

- (1) Not very much. A little bit.
- (1a) Politics interested me only in so far as it touches upon my life.
- (1b) I am an outside spectator.
- (1c) A very small place indeed.
- (1d) No.
- (1e) I was somewhere in the middle line. Everyone had to have that much interest in it. It was part and parcel of our life.
- (1f) Yes. I have gotten further and further away from Communism
(Hungarian: *Elkommunistátlanodtam.*)
- (2a) I would consider number vi to be the most grave, and numbers viii, ix and x the least grave.
- (2b) I would select number vi, vii, ix and x.
- (2c) I don't know. I did not have much to do with them.
- (2d) Probably the same things that I enumerated in my case, excepting numbers iii and x.
- (2e) The same as I enumerated in my own case.
- (2f) Because it did not turn out to be the way they expected or imagined it to be. Because what the ~~msk~~ theory promised never did come about, because they have seen that the theory, at least in part, can never be ~~realized~~ realized in practice, and because they were all so afraid of one another.
- (2g) Generally speaking this took up from 45 to 75 percent of one's life. For the rest it was relatively unimportant, because one was asleep.
- (2h) I have discussed these questions with those whom I knew well. With those whom I could trust. And sometimes perhaps even with

those whom I could not trust.

- (2i) Yes. They made ^a ~~the~~ Revolution. Attempts were made before, on a smaller ~~ma~~ scale. For instance, attempts were made to alleviate housing shortages. Housing was constantly being built.
- (3a) Because of my relative youth at the time of the cessation of the Second World War, I did not consider these issues except in the last 4 or 5 years. I was also forced to study politics as a factor in life, for instance such things as the ~~20th~~ 20th Congress. I have thought much of what would come after Stalin's death. I have considered such things as internal and foreign policy changes, changes in the Cabinet, constantly asking myself the question 'Is it going to be better, or is it going to be worse.?' "
- (3a) No. I was much too small for that.
- (3b) Never.
- (3c) I would chose points iv, and v. Certain things should be recognized, acknowledged and accepted, some others ~~would~~ not. I have seen, unfortunately, what has happened to my family, simply because they did not come from a workers' ancestry.
- (3d) I have become less and less of a sympathizer, after what has happened to my family.
- (3e) Yes. The great majority. In every group there were people who thought this way, and those who thought otherwise.
- (3f) That simply is not true. It was never faithful to it. It was divided in exactly the same way on these issues as it is divided now. The great majority opposing the system and the small minority favoring it. There was no change in these proportions.

- (4) The power was in the hands of the Cabinet, a power that rested ^{on} ~~the~~ Russian ~~bayonets~~. *bayonets*.
- (4a) This is not an opinion, I know it. On the basis of my experiences. If someone ~~opened~~ ^{opened} his mouth, he vanished. And during the Revolution, it was the Russian, not the Hungarian, bayonet that became inoperative for a little while.
- (4b) The ~~power~~ ^{party} was in the first days ^{an} operative, and later an advisory organ. This was on paper. In practice every bit of advice was a command. As soon as the party took over its new position, the government party split, and Rakosi became the Party Secretary. The police is an executive body, executing government orders.
- (5) The Cabinet followed the wishes of the Russians. It received Russian instructions.
- (5a) The Parliament was a voting machine. They have thrown into the Parliament a proposal and the hands raised automatically. Everybody there was told what to do. It was a wonderful theatre.
- (5b) Nil. Surface appearances. No one ever checked how they count the vote.
- (5c) It all depended on how it functioned. It did not have too great a function in the city. It was simply an administrative arm, they received their instructions from above.
- (5d) I don't know. Rakosi was always great in Hungary.
- (5e) Always. This is in the Hungarian blood. Severe penalties were provided for violators. Once I wanted to attend a Liszt concert, but there were no more tickets available. I offered 50 forints for a ticket and I received it immediately. Corruption was great.

- (5f) From the same group that they always did come out. From the class of the civil servants. These were joined by a great number of peasants and workers. People in leading positions were only figureheads.
- (5g) From the peasants and the working classes, but mainly from the peasant classes. They had very little education. They had many advantages, such as a great organization, and clothes. The families were able to rework the uniforms and make dresses and suits out of them for every member of their family. Materially, too, they were very well off. The lowest ranking officer received ~~about~~ 1,200 forints a month plus food and housing and fare and clothes.
- (6) One could not do a thing if he was not a member of it. This was an absolute prerequisite. There were also some advantages attached to it, one was able to get tickets at reduced prices for sports events or cultural events.
- (6b) Everybody was a member of it. Otherwise he could not have been a student. Entrance was entirely automatic. If someone was thrown out of the DISZ, he had to leave the school too.
- (6c) No pressure of any kind was necessary. Everyone knew it was a necessary evil. We did not think much of the membership, we did not think much of it. It was not essential. If someone was an exceptionally good student the DISZ would send him for a vacation.
- (6d) One could have avoided membership, but the avoidance would not have made any sense.
- (6e) I don't think that it was a matter of principle. Perhaps,

~~zum Trotz~~ zum Trotz.

- (6f) Yes.
- (6g) I became a member in 1950, automatically. I was automatically made a member from the secondary school.
- (6h) I held an office once. I was the leader of a platoon in a camp. My duties were similar to those of a camp counselor in the United States. It was a seasonal job, which gave me an opportunity to have a vacation. I have received from 140 to 160 ^{Forints} per month plus food and housing. I also received some sort of a summer uniform. So I didn't have to wear my own clothes.
- (6j) It did not have any disadvantages at all.
- (6k) No time was involved. Every so often, perhaps every $\frac{1}{2}$ a year, there would be a meeting. This would last one hour. A speaker would say something, no one would utter a word for, or against. Every one laughed at the whole thing.
- (7) To be a member of the Party was honor and glory. It meant a great amount of prestige.
- (7a) Those who had responsible positions, or, I should rather say, that, only those held responsible positions who were in the Party first. But one could sometimes avoid it. For instance, my father did.
- (7b) Those who wanted to make a career.
- (7c) A Party member has rights only within the Party. He may vote and he may be chosen. Theoretically every member of the Party may become another Rákosi. He may attend any Party meeting, he may offer his views there freely. Only a Party meeting can sanction a dismissal, or disciplinary action against a member. He has the right to have his case reviewed, going all the way up

to the Congress. (*Party Congress*)

- (7d) A Party member must abide by the Party bylaws. He must have an *correct*-attitude, and he must behave as it is becoming to a Communist, he must ~~mm~~ nurture socialistic morality, he must be first in his job, he must teach and discipline his fellow workers.
- (7e) Yes, of course. I don't know when or why they entered the Party. Obviously for the reasons I have enumerated at some other place. One cannot generalize here very easily. There were very few convinced Communists.
- (7f) Yes. There were all sorts of situations. There were those who had already been in the Party and were thrown out. This happened during the revision of party membership.
- (7g) No.
- (7i) No, because I was a member of the DISZ. I had not reached the required age as yet, and I did not have any special reason for entering, that could have been accepted as an excusable exception.
- (7m) Not applicable.
- (7n) There were two types of Communists. A small minority of the Party *consisted of* ~~was~~ convinced Communists, others were opportunists, who have wanted to make a career out of it.
- (7o) There were people who have changed a great deal. These were mostly people who were easily led; who could easily be influenced. Once in the Party they wanted to show off.
- (7p) The directing force behind all this was the Soviet Bolshevik Party of Russia. Local Parties were directed by local Party organizations.

- (7q) I don't know. Party and Cabinet are synonymous.
- (7r) Party and police are synonymous terms.
- (7s) The same as above.
- (7t) The same as above.
- (7u) Nominally the same.
- (8) No.
- (9) This was only true on paper.
- (9a) I have heard of spies.
- (10) Members of the AVH were made up of the following groups: idiots, imbeciles, deranged individuals, and ~~some~~ ^{Those} who were inducted into the armed forces. Some of these ^{inductees} were automatically taken over by the AVH.
- (10a) Some of them were taken over from the ranks of the army, others have seen a great opportunity there and have joined.
- (10b) Usually they are either of worker or peasant origin. However, there are intellectuals also. These are the technical experts. Their age groups vary from 20 upwards to death, and I don't mean natural death either. Their previous political allegiance varied very widely. There were former Nazis, landholders, day laborers and Communists.
- (10c) Definitely. The AVH was afraid of its own self. There were spies in its own ranks. It was said that Rakosi's wife, a Russian lady, was such a spy.
- (10d) Those who had a military rank ~~and~~ ^{here} usually correct ~~are~~ people. The spies are in an entirely different category. Assuming we have a bad man, a dictator, we are not angry at his

hand but we are cursing his head. The intellectual part is responsible, not the part that makes the execution.

(11) I never came in contact with the police, some of my relatives, however, were arrested.

(11a) I could not specify the exact time, but they occurred about six years ago. One of my uncles was accused of having tried to escape the country. He was tried, and was sentenced to $4\frac{1}{2}$ years in prison. Another of my uncles was arrested three times in the course of time, and was accused of having participated in various kulak activities. He was never brought to a court.

(tape broke at this place...apparently not much lost, but continued on next page)

(tape broke near this point) One of my first cousins was...^{also}
arrested. He was accused of spying and ^{of} having ~~been~~ betrayed
his country. He was ^{sentenced to} five years in prison. On another
occasion my father barely escaped arrest. If he had been
tried the charged against him would have been entirely baseless.
We all assumed at the time that he must be in some one's way.
Somebody probably wanted to take his job, and wanted to get
promoted in this way. It happened in a plant. A new
machine, that my father had designed, was to be tried out.
My father was at the machine only when they started it.
Someone had thrown iron dust ^{of} (Hungarian phrase: *Vasforgács*)
on the machine. He was accused of having been responsible for
the incident. Those investigating the case told him that he
should have anticipated some such accident. In other words
he was accused of negligence.

If one is arrested, he is beaten more often than not by
the police, during the preliminary investigation. This
preliminary investigation may take as much as five or six
months or more, during which time the accused sits in the
jail. Time served during a preliminary examination is
counted when computing a prison term. The preliminary in-
vestigation is conducted by the state attorney's office.

(11) contd. Once the prosecutor's office completed the investigation of an accused person, his case was referred to a People's Democracy's Court. There were district and county courts, as well as courts in the city of Budapest. One did have legal right to appeal to a higher court. He was legally entitled to bring his appeal case all the way up to the Curia (*Kuria*), the highest court of appeals in Hungary. After that he was even entitled to appeal to the Parliament. This was the legal side of the matter. But no one took advantage of the appeal possibilities, it being of general knowledge that, if one appealed, he received a stiffer punishment. ^{One of} The court ^{called} was a People's Democracy's Court (Hungarian: *Népbíróság*). ^{This} court consisted of ~~the~~ five members, there was the presiding judge, two judges, and two lay members (Hungarian: *népi ülnök*). The latter two were elected for a period of six months. The other three, the judges, were elected to a term of three years. Members of the highest court, -this court consisted of only one member, and those of the Judge Council (Hungarian: *bírói tanács*), were elected by the Parliament. Every judge was subject to recall.

While a judgeship was an elective office, applicants had to meet certain requirements. They had to be holders of a doctorate of law, they were required to be specialists in criminal law, and/or graduates of schools for judges. Lay members did not have to meet any of these requirements. While the court is in session, members of the Court do not vote publicly, but in their private chambers. Once the Court reaches its decision, the Court members return to their places and the presiding judge proclaims the verdict.

The prosecutor presents the case of the state, hears the witnesses, and then hands them over to the defense lawyer. The lawyer does the cross examination as he sees fit. Then the lawyer calls the defense witnesses, interrogates them and hands them over to the public prosecutor for cross examination. In a normal case both the prosecutor and the defendant's attorney goes through these motions twice. The defense always has the right of the last word, before the verdict is announced.

A defendant must have a lawyer. If he cannot afford one, the Court will appoint an attorney for him. In no case is he allowed to defend himself.

(11d) The case of my cousin, who was accused of having betrayed his country, and of having spied, has made the greatest impression on me. He was picked up one day on the streets as he walked, and for over a year, actually a year and a half, no one knew anything about him.

(11e) One of my relatives was sentenced to four, the other to five years of imprisonment. Upon their return to freedom, they did mention casually that they were beaten during the preliminary ~~examination~~ investigation. But they refused to go into details in this respect, They said that one ought never to talk about these matters.

(11f) No categorization or generalization is possible here. Those were arrested whom the government wanted to find guilty. As far as guilt or innocence of my relatives is concerned, I should say that from an absolute point of view they were innocent. But I also must state that, from the relative point of view of the Hungarian state, they were guilty. In other words, they did not

commit anything that would be considered guilt from the point of view of ~~the~~ human rights. But in either case, they did do something that was definitely and specifically forbidden by the legal code of the present Hungarian regime.

- (11g) There was a time when a great wave of evacuation took place in the city of Budapest. There was a great housing shortage in the city. In order to alleviate the shortage, many a person, who was considered to be a rudiment of the old regime, was forcibly taken out of his home and evacuated to the surrounding ~~ing~~ areas. These people were forbidden to come back to the city. They were simply ostracized. This happened about four years ago. They were permitted to take with them no more than 20 kilograms of goods. The rest of their belongings they were obliged to leave behind. There were exceptions where someone was permitted to take whatever he had. Some of these people were placed in semi-concentration camps.
- (12) My advice would be, don't go back to Hungary. One can't give advice in this respect.
- (12a) Such people as Stalin prize winners, Nobel Prize winners, people who have acquired international reputations are relatively secure in their persons.
- (12b) Definitely.
- (12c) Corruption and the system of establishing widespread connections is in general use. Connections are always good, no matter what sort of connections they are. It may be an office cleaner, or it may be a general director. The more connections one has, the better. Ladies, in this respect, are extremely cooperative. Even married women are prepared to give everything they have

in order to avert trouble. Many people cultivate friendship with Party members for precisely this reason. But all of this is of no avail, once you are in actual conflict with the government. These things are good only if you are in need, and cannot ~~manage~~ get things otherwise. When you are in real trouble, no friend, no matter how powerful, is prepared to expose himself in order to save you.

- (12d) One was able to brag about his simple ancestry. It is true, that while simple origin was of some advantage, it did not necessarily constitute a license. But if it did not have positive advantages all the time, it definitely was not negative. One could not very well keep his origins a ~~man~~ secret. At least not safely. I have known quite a few students at the university, who have remained silent about their "kulak" origins. When this fact was subsequently discovered, they were thrown out.
- (12e) Money always helped. (Interviewer's note: Respondent was using a popular Hungarian proverb: *Pénz beszél, Kutyá ugat* a literal translation, "Money talks and the dog barks.")
- (12f) Not ~~man~~ always. He can only minimize, not avert, the possibility of danger. He minimizes it, insofar as he does not provoke it. It is a necessary prerequisite, but it is not a sufficient means of averting trouble.
- (12g) I don't think so.
- (13) I am not able to make comparisons.
- (13a) In neither case does one receive justice.
- (13b) These two branches had different spheres of activity. While the regular police force was afraid of the AVH, the AVH was afraid

of its own self.

- (13c) Yes, everyone had his own little troubles. This was not necessarily a political difficulty. I have known of one such AVH member. He was forced to choose between the alternative of going to school, if he wanted to retain his rank of lieutenant, or give up his rank. The man had completed only his first two years of elementary school.
- (14) Yes, definitely. The methods depended on, and varied with, the quantitative political changes.
- (14a) These changes were dependent upon previous political changes as I have explained before. Every greater political change brought about, of necessity, changes within the AVH.
- (14b) I don't know. If you are referring here to the first regime of Imre Nagy, there wasn't much of a change. But when he vanished there was a great change for the worse.
- (15) The Soviet Union has an absolute directive role in Hungarian affairs.
- (15a) Moscow decides everything, and Hungary only nods. Let's put it this way, Moscow decides on what is going to be the Hungarian export, and Hungary decides on who is going to sweep the streets.
- (15b) Every Ministry, and every greater factory had his or its Russian advisors.
- (15c) The Soviet pressure was indirect, it was brought about through the activities of the Hungarian government. The Russians never gave direct orders to the Hungarian population.
- (15d) No.
- (15e) The greatest Russian influence was felt in the economic and political spheres. I just couldn't tell you where it was the

weakest.

- (15f) Every Hungarian Ministry, and every greater Hungarian firm had its Russian advisors.
- (16) Only on very, very rare occasions. If one ~~were~~^{was} a Communist, he behaved as if were a greater Communist. If one ~~were~~^{was} not a Communist, he behaved as if he were a Communist.
- (16a) Generally speaking, yes. They are afraid of one another. If people were to express their real feelings, then you would have only about 5% of Communists.
- (16b) Everyone wears a mask, and is known by this mask to everyone else except his closest friends.
- (16c) One was ~~seeing~~^{picking} and choosing. Social origin did not play any role here. One was talking to the man, and on the basis of that man's speech decided who he was. Everyone had his own method in this respect, based on his own experiences. One thing is certain: one could never base his opinions of others on the way they told various jokes. The fact that one may have cursed the government, did not constitute a valid truth either. I was once traveling in a trolley car. Some one told a joke involving indirectly some government operation. Some three people laughed. At the following station they were all picked up.
- (16d) One could never feel secure about the manifestations and activities of the AVH.
- (16e) No.
- (17) No. Legal codes and regulations were very well worded and formulated. One was never able to defend himself with some paragraph of the law. One could not get behind the law and cover himself up with it.

- (17a) Not even a city ordinance that ~~described~~^{proscribed}, or rather prohibited, jumping up or down from a moving trolley car. If you were caught, you just had to pay a ¹⁰ forint fine.
- (17b) If my act did not contravene some law or regulation, then yes. In small, unimportant things. If I was evicted from an apartment for instance, in things pertaining to the civil law (in Hungarian: *polgárjogi ügyben.*).
- (17c) No. Definitely not.
- (17d) Definitely not. This varies with individual cases. It probably depends on how many connections the person has, as well as the quality of his connections.
- (17e) If the factory to which the worker desires to go asks for him, and if the factory in which he is presently employed is prepared to let him go, then it is all right. But if either of these prerequisites is missing, then you have a problem. It is not always ^{equally difficult} to move, to change jobs. One can't generalize here.
- (17f) He has to ~~appeal~~^{appeal}. He has to ring doorbells. If he did not commit a crime, or if he did not do anything against any law, then it may go. For instance, if, at the time of the registration, I admitted in my application that I was a "kulak" and the university accepted me anyway, but later throws me out, then, I might have a chance of being reinstated. But in no severer case than this.
- (18) Those who are able to wear masks day and night, and those who have powerful ~~and~~ elbows.
- (19) There were very many people in a variety of positions and situations who did not sympathize with the regime, even though

officially they were Party members. These people would simply cut off the ^{sharp}edges from the various regulations. They would do everything in their power, that they safely could do, to minimize the effect of the various regulations, to hold up things, to water things down, and ~~im~~ employed innumerable other ways and means, that are very effective in the long run, and yet are not detectable.

- (19a) The resistance was for the most part veiled, not open.
- (19b) Those who had greater advantages in the previous regime, those who became disillusioned in this regime, disappointed people, and those who could never forget their first impressions they got of Russians.
- (19c) I don't know.
- (19d) One cannot say for sure. There were sections and segments where it increased, and others where it decreased.
- (19e) I don't know. In all probability you had both varieties.
- (19f) Yes, in all these organizations there was some opposition.
- (19g) The resistance everywhere was veiled, as I was trying to describe it above.
- (19h) Political jokes were innumerable. These persisted for a long time. The government even had an official jokes publication.
- (19j) Yes. I could not name names.
- (19k) Not very well. It was very dangerous. But then again nothing is impossible.
- (19l) The MEFESZ was just a cover name, it symbolized the student^(s) solidarity. The Petöfi Club was only a platform, one could say pulpit, but not an organized resistance.

- (1) I was listening to the radio. Sometimes I read Hungarian newspapers. At times I was able to read foreign newspapers. I also managed to get hold of foreign technical journals, journals published in England, in the United States, or in Germany.
- (1a) Foreign technical journals and periodicals.
- (1b) My radio receiver.
- (2) Naturally I read them. I read both newspapers and periodicals. The frequency with which I read these media was quite irregular. It depended on such factors as political situation, the availability of time and my own disposition to devote time to such matters.
- (2a) With regard to daily newspapers my favorite was one called Magyar ^{Hungarian} ~~Magyar~~ (?) *Nemzet* I also read a technical periodical called *Természetes Technika* (the literal translation being "Natural Technic"). I also read or consulted the following foreign periodicals: "Life", a U.S. publication; Interavia, a Swiss-American publication; "American Machinist," a U.S. publication; and a journal entitled "Machinery," which was an English publication.
- (2b) I did not read any of these latter ^{ones} regularly. As regards Hungarian daily newspapers, I read them only if they had something important to say. As regards foreign periodicals, I read them whenever I could get hold of them. I was not a subscriber to them myself, I received them in a roundabout fashion from institutions, industrial plants and other places that received them officially and regularly.
- (2c) As regards foreign periodicals, I was simply interested in knowing what went on in the Western part of the globe.

- (2d) As regards Hungarian publications, I was interested in new laws published, new government regulations, government political or economic programs, and various official state decisions.
- (2e) It all depended on what the editorials were about. If these contained commentaries or analyses of problems of interest to me personally, as I enumerated them above, I would read them. If they had to do with recitations, official dogma, or achievements of some obscure peasant boy or farmer for propaganda, then I would not read them.
- (2f) My idea of a newspaper or periodical is presentation of the news, or events as they actually happened, without any commentaries on them. I hated commentaries ~~intensely~~ intensely. Unfortunately commentaries were in practically every newspaper.
- (2g) There wasn't much interesting in them. Later, especially in the time of the 20th Congress, there were critical commentaries in practically every newspaper. These, at times, were extremely interesting.
- (2h) Wall newspapers or placards were found every where. They were of very little value because they reported past events. Placards would be ordered for May the 1st, for instance, actually they were never ready in time. By the time they actually appeared on the walls, the event itself was practically forgotten. No one ever read these. In the secondary schools we used this news medium to inform our fellow students of local events, events having to do with our school.
- (2i) The value of the wall newspapers amounted to ~~na~~ nil. They contained propaganda. Daily newspapers, on the other hand, were

regular publications.

- (2j) Wall newspapers were usually concerned with local events. At times they reproduced material that appeared in local newspapers. We had an interesting wall newspaper at the university. One of the students published a series based on his experiences in the armed forces. The series was extremely interesting, it contained information that we were all interested in, it contained names of students whom we knew intimately, and it was written in a very vigorous, interesting style. We eagerly awaited every new instalment, every continuation of it.
- (2k) Naturally. Communist dailies from the West appeared regularly. I have seen the ~~the~~ Daily Worker, an English Communist newspaper, newspapers from East Germany, and from other places. I would also read a Swiss newspaper published in Geneva, that was not Communistically oriented. One could get all sorts of newspapers in the archives of national libraries.
- (2l) One could see some of these newspapers on the newsstand and on the street, others could be obtained at libraries, some others were restricted for official use only. One could get hold of this last kind only in a roundabout way.
- (2m) My opinion as to the value of these various publications varied of course. I liked especially foreign technical publications, because they have opened an entirely new world for me. In the schools both secondary and the university one could get hold of Russian newspapers also. We used these newspapers in the study of the Russian language. We would usually have older

numbers at our disposal.

- (3) I did not go regularly to the movies. There were times when I would not see a presentation for three or four months. In the summer I would very often go to the movies ~~up~~ twice a day. Movies are much cheaper in Hungary than they are in the United States. A movie presentation consisted of one featured play, one short film and the movie news report. The news report dealt with both local Hungarian as well as world events. The entire presentation took about two and one half hours.
- (3a) I usually went to the Belváros ~~(?)~~ or to the ~~Központ~~ ^{Körút} (?) or in that vicinity.
- (3b) I like serious foreign films best. I liked ~~best~~ for instance Mark Twain's "One Million Pounds of Bank Notes." I liked Italian and French movies. German movies did not appeal to me too much. There were a great many foreign films available. One could choose those he liked best. Sometimes I was able to see excellent Russian movies also. I liked to see movies treating of a serious social problem, or comedies. I liked serious social films because they treated of a problem that had its roots in reality. They did not present an entirely make-believe world. For instance, I have seen an Italian movie presenting the shortcomings of education. The story presented here had a universal application and it was universally true.
- (3c) One couldn't generalize in this respect. I liked those films best that presented a problem, possibly giving big outlines of a solution, but not the solution itself. This by the way is

my definition of critical realism. There were many Hungarian films, and many foreign films, that were loaded with politics and propaganda. There were others, both domestic and foreign, that were not saturated with politics. All foreign films were sound-synchronized, so that the presentation was entirely in Hungarian. A section of the Hungarian film industry did all the synchronizing of the foreign films (in Hungarian: *Magyar Szinkronizáló Filmvállalat*).

- (3d) It all depended on how much time I had at my disposal.
- (3e) Yes, I have seen many foreign films. These came mostly from European countries, but we have seen also some Chinese, Japanese, African, Egyptian, and South American films. The South American productions, particularly Argentinian ones, were extremely weak.
- (3f) Foreign films were imported in great quantities between 1945 and 1950. Between 1950 and 1954 only a few foreign films were available. After 1954 they were again available in great numbers. Let me see if I could recall some of the names of the films. I have seen an admirable English film titled: (Hungarian) Mark Twain's "One Million Pound ^{Banknote} ~~Notes~~", the Italian movie entitled (Hungarian: *Holnap már késő*) "Tomorrow is Too Late", I have seen a number of the French Fernandel films, one was entitled: (Hungarian *Tiltott Szerelmek*) "Forbidden Love," (Hungarian *Apa lett a fiam*) "My Son Became a Father," (Hungarian *Első Számi Közellenség*) "Public Enemy No. 1"; the Swedish film entitled (Hungarian *Egy nyáron át táncoltunk*) "We Danced the Whole Summer Through;" a French film titled (Hungarian *Hűtlen asszonyok*) "Unfaithful Women"; the Italian film entitled (Hungarian *Augusztusi Vasárnap*).

"August Sunday."

- (3g) Naturally. I visited theatres more often than movies.
- (3h) It all depended on how much pocket money and time I had, and on the availability of tickets. Sometimes one had to wait four weeks to get a ticket for a good show.
- (3i) The nature of the theatre changed a great deal. After 1954 purely Communist presentations were dying out. There was a tendency to distinguish between political and non-political presentations. A great number of new theatres were built and many of the presentations were first ~~in~~ class in quality. Theatres have chosen their material primarily from the Hungarian scene, but I have also seen dramatizations based on works of Turgenev, Dostoyevsky and others. The whole theatre life shows a tendency toward normalization.
- (4) Yes, naturally.
- (4b) I must divide the year into two periods. From September to June I read altogether some five books. During the summer I read as many as I physically could.
- (4c) I have read all the Hungarian classics. I have read the works of ~~Mikszath~~ Mikszath, Moritz, Vörösmarty, ~~Márai~~ Márai, ~~Sándor~~ Sándor, ~~Herczeg~~ Herczeg, ~~Gábor~~ Gábor, Ferenc, Hertai ~~Jeno~~ Jeno, and many others. My favorites are novels and biographies. I have also read the works of Selma Lager, Eric Knight and Hemingway.
- (4d) I have read these because they represented a serious literary effort. They were not called literary jewels in vain. All these novels had a basis in reality. I didn't like the works of ~~Vesent~~ ^{VASZARY} Vesent.

Hungarian
proper
names

for instance while I was in Hungary. I liked to read the work of *KARINTI* ~~Konerty~~, Jules Verne, various descriptions of the Wild West, and the works of H.G. Wells.

- (4e) I usually went according to the title. Very often my mother would recommend books to me. We had a large ~~home~~ library at home, so I could pick and choose whatever I wanted.
- (4f) Yes. If I had to borrow a book from the library, I very often had to wait a few months for it.
- (5) Yes.
- (5b) We had two receivers in our house. We had a *Telefunken* ~~Telefunken~~ medium super, this receiver was used mostly by my parents. I also had an amateur short wave set, capable of receiving the whole world, which I built ^z myself,
- (5c) I listened to such programs as I could get, provided it corresponded to my ~~mom~~ momentary mood. If I wanted to listen to the concert I would tune ~~in~~ in to the stations Budapest, Vienna, or Salzburg. If I wanted dance music, I selected Leipzig, Berlin, *Ljubljana, Maribor* Novisad, ~~Lubiana, Marieburg~~ or Belgrade. My requirements in jazz were provided by the Air Force Radio Broadcasting Network broadcasting from Frankfurt-am-Main.
- (5d) I usually listened to classical ~~o~~ music, and dance music. There were also a great number of excellent ~~pr~~ programs on the Budapest radio.
- (5e) Time devoted to my radio listening varied a great deal. Often, if I had to study a subject I did not ~~like~~ like, I would tune in the radio at the same time. This was particularly true of

studying Marxism. I had no delineated time schedule for radio listening. I used the radio whenever I felt like it.

- (5f) I listened to the radio both at home and at other places. Every night, I would invariably tune in to the frequencies 29.3141, where the program, entitled "Music of the U.S.A.", was one of my favorites.
- (5g) My favorite programs were dance music, varieties, and a musical program of the Budapest Radio entitled ~~Magyar Rádió~~ Esztrad. This was a balanced musical program consisting of classical, light and ballet music.
- (6) Yes.
- (6b) I have already enumerated a number of foreign radio stations. Besides those enumerated, I should like to mention the B.B.C., the French Radio, various West German radio stations and Radio Moscow.
- (6c) I enjoyed listening to these because their programs were different. Foreign radio programs presented a greater variety than the domestic ones. The Hungarian radio broadcasts only occasionally good Western dance music.
- (6d) It varied a great deal. When I had time, and when I was disposed to do so.
- (6e) Some were good, some were bad, some were mediocre. It all depends on the point of view and what one is looking for. I sat down turning my tuner until I found something that was to my liking.
- (6f) There were some, whose reporting was relatively trustworthy. That was the case with Radio London, Radio Paris, and West German

stations that were broadcasting to their own people. Radio Free Europe would not fall into this category.

- (7) One was obliged to attend these.
- (7b) I attended meetings of the DISZ, meetings in connection with various holidays, or celebrations. I also attended the opening and closing festivities during the school year.
- (7c) I was obliged to attend these meetings. But there were occasions when I went voluntarily. I would attend voluntarily the festivities on March 15th, or October 5th. As far as the others are concerned, there was an obligation to attend.
- (7d) As far as we could, we were trying to delay the DISZ meetings. We usually had two such meetings during a year. The other festivities were circumstantial, they did not occur regularly.
- (7e) It all depended on the type of the meeting. A DISZ meeting would begin with the report of the secretary. After the secretary had read his report, other people would take the ~~main~~ rostrum and make some comments on the report. If the meeting was called for a special occasion, in commemoration of ^{an event} ~~an anniversary~~ a personality, then the meeting would consist of the reading of reports and speeches commemorating and praising the event or the personality.
- (7f) The DISZ meetings were organized at the school by the university.
- (7g) Some meetings lasted only two minutes, some others two days.
- (7h) During most of the meetings the participants bored themselves to death. There were other meetings, that were important either in their nature, or in their scope or both. Meetings, ~~was~~ where universal problems were discussed ~~and solved~~, usually did not bring any tangible results.

- (7i) Yes. But if there were too many commentaries at a given meeting, the attending public exerted all sorts of indirect pressures on these commentators, with a view to keeping the number of commentators down. Generally speaking, meetings that were called to discuss local issues, problems of the university for instance, were very interesting and had a very good effect. Other~~s~~ meetings, the scope of which were either national or international, were watered down propaganda demonstrations. A DISZ meeting was capable of exerting considerable influence on the schools,^{and} on the director of the university.
- (7j) Some one would usually take the rostrum and suggest a temporary ~~president~~^{chairman}. This was followed by the report of the secretary. This was followed by the various elections. It all depended on the type of the meeting, on the type of the question or questions on hand. Sometimes committees would be formed and these committees would make their reports.
- (8) Of course.
- (8a) All sorts of information was printed there.
- (8b) Everybody was a news carrier.
- (8c) This is a difficult question. I can't think of any concrete example at this moment.
- (8d) It is impossible to give a categorical answer to this question. It all depended on who said what.
- (8e) Their nature varied. Some reports were reliable, some others were not. One knew whom to believe and whom not to believe.
- (8f) I heard a great quantity of all sorts of rumors.

- (8g) Where ever rumors were told, in the school, at home, during social gatherings, on the elevators, etc.
- (8h) They met on the streets or on the elevators.
- (8i) Of course. But these people/^{either} did not say much about what they knew, or it was better not to listen to what they had to say.
- (8j) At home and at the place of employment.
- (8k) No.
- (8l) No.
- (9) I didn't turn to anyone to get this sort of information. But one knew who had very good information in this direction. I have practically never indulged in conversations with these ~~people~~ people. I was simply not interested in them. A physician was living above us in the same apartment house. He was working in the Party's ^C Central Headquarters. He never said a word about what he knew, but during the Revolution he would tell a great ~~many~~ number of stories to whomever would come there to listen to him. He probably did that ~~as~~ for self protection.
- (9a) I ~~returned~~ returned to my radio, and would listen to foreign radio broadcasts that were designed for home consumption.
- (9b) The Budapest radio was absolutely reliable in this respect. It was also very complete. One could pick up also such newspapers as the ~~Mab~~ "Nep Sport", "Sport", and others. ~~Mab~~ Sport became a great cult in Hungary.
- (9c) I don't really know.
- (10) It all depended on what sort of subject was reported on. The reliability accordingly would be somewhere between 20, 50 and 100%.

- (10a) One did not know, one only supposed or surmised what is true and what is false.
- (10b) It became somewhat more reliable. Critical viewpoints could be heard more often.
- (10c) Radios, in general, were the most reliable.
- (10^d) Information reaching us by word-of-mouth was the most unreliable.
- (10e) Foreign radio stations, French, German, English and others were more reliable than the native Hungarian.
- (10f) No. Very seldom. Not regularly.
- (10g) I was not a regular reader.
- (11) Some people yes, but not the majority.
- (11a) Those people who were curious by nature. Those who had plenty of time for this sort of thing.
- (11b) Those who worked hard and came home tired. The majority of the population. There was a very interesting program on the Budapest radio entitled, Saturday Afternoon. This program was started about three months before the Revolution. It consisted of a conversation between an engineer, a porter, a former merchant and his girl friend. I don't know whether it was a live presentation or a recording. At any rate it was excellent. These people talked to one another about every conceivable subject, ~~and~~ criticising every one and every thing very severely. The program had a tremendous success. It was terminated shortly before the Revolution, it was commented that even a good program, if it kept on very long, would become boring.
- (12) From the radio.

- (12a) This was the most comfortable way. One did not even have to read to get the information. And one did not have to pay for it.
- (12b) That was a very difficult task. Mostly from the radio, partially from the newspapers, at times.
- (12c) Only in a confused, cloudy way.
- (13) I have heard of them.
- (13a) Everybody spoke about them. I only knew that they were supposed to have been existing. I don't know if they really existed.
- (13b) I don't have the slightest idea. Korea touched me only insofar as I had to pay some 15 to 20 forints for the assistance of refugees. I have seen Korean young people, of about my age, whose hair turned grey and white. I could simply not understand, not believe, the story which was told us.
- (13c) I don't know.
- (13d) I don't know. All I know is that he was rehabilitated. There were a great number of such rehabilitations at the time. Some comic newspapers suggested at the time that allegedly guilty people should not be executed, they should rather be placed in a deep freeze compartment. This way they could easily be produced again, without much trouble, if they should be rehabilitated at a later date.
- (13e) Nothing at all. I don't know anything about it. There obviously is a German rearmament. Americans would be stupid indeed if they did not rearm the Germans. By the same token, the Russians would be very stupid, if they surrendered East Germany. It all depends on the viewpoint. If ~~what~~ ^{one} is capable to look at things from either end of the controversy, one is able to understand both sides.

- (13f) I don't know much about it. (Interviewers note: Respondent suddenly appeared to have remembered something, then continued.) I faintly remember that there was something, but I don't precisely know what.
- (13g) I know something about it, on the basis of word-of-mouth information. I knew that there were groups abroad who were bent on restoration.

- (1) A coalition government under the aegis and supervision of the United Nations, would have to take over the direction of events for the time being. This government would have to rule until such times when a permanent government is installed. It would have to be a coalition government, so as to ^rprevent any possibility of going to extremes. It would have to be under the UN, aegis and U.N. supervision in order to prevent the possibility of one group or another taking over the reigns.
- (1a) I would retain whatever was good from the present regime. There was much good in the educational system of the regime, and the system of scholarships. The principle of equality was also very good. There should be no titles, no exalted positions. I am very much in favor of a citizen democracy. One would have to retain also, provided the state finances would be able to carry them, all the social institutions provided by this regime, such as the system of inexpensive vacations, of health insurance, of old age pension, of state support for cultural developments, the many social benefits, and an all-out support of sports and physical education. All these things should be retained because they were good, because they have proved to be beneficial to ~~may~~ many people.
- (2) This simply cannot be done in Hungary. Every one must have the right to express his desire to form a political party, and then the parliament should decide whether or not such political party should be formed or not. If the formation of a party is permitted, such permission should be on a provisional basis, the Party being required to exist on a provisional basis. Only after the probationary period has passed should the Parliament be
- (continued on next page)

empowered to grant such party a continued absolute existence. This ~~preparatory~~ precautionary measure would be absolutely necessary because Hungarians are very ^{great} extremists. Take for instance the United States; here you have freedom of speech, and yet the existence of some party is simply not necessary.

(2b) I consider such solution as I have just outlined an ideal one, and a necessary one. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ After all, anyone and everyone may have some very ^{useful} ~~useful~~ ideas. He should be given a platform to propose to the general public.

(2c) I should say that the formation of all political parties should be subject to a parliament permission, or to the permission of some other controlling body. Permission and initial control during the probationary period is absolutely necessary.

(3) Generally speaking, yes. Here again I must say, there is no need to have extremists. Not everyone is able to make distinctions or to form his own opinions. A capable speaker may sway the masses as he pleases. If I ~~limit the~~ ^{Limit the} freedom of expression of some people, or if I take this right away altogether, only a few people suffer at the most. However, if I grant an absolute freedom of expression, there is a danger of thousands, perhaps millions suffering., as a result. If the government is a good government, a government that represents all the people, and has at its heart the problems of all the people, --something that probably never will be--such government should definitely have the right to set such limits of expressions.

- (3b) Yes, very definitely. The ruling class always reigns over the oppressed class or classes, and the government always is a representative of the ruling classes. Now, if the government is an ideal one, then nothing detrimental to such government should be permitted. The reason is very obvious; if the government is an ideal one, only idiots and perverse people would want to oppose it.
- (4) Yes, if the people, the population, is able to control itself, to ~~hold~~ ^{hold} itself under a strict inner discipline.
- (4a) If they rightfully attack the government, then yes. If the attack is not justifiable, the government will repress the attack anyway. I am only speaking of an ideal government, a government as I have defined it.
- (4b) If the people should rightfully attack their government, then that government is no longer an ideal government. The masses then are entitled to raise their fighting voices.
- (4c) Freedom of assembly represents the power of the people as against their government. As such it is very important.
- (4d) If the motivation, aims and the methods, of a government are good, then such government should be permitted to continue its operation. If, however, any of these is objectionable, then the government should be overturned.
- (4e) If the government uses its capacity, its power,--things that come to it from the people--then uses it against the people, then I would consider ^{that} a justifiable circumstance. If the government

misuses the confidence placed in it by the people, then the people have the right to take back the confidence placed in the government.

(5) Yes.

(5a) For a government to develop and prosper, it must have within its hands, not conditionally, but unconditionally, the direction of the industry.

(5b) These are two distinct ideas, representing two distinct things. It is impossible to give an answer to this question.

(5c) I am definitely in favor of a state direction, and a state control, but I do not favor nationalization of small businesses. Under the term small business I understand a firm employing no more than two hundred people, a small factory or some other small enterprise. For instance, in *Csepel*, the *former only* *Weiss-Manfred* complex should be definitely not under state control and direction ~~and~~, but it should be owned outright by the state.

(5d) No, I am not against private ~~property~~ ^{profits}. A capable and efficient man has a right to those profits, under certain conditions and within certain limitations. This is the actual case in England and in Sweden and these countries are fairly well off.

(6) The government must have under its absolute power a certain portion of everything. It is this absolute power of the government that gives it its strength. If we have an agrarian economy then the government must control a substantial portion of the land, if we have an economy like in Cuba, a sugar economy, then the government must control a substantial proportion of the sugar plantations and of the sugar industry, and so forth.

- (6a) It must be so, because the government obtains its power, its ~~strength~~ ^{strength} from these things. The government is not a profit-making organization, it does not ~~engage in~~ ^{engage in} speculation. The government in this way ~~does not~~ is capable of bringing about uniform conditions, of equalizing things. Under these conditions private citizens do not have state-destroying rights. Private citizens are not able to threaten the life of a government.
- (6b) State direction must be carried out under a system of centralization.
- (6c) Contrary to what the question assumes to be my answer, I am definitely in favor of very wide ranging state controls, not only in regard to light industry, but controls in every respect.
- (7) Naturally. State monopolies are absolutely important.
- (7a) This is one of the most important state incomes. Monopolies must be restricted, however, to certain items only.
- (7b) Offhand, I can only think of tobacco, *drugs*, and matches.
- (7c) Certain import monopolies are out of order. Regarding items that the state does not import itself, and that the state is not manufacturing itself, that is to say, if the duty would not constitute a protective tariff, then the state should not have monopoly on those items. Otherwise, protective duties should be as high as the government feels is necessary and right.
- (8) Planned economy has certain definite advantages. I am speaking here of a *loose*, elastic sort of planned economy. This is ~~not~~ necessary so that changes in the plan can be made at any time.

For instance, if the plan should be based on certain raw materials that must be imported, the plan should be flexible enough so that the economy could continue operating even if those imports did not materialize.

- (8a) Planned economy is necessary because everything operates on the basis of a plan. Without a plan we can do nothing at all.
- (8b) If the plan is a very precise one, very rigid with no flexibility, with no possibility of adjustments, then it has more disadvantages to it than it is possible to see in theory. No matter how accurate and precise a plan may be, it can only reach a certain precision in its execution. In a word, the plan should be based on actual situations, taking into consideration the human ~~fr~~ material and other factors available, and not the other way around.
- (8c) The experiences were valuable. There was good and there was bad in them.
- (8d) There is the danger of over-exactness, over precision, over organization, over rigidity. One has to plan every little detail. In an enormous economy like that of the United States, it is humanly impossible to devise an exact plan for the whole country. Here I am speaking of the economy of a small country, as small as Hungary. In a small country, one is capable of planning on a small basis, accurately, whereas in a big country one is able only to plan in outline or must divide the country into economic subgroups and devise a plan for each subgroup.
- (9) I am 100% in favor of it.

- (8a) Because these are public utilities, embracing common necessities which must never be exposed to the ~~will~~^{whim} of individual ~~plans~~^{plants} or of individual people.
- (9b) I would treat them all alike. More than that, I would include all sorts of public transportation, including buses, trolley cars, etc. Private cars, of course, should not be nationalized.
- (10) I am absolutely in favor of that. This tends to stabilize the position of the government. There is no danger in it whatsoever.
- (10a) All systems are a composite of freedom and security. While both elements are necessary, I would emphasize security at the expense of freedom.
- (11) Excepting private individual life, the state has a right to enter into whatever stage of life ~~they wish~~^{it wishes}.
- (11a) If this is an ideal government, and I am always assuming that, why shouldn't a government have the right to enter into whatever phase, ^{for instance}, on the basis of the *power* of the state, the police is allowed to go everywhere and prevent beatings and various other public disturbances.
- (11b) For instance the state has the right to break prices, to introduce maximum prices, to affect maximized rent control in order to provide even less fortunate people with housing opportunities.
- (12) Yes, naturally. Everyone should have equal obligation toward the state.
- (12b) I can't think of any specific obligations at the moment, but I shall settle for the obligations ^{as enumerated} in the Constitution. Those obligations outlined in the Constitution, sound always so good, appear always so ideal.

- Government.*
- (12f) No. I am speaking here, and always, of an ideal. I have such government in mind, where the obligations should be set forth in the Constitution. If the government should not be ideal, then, it will do everything it has the power to do, *anyway.*
- (13) No.
- (14) Definitely. A great improvement has taken place, having to do with the large masses. There was a great, a quantitative improvement, bringing with it, of necessity, a slight fall in quality. This quality, however, could be raised in time.
- (14a) Quality has fallen slightly.
- (14b) Now everybody receives medical attention, and everybody has the right to go to hospitals. It is true that there was an extra good sanitarium for high officials of the Party, but that sanitarium does not necessarily have the services of the best physicians at its disposal. If one was undergoing a serious operation, he was entitled to demand the best specialist available. This of course was not true in an emergency. If the operation was not of a serious nature, the patient could not demand that a University professor operate on him.
- (14c) Private physicians will rob you as much as they can. A private physician treats his patient only in order to treat him, in order to keep his power over the patient as long as possible. In a sense to overcomplicate things even if there is no complication on hand. In a clinic there is an absolute disinterestedness.

The physician does not get more or less no matter what he does. I must say however, that even in clinics, there were various degrees of attention available.

- (14d) Hospital and medical insurance are absolutely necessary. There is nothing wrong with the idea of insurance, the way it is carried out now is bad. It is limited, it tends to be a business. The insurance we have is far superior to the one we had before the war. It embraces a much larger crowd, and the ^{STK}dues are paid for entirely by the employers.
- (15) Yes, the people have much more opportunity ^{it} now.
- (15a) There are more movies, theaters available. ~~the original~~ ^{Because} admission tickets are much cheaper. ~~because~~ ^{Because} by pamphlets, descriptions, and cultural information, even those who were less cultured, were made to understand the plot, the significance, and the cultural value of plays. Every peasant boy nowadays is able to sing the more common operatic songs. The Hungarian film industry has provided an innumerable number of copies of all its films.
- ~~As a result~~ As a result, the same movies were presented throughout the land at the same time. Peasants in the most obscure little villages in the country were able to see the same presentation as the people in Budapest, at the same time. A great effort was made to build theatres in every single Hungarian locality. Capable theatrical ~~troupe~~ ^{troupe} would visit outlying districts and present shows there. These ~~troupe~~ ^{troupe} theatrical ~~troupe~~ ^{troupe} were ~~troupe~~ ^{troupe}

equipped with large buses that carried all their equipment. Even if there were no theatres available, very often something could be improvised if no where else, perhaps somewhere in the open. This was indeed a very successful activity.

(15b) My case is of no importance in this respect. I had ample opportunity to go to the movies, and would have been able to do so 20 years ago if I had been born earlier, but we are speaking here of the large masses.

(15c) Of course this is very important. The more cultured a person is, the better he can understand his surroundings, and the world he lives in. Then again, life is much easier to endure with cultured people.

(15d) One can hardly make definitions in this respect. There would be wide differences even in the smallest group. It depends on the man, on his personality. It certainly wasn't a question of finances. If one was not able to attend evening performances, one could very well afford matinee performances in the opera house. The most you paid there for a good seat was one forint fifty to two forints, or perhaps even less. On various occasions even free performances were given.

(15e) People do avail themselves of this opportunity more often than not. This is one of the reasons why we have such a great cultural revolution. By the cultural revolution I mean a revolutionary change in the cultural attitude, tastes and desires of the great masses. All this has taken place after the war.

(15f) Everybody can afford it, who can spare the time. This is definitely not a question of money. One was able to buy tickets for an opera

series, covering performances for the entire season, ten performances in all. Ticket series of ten were sold for 40 forints at the minimum and ~~and~~ 150 forints at the maximum on a time payment basis. If one purchased a series he paid the amount in 8 equal monthly instalments. Theatrical tickets were even somewhat cheaper than those for the opera.

- (16) I can't draw any comparison between the present and, say, 1940 and 1946, because I was too small at the time.
- (16c) People probably do eat better now than they did in 1950.
- (16d) It depended on the amount of money everybody made. This again was dependent in many cases upon the person, on the individual, on the personality. There were workers who made more than an engineer did. There were those who preferred ~~minimum~~ alcoholic beverages to food. There were responsible people and there were irresponsible people.
- (16e) It is absurd to even imagine that one is able to make generalizations here. These are questions of detail, if one wanted to make definitive studies in this respect, one would have to write volumes. There were so many factors involved that one cannot make any generalizations.
- (17) There are two groups in Hungary today. One is a group whose members ^{here} ~~had it~~ better, ^{off} say, in 1940, these people have it worse now. Members of the other group were much worse off in 1940, they are better off now. Instead of having two extreme standards, a very high and a very low standard, now practically every one is on the same standard, at a level somewhat above the previous low standard.

- (17d) I base my opinions on my own experiences, and on what I have seen with my own eyes.
- (17e) Again I must say that I cannot compartmentalize the Hungarian population in this respect. A medium low has been achieved, whereby the level, absolutely speaking, has been raised somewhat.
- (18) Yes, very much so.
- (18a) A very great expansion of the Hungarian industrial capacity has taken place.
- (18b) The expansion was not advantageous in every respect, but generally speaking it was of much advantage. Some expansion has taken place in places where there was none before it. ^{It} ~~Kinda~~ is useless ~~and~~ senseless to manufacture a product that, if we could ~~use~~ use it, will cost us at least ten times as much as the price we would pay for an imported product of the same quality. In many cases, we could have gotten the imported product even cheaper than that.
- (18c) I believe I have spoken about these things when I expressed my views regarding the Hungarian industry in some detail.
- (19) I am in favor of retaining, and maintaining, to a certain degree, the institution of cooperative farms. I am basing this view of mine on the proposition of the existence of an ideal government. The present ratio of cooperative farms to independent farms is 95 to 5. I would change this ratio to 80 to 20, that is to ~~say~~ say, I would permit an individual farmer to retain for his own purposes, to do with it as he pleases, 20 percent of his holdings. I would require him to surrender 80 percent of his holdings to the cooperative farms, to be cultivated in common, and proceeds *to be distributed among the members*

in the ratio of original investment. There were a great many cooperative farm enterprises, that operated to everybody's satisfaction. I envision here a system of agriculture under state control and supervision, where the state would have the right to set general policy for the farm enterprises, but would have no right to requisition any of its produce.

(19a)

I would retain these cooperative farm enterprises, assuming that they came into being as a result of the voluntary action of the peasants forming them. I would change the ratio of private holdings and communal holdings in these enterprises to 20 to 80, as explained above. Small farmers, who for whatever reason, ~~who~~ refused to join the cooperatives ~~in~~ should be permitted to continue on an independent basis. It is assumed here that, all the advantages being with the communal farmers, individual holders would sooner or later give up voluntarily their private holdings. I would permit communal farmers to retain 20 percent of their holdings, in the form of vegetable and flower gardens, or perhaps some small vineyards around their house.

(19b)

No.

(19d)

The approximate ratio of 20 to 80 should be maintained here. It should be stipulated however, that farmers would retain only those machines and those animals that are required for ^{their} ~~his~~ family's subsistence. For example, a farmer would retain as many cows as is necessary to supply his whole family with milk. But a farmer should not be permitted to produce milk on a

commercial basis.

- (19f) The ratio of 20 to 80 applies here too.
- (19g) Assuming that a small landholder or kulak would not want to join the cooperative, a portion of his former landholdings should be returned to him. He should not be permitted to hold more land, however, than needed for his own reasonable self-sufficiency, so that he should in no event be able to assert economic pressure on his neighbors.
- (19h) Of course.
- (19i) If the cooperative works ~~much~~ efficiently, every member of the cooperative should reap benefits from it. The cooperative is also a great advantage to the general public, the produce coming from the ~~many~~ cooperatives being much cheaper. Under the regime the cooperatives were able to market all their produce, 70 to 75 percent ~~much~~ cheaper than independent farmers.
- (20) I would retain the tractor stations as they are. I would only stipulate that every ~~small~~ farmer should have equal rights and equal opportunity to use them. This was not always the case under the present regime.
- (20d) I don't know.
- (20e) Mechanized agriculture is definitely a desired state. One is able to produce more at cheaper prices that way. ^{There} ~~is~~ is a general trend toward automation in every branch of life. This is progress, and progress is inevitable even in agriculture.
- (21) Their rights should amount to ⁴⁹ ~~59~~ percent. That is to say they should have much to say in it, but should not have an absolute right ~~to~~ to determine things. Workers are not trained to do

that sort of thing, and simply are not able to direct and manage a factory.

- (21a) Labor unions should be labor unions only. They should ~~defend~~ defend the rights of the workers against everybody, including the government, but they should never enter politics.
- (21b) They should ~~have~~ be completely independent of the government. The government should retain only the power to control the over all management of the labor unions.
- (21c) Yes. Membership in labor union organizations should be definitely compulsory. This is necessary so that individuals should not be able to sell themselves short, out of ignorance, or wilfully, to anybody.
- (21d) Dues amounted to between 2 and 5 percent of the base pay.
- (21e) This was not a really great expenditure.
- (21f) It all depends on how they function. In the form as they now exist or existed, they amounted to practically nothing. A high sounding name, with nothing really in it. (The actual expression used: Hungarian *Nesze semmi, fogd meg jól.*)
- (21g) I don't really know. The whole thing did not have time to crystallize. There was no time for real organization. As far as I know, the idea of the organization was based on a Yugoslavian prototype.
- (21h) Perhaps. This is a big question mark. It is hard to say anything on that because I am not familiar with how they work in Yugoslavia.
- (21i) The plant director and the chief engineer ^{ought to} managed the plant. They should be responsible to an authority controlling that

individual or several plants, whatever the case may be.

- (22) Let them enjoy themselves. (The actual expression used: Hungarian *Éljék világukat*). Interviewer's note: This was a spontaneous expression on the part of the respondent. Then he continues: They should be subject to individual examination. If they caused any harm to anything or to anybody, then they should be ~~be~~ tried and punished on an individual basis.
- (22a) No.
- (22b) Their past should be subjected to individual investigation. Those guilty should be punished, those not guilty should be let free.
- (22c) As above.
- (22d) As above.
- (22e) This was really a laugh. It really did not amount to anything at all. It only existed so that there could be some such thing also.
- (22f) There should be an individual investigation. Those guilty should be punished, the others should be let free.
- (22g) Everybody should be subjected to some sort of an investigation. If some people should be found guilty, they should be tried on an individual basis and sentenced according to the merits of each individual's case. The trials, of course, should be conducted by a neutral judicial body.
- (22h) ~~Even~~ Lynching was very much the mode of the day. Of course there was no time to conduct judicial inquiries.
- (23) The level of Hungarian education was at least as high as

that of education in Europe anywhere. The reason for this is fairly obvious. Every regime depends for its continued existence on highly trained specialists. The regime did everything to attain this goal. A very great emphasis was laid on the education of children and young people.

(23a)

I don't know.

(23b)

The first eight years of the elementary education are ~~mandatory~~ universally obligatory. Generally speaking everybody obtained some sort of a secondary education also. If one was not able to go to the ⁱGymnasium, he still has a chance to go to some technical schools or to take advantage of the apprentice institutions. Entrance to the university was subject to many restrictions.

(23c)

The system of the eight primary grades was good. As ~~many~~ regards secondary and university education, these should be improved and expanded, so as to enable a larger mass of people to attend them.

(23d)

Yes, I believe it is ~~an~~ extremely important. Culture is one of the basic prerequisites of life. This is true both from the point of view ~~an~~ of the individual as well as from the point of view of the state and of the society at large.

(24)

State and church should be absolutely separated. Religion should be a private concern of the individual.

(24a)

Yes.

(24c)

No.

(24d)

No. Those who want to receive religious instruction, should be given all possibilities to do so.

(24e)

No. That is none of the church's business.

(25)

In this connection I believe it is important to mention the Battle of Mohács, that took place in 1526. Further, the Battle of Nándor Fehérvár (The Glorious Victory of Hunyadi against the Turks) fought at Belgrade; the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the mere fact that it existed, the events of 1848, the events of 1914, the events of 1919, the events of 1939, and the events of 1945. Hungary's contributions to Western culture are immense. Our contributions were great in the field of music, literature, sciences, and art. Let me off hand mention such names as Liszt, Bartok, Goldmark, Molnár, Vörösmarthy, Arany János, Irinyi János and the invention of matches, Yedlik János and the invention of the dynamo, Déri Blathi Zippánovsk^ei and the invention of transformers. (Interviewer's note: the last name consists of three separate surnames belonging to one and the same individual). Kandó Kárlmán and the invention of electric trains, Professor Szentgyörgyi Albert and the invention of C vitamins, Eötvös Lóránt and the invention (in Hungarian) of torzius inga. One must also not forget the sports. It is noteworthy to mention here that Hungary was able to maintain third place in the Olympics for the third consecutive time. In certain fields of sports, Hungary ~~was~~^{has} retained a commanding position throughout. To return to the arts, one must mention such names as Munkácsy Szinyei-Merse, Zala György, and the Kolosvári brothers.

(26)

It is impossible for me to answer this question for the

simple reason that I have experienced only one type of government.

- (26a) As far as I can state on the basis of historical studies, Hungary's lot under the Hapsburgs was miserable.
- (26b) I believe it is a mistake to assume that ~~emigration~~ emigration took place under the Hapsburgs. The emigration happened at a ^{later} ~~later~~ day, between 1920 and 1925. A great many peasants emigrated at that time because they lived under terrible conditions in Hungary.
- (26c) Yes. There was the most extreme sort of feudalism in Hungary.
- (26d) This was a very bad situation. It was bad in every respect. A very small minority ruled over a very large majority. This majority was obliged to live under miserable conditions.
- (26e) I don't know.
- (26f) Yes. There were great social, ethnic and racial differences.
- (26g) Hungary should have remained neutral. But Hungary could not have remained neutral. But the leaders of Hungary should have permitted ~~the country~~ the country to be run down by the Germans. It is significant in this respect to recall the pact of eternal friendship concluded between Hungary and Yugoslavia shortly before the invasion of Yugoslavia by both Germans and Hungarians. This treaty was concluded by the then *Miniszter*-President Apponyi Albert, who had later taken his life. (Interviewer's note; reference here is made to Count Teleki, the then Prime Minister of Hungary. It may have been ignorance or just a slip of the tongue on the part of the respondent.)
- As it was, Hungary remained loyal to the Germans to the last,

thereby becoming the last German satellite, and as such she was forced to take all the consequences. If Hungary had been run down by the Germans, her situation in Eastern Europe and her situation in the world in general would have been different.

(26h)

This was a transitory period for Hungary. She gradually began to recover from her war wounds and began to make a normal life again after the war. One can't make comparisons to what was before that, or, what was to come after that, for a very obvious reason. To use an analogy, Hungary^a was just a patient who has been operated on in a hospital. One doesn't very well compare the patient to his former healthy days nor to his state after a complete recovery has been effected.

(27)

I don't think so.

(28)

Political boundaries aren't absolutely necessary. The idea of the Balkan Federation was one of Kossuth's favorite ideas. This today may sound somewhat utopistic; but in some other fashion the essence of it could be brought ~~in~~ about. For example, we might want to copy what Bismarck did during the German unification.

(28^b)

Political boundaries are not necessary because they are ridiculous. They are nonsensical both from the political as well as from the economic point of view.

(28c)

Because Hungary participated on the wrong side in the Second World War she now had ~~no~~ no right to demand territorial rectifications. Strictly speaking, Hungary does have the right to demand all those territories that once belonged to her.

I am referring here to the pre-Trianon Hungary. And I am basing my opinions on the historical right of Hungary to these territories. (Interviewer's note: to clarify things to my own satisfaction I asked the question whether respondent meant or interpreted this historical right in such a manner as to include all Hungarian territories that belonged to her before the outbreak of the First World War: Reply: What I mean is the Hungary of St. Stephen.)

(28d)

Transylvania, Croatia, Dalmatia, the City of Fiume, the territories now belonging to Czechoslovakia (the actual expression used was Hungarian *Felvidék*), the territory of *Delvidék* in Yugoslavia, (the actual expression used was *Bánát, Bácska*), and Burg^{er}oland (Respondent here was referring to a small territory now belonging to Austria.)

(28e)

I don't know.

(28f)

Between Hungary and some other peoples, yes.

(28g)

A great antipathy is felt ~~in Hungary~~ toward the Rumanians. I don't think it is a natural condition, it was in the interest of some elements ~~in Hungary~~ in pre-war Hungary to bring this antipathy about. This, then, is a human-made antipathy, similar to the situation that exists today on the Island of Cyprus.

(28h)

I don't know.

(28i)

I don't know.

(28j)

Hungarians and Rumanians do not get along very well in Rumania.

Hungarians living there are oppressed, they do not live on an equal footing politically, economically or socially with the Rumanians.

(28k)

They get along fairly well.

(28l)

Our relationship with Yugoslavia is not the most ideal one. The Serbians are an awful bunch. From the point of view of the Hungarians, the Serbians have committed a great number of mean things. The same thing applies to the Croats. There are a great many Hungarians living on Yugoslav territory today whose situation is similar to that of Hungarians living in Rumania.

(28m)

There was no Jewish problem in Hungary up until 1938. The whole Jewish problem is the result of the Second World War. One cannot speak of relationships between Hungarians and Jews as such. There may be individual Hungarians who cultivate a hostile attitude. On the whole, however, there are no problems.

(28n)

Naturally.

(29)

There should be no unification of states, political unification must be recognized as an impossibility at this time. I am in favor, however, of an economic union between these states. Certain steps have already been taken to bring this condition about. The KGST organization has already worked in this direction.

(29a)

Member nations should be on equal footing, both in respect ~~in-respect~~ to their mutual rights as well as in respect to their mutual obligations.

(29b)

An attempt should be made here to bring about a self-sufficient

economic unit. Some sort of a supra national economic directing body could be organized, with a view to establishing a common market, abolishing whatever trade barriers there may be between the states, and synchronizing the various economic activities of the individual states.

- (29c) Hungary should be a full fledged member of this organization. She should have rights and obligations just like everybody else.
- (29d) I have in mind here not a political union but only an economic one.
- (30) Russians are people just like every other people. No better, and no worse. Russians are not bad people. As a people, and as individuals, they have given a great amount of help and assistance to many Hungarians. It is the Russian government that I detest, the ruling circle of Russia is the group that I am here rejecting.
- (30a) Very definitely. There are good Russians and there are bad Russians, just as there are good and bad in every people, every nationality.
- (30b) Yes.
- (30c) No.
- (30d) No.
- (30e) Attitudes were mixed then. And the extent of variation differed from individual to individual. There were those that were pleased that the siege of Budapest had at last ended.
- (30f) At that time we did not dare think about anything at all.
- (30g) We did not do a great deal of thinking at that time about the

Russians.

- (31) Marxism, on paper, is a noble dream. But it remains ~~as~~ ^{a dream} only as long, as it is a set of principles on paper. As soon as the principles are put to work in practice, the dream vanishes quickly.
- (31a) This is a very involved and difficult question. Off hand, I should say that I am in ~~a~~ favor of certain theoretical parts of it, I am also in favor of its analysis of the mistakes of the civilizations that existed thus far. There are a great number of contradictions in it. The number of these contradictions is very large indeed. It definitely was not invented for Hungarians.
- (31c) Marxism was a required course in the university. I studied it.
- (31d) I studied Marxism in the university for 1½ years.
- (31e) I don't really know. They did not change it very much. They did not dare to. And this was the mistake. Some changes, and some other adaptations would obviously have been necessary for the Hungarian scene.
- k(31g) I don't know.
- (31h) Stalin was a good Stalinist, that is for sure.
- (31i) In certain particulars, yes. Marxists, however, do not think of Social Democrats as Marxists.
- (31j) No.
- (31k) I don't know. Democracy is definitely not Marxism. What it really is, I don't as yet know.
- (31l) I don't know. I lived only under one ~~system~~ system. I can't make comparisons.
- (31m) Tito is the impersonation of ^a Marxian democrat, who is neither

a Marxist nor a democrat. And this is very bad. He would like to reap benefits ~~in~~ from both sides at the same time. I don't like Tito at all.

(32)

National Communism, this is only Tito. This can be only Tito. I don't know what National Communism really means. One's views are either national and then one is not a Communist, or one is a Communist and he cannot be a nationalist. Communism and internationalism belong together. One cannot take away the ingredient of internationalism from the essence of Communism. National Communism⁺, to my mind, is a man who ~~maintains~~ tries to turn and twist Communistic ideology in such a way, that it is based on, and it agrees with, national characteristics of a people. In other words, a National Communist would want to ^{adapt} ~~accept~~ Communism to his own requirements, make it agreeable with the characteristics and peculiarities of his own people.

(32a)

I don't know. There were some, but not in great numbers.

(32b)

I don't know.

(32c)

I am not familiar with Gomulka's policies. Gomulka is also a man with two faces. (Actual Hungarian expression used: *Kétkulacsos politikus*). Gomulka is afraid of the Russians so he retains his Communist mask. At the same time he is very desirous of obtaining dollar assistance.

(32d)

Most probably yes.

(32e)

It is conceivable. It depends on the individual. It depends on how broadminded an individual is. If one's mind is broad enough, he could probably ~~maintain~~ maintain the two principles side by side ~~in~~ at the same time.

(33)

I don't know. One was in no position to determine this.

I don't think Imre Nagy would have remained long in power anyway.

(33a)

I don't know.

(34a)

Socialism is trying to bring about equality. It wants to bring about a Utopian way of life, that is too good to be possible. It is an idea that strives for the ideal. It is something that never was, is not existent now, and never will be. I must here categorically state that socialism is not identical with Marxism. Socialism is a wonderful principle, it is good but not in the Russian form.

(34b)

Colonialism represents a system of exploitation of one man by another. As such it is ~~inherently~~ intrinsically ~~morally~~ evil.

(34c)

Class struggle is a social phenomenon, not a social form. It is a term denoting some sort of a struggle between two or more classes for supremacy. Since it is not a form, but rather a phenomenon, one cannot pass judgment on whether it is good or bad. The struggle itself if it means war, is bad.

(34d)

This is just a phrase. No one knows what Popular Front really is. It does not ~~make~~ make any sense.

(34e)

Imperialism is world rule by one power. It may be equated with colonialism. It is intrinsically evil because ~~it~~ it signifies oppression of one people by another.

(34f)

Peace Movement is a negation of war. It is a belief that things may be straightened out between nations. As such it is good.

(34g)

Capitalism is good if it is managed wisely. If capitalism is what I see here, then, on the basis of my experiences thus far,

I am willing to make an *Ausgleich* with it ~~view~~. If, on the other hand, capitalism is what I read about in Marxist books, then, I must shiver on hearing the phrase.

- (34h) Bourgeoisie represents provincial outlook, narrow mindedness, the ~~unimportant~~ preoccupation with small, unimportant problems of life. As such I consider it bad.
- (35) I don't know. I do suppose individuals do take differing viewpoints in these matters.
- (36)(a) The same.
- (36b) More.
- (36c) The same.
- (36d) Less.
- (36e) Less.
- (36f) Less.
- (36g) More.
- (36h) Much more.
- (36i) More.
- (36j) The same.
- (36k) Less.
- (36l) Less.
- (37a) I don't know.
- (37b) They were worse off.
- (37c) They were worse off.
- (37d) They were better off.
- (37e) The same.
- (37f) They were better off.
- (37g) They were worse off.

- (37h) They were worse off.
- (37i) There weren't any.
- (37j) Better off.
- (37k) They were better off.
- (37l) They were better ~~and~~ off. I base my opinions on what I have heard from other people, and on what I have studied in schools.
- (38a) Interests contrary.
- (38b) Interests identical.
- (38c) Interests contrary.
- (38d) Interests id~~entical~~.
- (38e) Interests id~~entical~~.
- (38f) Interests identical.
- (38g) Interests contrary.
- (38h) Yes.
- (38i) Interests contrary.
- (38j) Interests contrary.
- (38k) Interests ~~and~~ contrary.
- (39) That all depends. If one is a soldier, he is a machine. A soldier will fight whatever the goal may be. The reaction of civilians, of course, would be different. People whose livelihood and life depend on the ~~present~~ present regime, people who would have to fear for their lives if there were a change in the regime, would of necessity want to defend the regime. This, of course, is just a ^{wild} ~~wide~~ generalization.
- (39a) Who would fight against whom, is a very hypothetical question. It would depend on a great number of factors, one of the most important of these being the question as to what regime would follow the present one. §

- (1) No.
- (1a) I think it was rather interesting. It was quite an experience for me, I never had to answer so many questions, before.
- (1b) If you interview people, who not only represent a fair cross section of the Hungarian population, but also have some knowledge of things, that is to say if they are people who know what they are talking about, then your Project will be a success.
- (1c) I should like to ask you to try to be very discriminating in your selection of respondents. If you are talking to farmers, people coming from obscure little villages, they'll tell you an endless story with little or no substance to it at all. I think you should concentrate on intellectuals, and in particular on university students. I should also like to warn you not to permit people to enter into the discussion of useless details. You will get no positive results from such detailed discussion.
- (1d) I don't think you will always get honest replies from your respondents. When you come to the critical questions, many a man will be afraid to give you an honest answer. They will either not tell you anything at all, or else speak of generalities, or tell you what he thinks he ought to tell you. People will be afraid that, if they give you their honest opinions on matters, they will be branded Communists. To avoid this, I would recommend that, before you start the interview with any respondents, you should enter into a personal discussion with him regarding general matters, so as to

- (1e) permit him to feel you out and to get generally acquainted. I should like to remind you here that an immense amount of material is available for your purposes in official Hungarian Communist publications. You should also consult Russian books: in general and Russian books on Hungary in particular. Regarding Hungarian books I could cite you here a few that I remember. Titles of the books: (in Hungarian) 'ötves tervünk; Béketerv. Tervhivatali Kiadás Budapest, Szikra, 1950 or 1951. Rákosi Beszédok, ~~but~~ this has many editions, published by Szikra in Budapest. Another book, Népi Demokrácia Fejlődésének tíz esztendeje, I don't ~~know~~ know who the author is, possibly Rákosi, published by Szikra, Budapest.
- (2) I believe we have covered everything very thoroughly.
- (2a) Yes. I should like to return to Hungary in the capacity of a visitor. Not permanently, however.
- (3a) I should suggest that you consult books that I have mentioned above. Also there must be a number of other books and pamphlets that would be ideal for this purpose. I don't remember their titles off hand, but if these books should be available in any New York library, or in the university library, I should be able to point them out to you. You could also consult Hungarian newspapers, particularly the numbers of Szabad Nép. You could also consult the periodical entitled Tartós Békéért, Népi Demokrácia ért. This is a common periodical, published for the benefit of all the satellite countries, I believe, in Prague, and is available in all the satellite languages.

(3b)

No.

(3d)

Yes, I do have someone that I would recommend for an interview.

I have given the interviewer his name and his address.

(Interviewer's note: I have the name and the address, I did not want to make the name part of this record.)

WUS-2

Interviewer's rating of ~~WUS-2~~: A male university student, 20 years old, a former resident of the City of Budapest, son of a prosperous, if not well to do, mechanical engineer. *His father apparently* ~~In appearance he had~~ a very high and influential technical position in Hungary. He is surprisingly well informed, particularly in economic and political matters. A very intelligent, idealistic, and sensitive young man, who ~~in~~ apparently never had enough opportunity to view life in its more brutal aspects. He admits to having been a Communist in his early youth and that he accepted whatever was told to him until he reached the age of 14. He has spent his most formative years in public schools in Hungary, where he was exposed, to a great extent, to Communist influences. He claims to have abandoned Communism in his 15th year, but the general tone of his responses would indicate, that, perhaps ~~some~~ unconsciously, he still follows the Party Line in many respects. I view him as a man who was betrayed in his ideals, and was not able to reorientate himself since then. He is at the moment in a state of confusion, not knowing what to retain and what to throw out from what he once believed to have been true. There can be little question regarding his honesty, his answers are, I believe, representative of what

he thinks. His thinking, of course, is not always clear, this is indicated by the many negative replies he gave me in the last part of the interview. He was very sensitive to Question No. 28m and n, in Interview Section I, having to do with the Jewish question. This sensitivity was also apparent when Question No. 24 and its subsections of Interview Section I came up for discussion. There he vehemently ~~stated~~^{denied} that religion plays any important part in the life of present day ^{Hungarian} ~~Hungary~~ youth. He categorically stated that this was not only his personal view, but that ^{he} ~~it~~ represented Hungarian youth in general as such.