT</sup> these ~~things~~ <sup>stains</sup>.
- (7) As far as studying went, yes. Those who came from technical schools or from technical ~~schools~~ <sup>gymnasiums</sup> received added individual attention, especially if they were weak in some of the subjects. An instructor would be assigned to one or two of these people and these would then be instructed additionally. We did not have this added help. There were also foreign students studying there. These, however, belonged to an entirely different category. In my class there were two from China, two from Korea, one from Bulgaria, six from Rumania, four from Albania, one from Russia, one from Iran and there were 120 Hungarian students.
- (8) Every subject was required. There were ~~these~~ <sup>free</sup> elective subjects. A professor would inform us that such and such subjects would be given at such and such hours after the ~~main~~ regular hours in the school. One could attend these courses, but they would not be counted toward the degree.
- (8b) Subjects belonging to my major, yes. I did not like the others. We had three hours of military science each week. Those who had attended ~~these~~ <sup>These</sup> courses would, upon termination of their military studies, ~~be~~ be sent home with a rank of lieutenant. These courses were only theoretical in nature, there was no practice to it, and we had no uniforms. No similarity to the ROTC.

- (8c) They could not catch the student's interest as very well in this respect. Our text books were not of the best order. There was not very great enthusiasm for it.
- (8d) The same applies as to (8c). Many have found them extremely difficult to understand. We were not required to take notes, everything was mimeographed for us.
- (8e) It was a stupidity. The instruction was not carried on on a university ~~university~~ <sup>niveau</sup> ~~university~~ ~~university~~ The notoriously bad Hungarian kept bothering our ears.
- (8f) Sports were not obligatory. The only obligatory thing was gymnastics. If one couldn't take this he was able to substitute a study in problems of health education. It all depended on the professor.
- (9) This is a difficult question to discuss. The Revolution has shown that it was not successful. But it did have ~~some~~ <sup>some</sup> success. It called our attention to the fallacies and faults of ~~the~~ ~~the~~ other systems. This was not a positive something, they had no better system to offer themselves. I should say it succeeded in converting young children up to 14 years of age to an extent of 70 to 75 percent.
- (9a) Discipline is very harsh. From the point of view of social behavior, and attitudes toward one another it brought about equality. No differences were recognized. Good fellowship (the German word Kameradschaft would come closest to it) was fostered. There was a disciplinary pressure exerted on us. This helped to keep the emotions down. One of my friends had beaten up the DI9Z secretary. He was thrown out of school as a result.

(9b) No.

(9c) These kept on changing all the time. No one even tried to memorize them.

(9d) Whenever some ~~contradictory~~ <sup>contradictory?</sup> *contradictory* situation called for it, these slogans would always be cited in a satirical way.

(9e) It is more potent between the age brackets of 8 to 14. It is the least potent after one has reached 30 years of age. Children between the ages of 8 to 14 usually like to play soldiers. There was ample room to do this sort of thing in the regime. And there are so many beautiful slogans. Also, these young ones received assistance of a great variety. After one has reached the age of 30, one indulges more often in concentrated thinking. The older the people are, their thinking will be influenced more and more by previous systems and regimes. My grandfather kept on telling me how wonderful it was when one was able to purchase two ~~mahs~~ <sup>*KREUZER*</sup> rolls for one ~~rubian~~. He was obviously referring to the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

(10) It consists of two branches. The one has an intellectual tradition, the other ~~hahhngahhng~~ belongs to a landholding class.

(10a) My mother belonged to a landholding class.

(11) We were considered kulaks and/or intellectuals. Etymologically, kulak comes from a Russian word meaning the fist. It was first used with its present day connotations after the Russian Revolution, during the era of the <sup>*NEW Economic Policy (NEP)*</sup> ~~new economic policy~~, when <sup>*"Fat"*</sup> ~~peasants~~ peasants were accused of destroying like fists, the small agricultural homesteaders.

- (12) My father was a mechanical engineer.
- (12a) No. The change occurred in 1946. Up until then he was an independent private consultant, specializing in ~~the~~ investment and speculative undertakings. He also had a number of patents. By 1946 he was completely bankrupt. He was engaged in this activity that I have just described <sup>since</sup> ~~in~~ 1936 until 1946. I could not describe his places of employment after 1946, because he changed them very frequently and I did not remember them all. In a word, he was employed as a consultant, going to whatever plant happened to work at the time on his inventions.
- (12c) I did not have a bad opinion of it. At least as compared to positions at that time. This of course changed radically in the first few months of 1946 after the Hungarian pengő had shown its inflationary tendencies.
- (12d) Hungarian: *OKleveles gépész mérnök.*  
Interviewer's note: This corresponds roughly to the holder of an M.A. degree in mechanical engineering in the United States.
- (12e) He was, on the whole, very satisfied with me. He would have preferred if I had followed in his footsteps, as I have learned this from my mother, but he never tried to interfere.
- (13) My family lived somewhat better ~~than~~ than now. We had some money then. This vanished as time went on. Our expenses kept on rising, one was obliged to maintain a social level corresponding to his position, buy suits and dresses for the opera, etc.
- (14) My family has three members.
- (14b) Yes.

- (14c) Because they had available space.
- (15) My father only.
- (16) There were times when it was definitely to our disadvantage, but the position of the intellectuals was neutral. They were tolerated. <sup>We</sup> /~~They~~ simply did not say anything about my mother coming from a great landholding family. We did not mention her being a kulak.
- (22) Our relations were always excellent.
- (23) Naturally.
- (23a) It would always be some concrete theme or concrete situation that would give cause to a discussion.
- (24) No.
- (26) We were very close to one another. Perhaps ~~is~~ because we were so dependent on one another. This may not have been typical. At any rate, we had a beautiful family life. We always met in the evening.
- (26f) I would have liked to engage in sports. But I never had time to do it. If I did have some free time I was engaged in doing various repairs in the house.
- (27) Family ties strengthened in our case and I believe this was the rule generally also.
- (27a) Perhaps it was so because I have grown up in the meantime. I began to understand my parents' problems, and, having understood them, I increasingly participated in their discussions. I also tried to help them. In a word, I was a factor of some consequence in the family.
- (27b) Of course.

- (27a) I don't think so. It may have been the case ~~in some~~ with some families where both parents worked. In a situation like that the children would grow up wild.
- (27e) I have no idea what went on in the villages. Whatever I say here has to do with the City of Budapest. It may not be applicable even to another city.
- (28) We never had so many illegitimate children as now. The war of course had its deteriorating influence. After the war, prostitution was an excellent trade, assuring one of a steady income. Girls (!) had a very low moral standard. This was especially true in the case of girls who already had one illegitimate child. Then again in many cases both parents worked. One ~~is~~ tried, of course, to associate with such girls <sup>who</sup> had ~~not~~ no apartment problem. I can still remember the case of the girl who was in a hospital giving birth to an illegitimate child. On ~~his~~ <sup>her</sup> bed there was the following placard: For a married woman to give birth to a child is an obligation, for <sup>an unmarried</sup> girl to do the same is a glory. In the beginning there were public houses of prostitution, these, however, were later abolished. Laws dealing with delinquency of this sort were extremely severe. The police instituted many searches (Hungarian: *RAZZIA*). If someone was caught at questionable places he was obliged to go for periodic check ups to a hospital, for many weeks. Meeting in hotels, parks was absolutely forbidden. The only place where one could indulge in this illicit traffic was in private homes. Abortion was a violation of the law and these laws were strictly enforced.

- (23b) Generally at a very young age. Dowry is nonexistent. So the opinion prevails generally that the two should get together at an early time so as to start accumulating. Friendships usually start at an earlier age now than before. The age of the girl is usually between 18 and 20, in the case of a university girl it may be between 23 and ~~25~~ 26. The age of males varies from 22 to 30, marriages where both parties are of the same age are rare. Men, who can be proven to be the fathers of illegitimate children, are obliged to pay 25 percent of their incomes to the child's mother. It is difficult to prove one's innocence in this respect. The easiest way out would be to have two witnesses *to testify to* ~~to state~~ the fact that the girl had relations previously. I have known some men who have been paying out for three different children. They ~~have~~ *had* practically no money left ~~to~~ *for* themselves.
- (28c) Courting is much shorter now than it used to be. Except that the question of the dowry no longer has any significance, no fundamental changes occurred in the nature of marriage.
- (28e) There was no officially recognized or tolerated prostitution.
- (28f) They were very strict. If a man became unfaithful to his wife, he was thrown out of his job. If it was the wife who became unfaithful, her punishment was even more severe. In any case both parties to the act of infidelity were thrown out of their jobs. There were no divorces. The only exceptions in this case were the divorces where there were medical reasons for divorce, such as some diseases, impotency, etc. Legal reasons for divorce were abandonment for a long time,--unfaithfulness was not always recognized as a legal reason. Beating

and other sort of cruelty was punishable anyway. There was a theory beginning about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years ago and lasting for about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a year to a year when divorces could be arranged for an official fee or tax of 10,000 forints a person. This regulation no longer stands.

(28g) I have no opinion on the subject. I know that prophylactics were not used very widely. Various supports on the part of the state tended to strengthen family life. A couple would receive a marriage present of about a 1,000 forints at the time of the marriage. There would be an addition of from 40 to 50 forints after the birth of each child. Those who have had 6 to 8 children have received official recognition, and a definite improvement in their wages.

(28h) Illegitimate children did not suffer in any way or in any respect. I have had one such friend. The bourgeois <sup>views</sup> ~~views~~ in this respect were broken. (Actual Hungarian expression used:

*Kispolgári szemüveg összetört* ). At any rate there were not too many illegitimate children.

(29) I had gone to his house or he came to mine. At other times we would hold ~~telephone~~ telephone conversations. He is now also in the States.

(29a) He was a medical student.

(29b) He was 19 years old and his father was a physician.

(29c) It varied very much. We would dance more often than not. We were trying to learn new dance steps. At other times I would help him with various subjects; he was decidedly weaker than I in such subjects as physics, mathematics and chemistry.

- (29d) Very much so, of course. We ~~is~~ expressed our views to one another without any commentaries. We knew the other's opinion to the slightest detail.
- (29e) No. Our friendship was two years old.
- (29f) Naturally. We are still corresponding.
- (29g) I expect absolute ~~mutual~~ reciprocity in various little pleasantries. Another important stipulation in this respect, a friend should under all ~~such~~ circumstances be able to ~~is~~ refrain from closer engagements with his friend's girl. Our motto in this respect was: (Hungarian) *Haver nője az, tabu.* The essential meaning of this phrase is, a friend's girl is taboo.
- (29h) I would have tried to dissuade him from entering the Party. I did have a friend who was the DISZ secretary in the school. But he was absolutely correct. I very often voiced reactionary opinions. But that did not matter at all. I must emphasize here that he was not a real Communist. Coming back to the question I would say that I consider politics and friendship to be two distinct things. Perhaps we would break up and then again perhaps we would not.
- (30) Religions and people vary a great deal. My father was a Protestant. After the war everyone tried to take up a Christian faith. I was born a Catholic. Out here, in the United States, our Jewish relatives were scandalized that I don't even read Hebrew, let alone speak it. As I explained previously I have gone one year to a ~~Pietist~~ <sup>Piarist</sup> school. I should say then that I was familiar with the religious tenets of the religion in which my

parents have baptised me. And in spite of this I did not go to the Church.

- (30a) There were no religious questions or problems. The relative importance of religion was relegated to the ~~approx~~ 1,000th place.
- (30b) I am a materialist. I never tried to discuss, let alone prove dogmatic theses. This is not a personal, isolated case. Religious clubs were nonexistent.
- (31) I went to church out of deference to ~~my family members~~ the other members of my family only.
- (31b) Yes. Except for a few denominations. Protestants did have some preferences. One could see this during the Revolution. They had a person for every situation. The religion remained the same, I suppose, only the figureheads changed.
- (31c) Officially there was no religion. Consequently the question is meaningless.
- (31d) This was probably not a question of principle. After the Second World War the religious question became intolerable. There were many interdenomination frictions. This question was difficult to solve, consequently the whole of religion, as such, was thrown out the window. Otherwise a Communist is a materialist, and religion is repugnant to Communist ideology. But the Hungarian Constitution recognizes freedom of religion, consequently they had to be at least indifferent to the various denominations.
- (31e) They wanted only to use religion for their own purposes. If they are able to continue on the same road, after two generations religion will cease to be a question. There were those,

particularly from the older generation, who were extremely vehement regarding religion. There were also those who received their instructions in a religious school.

(31f) This is a relative thing. The leaders have received their education from ~~many~~ previous systems. It was assumed, that if they cut off the snake's head, the rest of the body may vegetate for awhile but will disappear eventually. It will cease existing. Every denomination was permitted to operate and function. There were religious persecutions at times.

(31g) Naturally.

(31h) Once in every leap year. I mean on occasion. When I did go, I went out of ~~deference~~ to my grandparents. Then I went for such occasions as The Resurrection and Christmas. I now recall that before I took my maturity examination, I went into a church and prayed.

(31i) Not more often than I did. My generation behaved in fairly the same way in this respect.

(31j) A church must always proclaim and propagate peace. It was necessary to come to an ~~accord~~ <sup>Ausgleich</sup> (?). The church could not have carried on much longer. They would put everybody into jail. The blessing of arms cannot be equated with the command to love one's neighbor.

(31k) The Protestants definitely tried to ~~heat~~ <sup>WARM</sup> themselves at the fire. Catholics and Jews were in an entirely different category.

(31l) It means much, much less. This is so because the sciences are progressing also. The sciences have more and more popular results as time goes on. Everybody begins to look upon ~~science~~

energy as the first cause, rather than upon God.

- (32) Jews were disliked, because it was said that they are businessmen. It was said that Jews are all alike. Jews are all the same. I disagree with that. Jews are clever and flexible. There were some Jews, idiotic Jews, who have joined the Communists. Those people are not Jews, they are Communists. Geró did not permit the Jews to go to Israel. ~~Thereupon~~ Thereupon a Jewish delegation asked him how was it possible that he was opposing the Jews when he himself was a Jew. He replied that he was not a Jew, that he was a Communist. Jews have suffered just as much as everybody else. There was some controversy ~~was~~ regarding this statement in Salzburg. But I still hold to my statement.
- (32a) They didn't like them. There were various categories of Jews. All of them have lost their material well being. Some felt that, "since they have taken everything away ~~from me~~ from me, I am going to become a Communist now." I should say that the percentage of Jews in the Party would equal the percentage of the Catholics in the Party. The percentage of Jews who were Communists was very low. There are other Jews who became Communists because of their sufferings in the concentration camps. They have seen that the Communists were persecuting the Nazis. Having seen this, they themselves have entered the Party to be able to revenge themselves. There were many like that. Many such people became members of the AVH. Some others volunteered to become interrogators at the War Crimes Trials. I should say that the percentage of these was probably low. Communists did not trust the Jews. Take for instance the case of ~~Zoltan~~ <sup>VASS</sup> Zoltan

he was an excellent economics expert. He has spent 16 years in jail. And they still made him step down. He was a Minister Without Portfolio first. Then they transferred him to another position in the ~~Peccs~~ <sup>Peccs - Komlo</sup> mining district. But they would not let him stay there, they transferred him to <sup>Stalinvaros</sup> (Hungarian: *Dunapentele*). Then they made him President of the KISZOV (Hungarian: *Kisiparosok Szovetsege Orszagos Szovetkezete*). Everyone idolized him (Hungarian: *Mindenki istenitette ot*). For a time he was the president of the OTG (reference here is made to the planning board). They did not trust him, because, when he was once told that so and so has escaped to the West, he replied: "It is very good. I would escape myself if I could." He was a man who knew that not empty words, but money was necessary. During the Revolution he was a commissioner, and he was the first to go to the U.S. Legation to ask for asylum. As he was returning from there, he was arrested. It was ~~was~~ <sup>Vass</sup> who advised Mindszenty to go to the American Legation.

- (32c) There is no difference between man and man. Gradually this will become a very minor question. About 12,000 Jews have left Hungary. Some others are leaving for Israel now. I should say those, who want to go, should be permitted to go.
- (33) I am going to start with those whose lot is the worst, and work on to those who have it better. Aristocrats, great landholders, industrialists, ~~many~~ merchants, small landholders, larger peasant holders or kulaks, intellectuals, peasants, and workers.
- (33a) I am an intellectual.

(33b) Exactly where I am now.

(34) It is impossible for me to answer this question. I have never given advice like this nor ~~has~~ <sup>shall</sup> I ever given advice like this to anyone.