

- (1) I believe the West ought to get acquainted first of all with the Hungarian system in general. It should know its aims and the methods it proposes to use to accomplish those aims.
- (2) a. The discussions that took place at the *Petőfi Circle* definitely brought the whole question to the surface. These discussions took place about one and a half or two months before the beginning of the Revolution.
- (2b) Yes. The ~~head~~^{head} of the system died, the direction of the system fell to various hands, and this splitting up of the direction definitely brought about the general relaxation.
- (2c) Yes. Imre Nagy was considered to have been the Hungarian Gomulka. The multitudes sympathized with what he wanted to accomplish and retained of him an idealized picture.
- (2d) The Hungarians looked upon ~~as~~ this return of good relationships between Belgrade and Moscow as an indication of the briefness of the Russians, *stay in Hungary*.
- (2e) The twentieth Communist Congress was perhaps the greatest single contributing factor to what happened subsequently. The opening speech, that was so characteristic of the Congress, was copied throughout the land. What subsequently happened at the *Petőfi Circle* should be looked upon as a direct consequence of the events, as they happened at the twentieth Congress. Party secretaries throughout the land received instructions from their higher-ups that free speech henceforth will have to be permitted. And everyone took full use of this unique opportunity.

Respondent used the following Hungarian expression.: *Mindenki*
 events *teljeskörrel követelt.*

- (2f) The ~~only~~ in Posnegn are to be considered as consequences of the events ~~in Hungary that took place~~ prior to that. In other words it was the Hungarian events that stimulated the events in Posnegn. But Poland ~~preceeded~~ Hungary in ~~same~~ phase.
- (2g) This is an organic part of the whole. As a result of Stalin's death, the government in Russia was taken over by a ~~clique~~ clique. This clique could not, for obvious reasons, tolerate the existence in Hungary of a group that had slightly different ideologies. Therefore, the Russians put aside ~~Rakosky~~ Rakosky in order to show the Hungarian people that there is a general change in the whole Soviet orbit. It is significant that at the time of Rakosky's dismissal Kadar was only an obscure little Party secretary in the thirteenth precinct of the city of Budapest.
- (2h) Yes, I believe this must be placed at November the 4th.
- (2i) We expected it. After the twentieth Congress we definitely expected a radical political change.
- (3) There was a general discontentment, especially after the twentieth Congress, when this discontentment took on visual characteristics. This discontentment was primarily economic in nature. In this connection I should like to mention the Hungarian uranium ore. Everyone spoke about it, and everyone assumed that Hungary had a great deal of this ore. Now if Hungary really had great quantities of such ore, that of course meant that Hungary could prosper

economically. Such prosperity, however, could be brought about only if Hungary became an independent country. This same ^{question} ~~opinion~~ was voiced at a meeting held on the 22nd of October by students at the Budapest Institute of Technology. ~~There~~ ^{was} a large group of students who have previously been members of the DISZ (this is an abbreviation of the Hungarian terms Demokratikus ifj. szervezet) /

- Students who have been members of this student organization, have abandoned the DISZ and formed a separate students' organization of their own. The first such student organization was organized in the city of ~~Budapest~~ ^{Szeged}. Members of this group came up from ~~Budapest~~ ^{Szeged} to Budapest in order to organize a similar group there. I assume here that these students had serious facts about the Hungarian uranium ore. This happened on a Monday. The Budapest student meeting ended at around 10:30 or 11:00 P.M. It was decided at that meeting that a student demonstration should take place the following day or the day after. So it was then that students marched the following day or the day thereafter to the statue of ~~Joseph Bem~~ ^{Bem}. (Interviewer's note: The statue of ~~Bem~~ ^{Bem} was in memory of a famous Polish general who had participated in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 ~~staged~~ ^{staged} against Austria. ^{Bem's} ~~Bem's~~ role in the Hungarian Revolution was similar to the French Lafayette's role in the American Revolution.) During the forenoon of the 23rd there was a meeting of workers in the "Standard Works" of Budapest. This plant was located on the ~~Fehervari~~ ^{Fehervari} road. The Standard plant specialized in the production of elec-

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tric motors and ^{of} various electronic devices, radios and other things. This meeting of the workers actually got out of hand somewhat, and even some machines were destroyed. Now the students already knew of this workers' meeting and they also knew as to what was decided there. Liaisons were established between the various universities and factories some weeks before the Technical Institute meeting.

(3c)

It so happened that the government permitted a student demonstration at this time. If this permission had not gotten through at that particular time, the Revolution definitely would not have taken place at that time. The Ministry of Interior actually refused at first to grant such permission, but it reversed itself within an hour. The formal aim of the student demonstration was the expression of sympathy for the Poles at the ~~Rosen~~ ^{Bem} statue.

(4)

I don't know. But I don't believe that it was only one man ^{who} ~~that~~ directed it. I should probably say that the Revolution did not have ^{an aim} ~~a aim~~ when it started, the actual aims were born as it went along. It so happened that the Hungarian government of the time was prepared to grant only a little part of the demands of the students, and by the time these decisions of the government were made known to the students, the students were no longer satisfied with what they had previously requested. There were a great deal of handbills distributed and practically every one

of these handbills was signed by a different person.

Also,
~~Although~~, a great number of political parties were created.

In a word, the leader's place was ~~vacant~~^{vacant.} So everyone was running as fast as he could in the hope of filling this vacancy.

- (4a) There probably were many individual aims, but there was one general, over-riding aim, in which everyone was agreed. This was the desire to get rid of the Russians. Many, for instance, disliked intensely *Gerő's* speech. Many were of the opinion that he was actually putting ~~oil~~^{oil} on the fire. It is significant that as soon as ~~Kager~~^{Kadar} was able to assume power, he was able to make the following statement in the Hungarian Parliament: *az elmúlt tíz nap alatt a sarkantyúk zengésétől és „méltóságos uram” megszólításoktól rengtek a parlament folyosói.*

The gist of this expression is that in the past ten days, the Parliament building resounded from the rattling of the officers' sabers and from the expressions of the various high-sounding noble titles. This of course is not true.

- (4e) The Hungarian people did not revolt. ^I If the student demonstration had been successful, it would never have come to a Revolution. From the statue of ~~Beau~~^{Beau} in Buda, the students marched to the Parliament square yelling and shouting all the way that traitors and murderers should get out. They went to the Parliament square to listen to a speech by Gerő. After the twentieth Congress there was a spontaneous eruption of freedom of speech. This freedom of speech was

brought about by high Party directives to Party secretaries to permit such speech. By the time the Party leadership realized how dangerous an avenue it had taken, it was too late to stop it.

- (4f) People were craving for a return to normal conditions. And particularly they were desirous of seeing the Russians go. They desired a complete independence. There was talk about the small artisans, about the small merchants, and about the return of the land to the former owners.
- (4g) There were a great many slogans during the Revolution; I cannot possibly remember them all. Some of them are still ringing in my ears such as "Go home, Russky," "Get out, Russky," and "Down with the traitors."
- (4h) Under national independence was meant an absolute independence, with no allegiance to one power or to the other.
- (4i) The Revolution was definitely and absolutely an anti-Communist one. It did not have this characteristic when it started, even though the people always were anti-Communists. But as the demands ~~that were~~ proposed during the infancy of the Revolution were not fulfilled by the government, the people began to demand first in veiled, then in open terms, an absolute independence.
- (4j) Those Communists who have joined the Revolution were not really Communists in the proper sense of the word. They have only joined the Communist party because otherwise they probably could not have remained in their jobs.

- (41) In that case, Hungary would have separated itself entirely from the Soviets. Imre Nagy could not have remained in power for very long ~~even~~ either, his mission was of a temporary and transitory nature. His government definitely would have been replaced by a coalition in which the Communists would not have participated. Even in those fervent days, there were quite a few people who would have substituted ~~Miscent~~ ^{Mindszenti} ~~to~~ Nagy.
- (4m) The Polish situation appealed to us then ^{only} as something of the past. We ~~could~~ ^{would} never have satisfied ourselves with a similar settlement.
- (4n) Unfortunately, quite a few criminals managed to come out from their various prisons ^{during} the Revolution. These people were plundering and taking away what they could. I have seen one personally who has taken away half a bag of flour from a bakery shop.
- (4o) I could state an interesting situation in this respect: I have known a Jew, who had a University-student-son. The son was very much for the Revolution initially, and agitated as much as he could for its success. Later, some atrocities were committed against Communists, in whose group there also were Jews. From the time of these atrocities ~~and~~ the Jewish son cooled down, and eventually he became an ^{opponent of it} ~~opponent~~. One must remember that most leading Communists in Hungary happen to be Jews, thus anti-Communist sentiment had of necessity to be synonymous with anti-^{Semitic} ~~Semitic~~ feelings.

Many people thought that, while not all Communists were Jews, all Jews were Communists. The fact is that Jews more often than not were/Communists, ^{actually} whether they were convinced Communists or not. Now Jews who were known to be neutral or anti-Communist did not suffer any physical harm during the Revolution, while Jews who were Communist have suffered doubly so.

- (5) Gerš's speech was very rude and disappointing. He proposed to use strong-arm methods to remedy the situation. As a result, the disillusioned students split into two groups, the one group went to the radio station in order to proclaim its demands there, and the other marched to the statue of Stalin. One must, of course, remember that, as these events took place, during the marches a great number of people joined the students, people from all walks of life. The statue of Stalin was cut at its feet and was dragged through the streets to the ~~Sabat-ne~~ building. ^{STABAD NCP}
(Interviewer's note: ^{STABAD NCP} Sabat-ne was the official Communist newspaper.) I was not an eye-witness to the events that took place at the radio station. But I have spoken ~~to~~ ^{witnesses} to many eye-~~witnesses~~ who have actually participated in these things. According to these descriptions, I can state the following: five parliamentarians entered the radio-building and presented their demands. Some of these parliamentarians were males, some others were females. Among them were students and at least one army officer. An AVH man who was stationed at the radio station fired at them. Now, in the vicinity of the radio station some buildings were in the

process of construction. As soon as the crowd, standing out in the streets, heard the shots inside the building, they grabbed stones and various other building materials and attacked the building, breaking many windows. Suddenly ambulances appeared on the scene. Out of these ambulances white-gowned AVH men jumped out and started shooting. Immediately the crowd attacked these AVH men ~~and~~ in the ambulances, dragged them out and shot them or killed them in some other way. Thereafter ~~the~~ ^{the} revolutionaries commissioned some trucks and went to the Army barracks ~~that~~ ^{which} were situated on the ~~city~~ ^{Pálfi} plaza. There they picked up ammunition and guns. Another group visited the Army barracks located on the *Dózsa György* road and got guns and ammunition from there. These groups then returned to the radio station and the actual fighting began. On the 24th in the morning I came down to the street in order to go to work. But everything was at a standstill, and there was no traffic of any kind.

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have been possible. I personally was stationed at a former ~~the~~ Police precinct station. They were preparing ~~handouts~~ ^{leaflets} and ~~placards~~ ^{placards} of all kinds, and were distributing them to whoever wanted to have them. The police-force itself fell apart, and its members were going around in civilian clothes.

(5e) There was no pressure of any kind exercised on any one. Whoever wanted to participate, did; whoever did not, refrained. This is, and always will be, a matter of temperament. It is significant in this connection that the majority of those wounded were between fifteen and thirty years. *of age.*

(7a) The Revolutionists were barricaded in the Maria Theresa barracks, at the entrances of various subway stations, and some others were simply roaming around on the streets, covered by the crowd. An absolute confusion reigned. One could not know at any one time who was who. I have seen a military car go by, a white flag hoisted on it. It turned into a side street, took off ~~A~~ ^{the} white flag, and began firing. I have seen cadavers lying around on the streets, cadavers of members of the AVH ~~Forces~~. Their mouths were filled with money taken out of their pockets. And then again, ^{if} one happened to live somewhat away from the actual areas of fighting, and volunteered to do some organized function, by the time he arrived to the recruiting places all the available positions were filled. I know my wife and daughter volunteered to become nurses, but by the time they got there, they were no longer

needed.
~~necessary.~~

There were so many nurses there that they could not use any more of them. Everybody was prepared to do anything at all.

- (9) There were occasional demonstrations and, of course, there was a general strike from the ~~first time~~ ^{23rd} on. It so happened that banks would be open on certain days at certain times and the money would be picked up from these places and be brought to the various factories.

He ~~they~~ would all go to ~~our~~ ^{OUR} places of employment on certain days of the week, at specified hours, and would pick up our moneys. Food factories were running at full speed.

Also ~~Although~~ such services as gas, water, electricity, and telephone were functioning fully, except for those places ~~where they were destroyed.~~ ^{Pest} ~~Recht~~ was the center of the fighting in the first few days. My residence was on the other side of the river, at Buda. To cover the distance on foot would have taken at least a day. After dark, it was not advisable to go anyplace anyway. Actually, the participants were young people, and older ladies, who have carried food and ammunition. In demonstrations and strikes practically one hundred per cent of the population participated.

- (9a) When I visited my place of employment for the first time to pick up my money, others ^{already there} have taken out hundreds of small statuettes out of the factory and let heavy trucks run over them.

- (9f) I have participated in the organization of my local Revolutionary Workers' Council.

(9g)

Whoever did whatsoever things in those days did those in a spontaneous way. The center of the fight was removed from my place of residence, one was always in the streets, and this was his main way of participating. No one had time to reason out what he was actually doing, or what he should have done. We had barricaded the entrances to our area so as to prevent the possibility of the AVH members coming there.

(10)

Newspapers ceased to appear on the 23rd. Soon after the coming into power of Imre Nagy all kinds of newspapers ~~of~~ appeared for the first time again. There were those representing the small land-holders' party, the Social Democrats, the National Peasant Party and various others; these did appear. On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of November all these papers published generally known facts. Parties and papers were in the process of organization. Each ^{one} of these papers was particularly concerned with the ~~peculiar~~ ^{respective} party's organization and problems. Everyone listened to the radio. The broadcasts of the Radio Free Europe were largely responsible that the Revolution did take such a long ~~time~~ ^{time that} ~~as~~ ^{as} long ~~time~~, and it was ~~so~~ bloody as it was chaotic. They kept on telling us that forces ~~that~~ to support the Revolution were coming from this direction, from that direction and so forth. ^{Free Europe Radio} ~~It~~ kept instigating and supporting us in such a way that we had the notion that the United States would definitely intervene. No one that I know knew that

~~the~~ Radio Free Europe was not representing the official voice of the ~~Yalta/Plattsburgh~~ government of the United States. At any rate, the assumptions of the crowd in this respect were quite ~~to~~ the other way around. ^{we} They were also listening to the ~~Radio~~ ^{Kossuth} radio station. This was the official broadcasting station of the Communist government. After the coming of Nagy its name was changed to Free ~~Radio~~ ^{Kossuth} Radio. The broadcasting of the Free ~~Radio~~ ^{Kossuth} Radio was done from the Parliament building. In one of its first broadcasts, this radio proclaimed: ~~We~~ ^{we} were lying days, we were lying nights, we were lying days and nights. ^{it added} ~~and~~ that henceforth it would all be different. Then there was the ~~Rakosi~~ ^{Rakóczy} broadcasting station, that of the city of Győr and that of Pécs. Other broadcasts originated from Stalingrad ^{város} (Dunapentele). I was also listening to the Voice of America, to the Spanish radio, broadcasting from Madrid, and ~~to~~ the BBC of England. The BBC was the most objective and the most trustworthy of them all. The worst of them was the Radio Free Europe. We were able to receive information of all sorts regarding the city on telephone. I remember during the Standard Factory crisis / Standard is the name of the factory / we put in a call to the Labor Union of the Standard Works and asked them for information in the name of the Central Communist Party. This way we thought we might learn what really happened. This took place on the 23rd in the forenoon. We were told that the Revolutionary

Workers' Council] was in session, and that it was scheduled to end at such and such a time. After our identification we had no difficulty whatsoever to get the information.

(10f)

Radio was the most trustworthy. Reports of other kinds could not very well be trusted because one had no way of checking them. As far as reports from other parts of Hungary are concerned, our knowledge of events that took place there was very scanty. Railroads were at a complete standstill and we only heard of events from outside of Budapest from eyewitnesses or reporters who came from those regions. Reports of all kinds that so reached the center would be immediately typed down and plastered on the walls for everybody to see and read. There were also those who were travelling in motor cars within the city, who would bring information from outlying regions of the city.

(11)

Members of the Cabinet and some other important government figures took refuge in an Army installation that is located at the base of the ^{Gellert} ~~Gellert~~ Mountains. This installation was also known as the War Technical Institute. ⁷ The Hungarian term is *Haditechnikai Intézet*. This installation ~~was~~ is equipped with a broadcasting station, huge tunnels, and a military jail. ^{MAROSAN} ~~Neubach~~, Gero, and many others were known to have fled there. After the ^{Kossuth} ~~Central~~ Radio ceased functioning, this radio station continued to exist. It was from here that such personages as

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~~There~~, Gero', and possibly many others have fled with the help of an airplane and Russian tanks. The various Party organizations were in a state of suspension. There were savage fights ~~in~~ ^{Party} in and around the ~~head-~~ quarters of the 13th Precinct. The same applies to the Party headquarters located at the AKademia, ucca. Other buildings were variously sacked, set to fire, or destroyed in various other ways. Many Party functionaries were taken prisoners, others escaped. The Party headquarters on the Köztársasági Tér / this is the name of a Budapest plaza / was the scene of all sorts of borings. It was ~~reported~~ reported at the time that various voices were heard from underneath the ~~concrete~~ concrete floor of the building's cellar. It was assumed that perhaps some anti-Communist prisoners might be ~~being~~ kept in a subterranean chamber. Since the Revolution was shortlived, these borings never were completed. Many of the Party functionaries have fled to the West and have crossed over the Austro-Hungarian border. The Austrian police have arrested at least one AVH officer, a colonel, sometime after November the 4th, who was carrying \$10,000 dollars and from 7 to 8 kilograms of solid gold on his person. I have read this information in a newspaper. An eyewitness also told me of iron ~~vaults~~ vaults found in the cellar of the Vérmexői ^{AVH} Barracks, which were filled with gold, ^{precious} stones and ~~precious~~ jewelry. One day we went to my place of employment, where a Revolutionary Workers' Council had already been organized, and *had taken* took over the direction of the plant. The Workers' Council decided to distribute the dossiers to whomever wanted to

have them.

(Interviewers note: These dossiers were personal case histories, such as were kept for every individual in Hungary who had reached a certain age, indicating all sorts of information pertaining to the individual. People were eager to get these papers back. I have received mine also. Interestingly enough, in some other factories these dossiers were not distributed but were taken out and set fire to.

(111) The clergy remained passive throughout the entire Revolution.

(11k) I don't know of any established organization that the revolutionists would have taken over for the furtherance of their own purposes.

(111,1) There were among other things the Revolutionary Workers' Councils. In the beginning, these were Titoist movements. The Councils are themselves essentially a Yugoslavian copy. Also, guards were placed at all the factories, so as to prevent a possible plundering. There were broken show windows but I know of no organized plundering.

(11m) Those people who cared to go into their factories have organized their Revolutionary Workers' Councils. These elements consisted largely of those who have sympathized with the regime. There were instances where former Party secretaries and other Party functionaries had also participated. These Councils were concerned primarily with the distribution of the monies to the workers, with the posting of guards. But none of the plants were in operation.

(12) I don't really know what you mean by the question. They were shooting mercilessly. It was clear that the Revolution could

not be subdued by tanks. People were shooting at them from the rooftops, from the ~~streets~~ alley ways, and from all sorts of places. I have spoken with a Hungarian tank soldier who came up from the city of ~~Eger~~ ^{Eger} (). He too was telling that the Russians were actually shooting. There can't be any question of their passivity. There were no Russian infantrymen in the Revolution.

(12b)

Russian soldiers did not speak to anyone, at all. I was not able to form any opinion of them. As far as Russian civilians are concerned, I don't know too much about them. ^{They} ~~We~~ were living in ~~Pasarét~~ ^{PASARÉT}, and they had fled one or two days after the outbreak of the Revolution. There were also families,-- Russian families-- living on the Andrási Út and in the houses opposite the Defense Ministry. These also fled. Most probably on orders ~~from~~ from their government. I had once seen, in the vicinity of the Ferenc Josef Bridge (Note: one of the principal bridges crossing the Danube River.) a large number of Russian tanks, all of them displaying large red-white-green Hungarian stickers. These soldiers were engaged in conversation with Hungarians. I did not believe my eyes and I thought of the whole thing as a ruse. I have also heard of shootings going on on the Parliament Square where members of the AVH were supposed to have been shooting from the direction of the building of the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior, on the one hand, and Russian soldiers stationed on the other side of the Plaza, on the other. I assumed that both forces were shooting at the demonstrators who were assembled in the Plaza.

(12g)

Russian authorities in Budapest have had no prestige at all, consequently they could not have exercised any power ~~of any~~ ^{of any} kind.

(12h)

It was assumed that there was a seemingly perfect organization in the various ministries, the various Party centers, and in the factories. However, after the 20th Congress, absolute freedom of speech was the order of the day. Those who indulged in this freedom were not only not punished, but received ~~much~~ praise. It soon became evident that this sort of activity was extremely dangerous from the viewpoint of the Party, but the Party, for obvious reasons, was forced to take the flood of criticism in its stride. One must also know that the seeming perfection, and the strength of the Party, and of the Ministry, was a strength and order in appearance only. The head man gave out the orders, the Party secretaries, not being able to carry out those orders, supplied false reports to their superiors, in order to protect their own position and situation. Consequently they gave the impression that in all the factories and in all the other places for which they were responsible, everything was always in perfect order and harmony. In reality, however, everything was rotten through and through. More than 90% of all these Party secretaries and functionaries would report the good things if they were asked from above. The whole system was built on seemingly perfect appearances, and ^{on} unreliable reports, ~~which~~ ^{which} that did not have the strength to withstand the first wind that came its way. It collapsed and was swept away. In our

plant, for instance, the Party secretary once organized a little affair for a few employees of the factory. He became drunk and he explained that before 1949 he would not have given a dime for the whole Party, that he actually did not care one way or the other. He was a person without a backbone, (Interviewer's note: the actual Hungarian expression used: (link alak, ~~link~~) He was a degenerate, immoral individual, without any personal conviction in the ideology, whose only desire was to live securely without having to work.

- (13) On November the 22nd, ~~mm~~ I learned to know the system of the last 12 years and thus was able to imagine what was to come.
- (13b) I betrayed my plans to my mother only.
- (13c) One was not able to make elaborate plans. One had to leave and one had to place his future in the hands of destiny.
- (13d) At that time no one, I believe, knew what was going to be. We knew that we would be presented with some sort of a situation.
- (13e) There was no other possibility.
- (14) One thought of these things very often, and very much, in the beginning, and later gradually less and less.
- (14a) From the point of view of Hungary, definitely not. Probably this Revolution did stir up the world a little bit, so that it probably realizes now what Bolshevism really is.
- (14b) It could have succeeded only with assistance and intervention from the outside.
- (14c) I would do the same thing again.
- (14d) These things are a matter of temperament. One would never

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expect a Rumanian or a Czech, who either don't have a backbone bone, or are much cleverer than ourselves, all depending on how you look at these things, ^{so} ~~would~~ engage in a Revolution.

- (14e) He is a Communist ~~man~~ all right, but not a Jew. I know I will give the appearance of indulging in anti-Semitism. But I really do not hate the Jews simply because he is a Jew.
- (14f) Whatever Maleter did, he did it risking his life. Kovacs is the only one who enjoys the undivided love and affection of the whole nation. Tildy was more hated than the Communists.
- (14g) The nation itself, its youth, the many young children.
- (14h) Peasants did not participate at all, at least not in Budapest. Relatively few soldiers took part in the events. The mass of those who did participate consisted of students and workers.
- (14i) No one thought or even dreamed that there would be a Revolution. To the contrary, everyone was convinced that Revolution there would be absolutely impossible. I must say here, however, that the peasants had their fair share of the Revolution, because they have unselfishly flooded the Budapest streets with all sorts of food that they had at their disposal in those days.

(end)

- (1) (a) I was a mechanical engineer.
- (1b) My father was a lithographer.
- (2) I worked in the calculating division in the shipyards of old Buda (Hungarian: *Obudai hajógyár*) until 1949. From 1949 on I was a designer and ~~group~~ (group) leader at the Magyar ~~the~~ *Fémművek* (Hungarian ~~the~~ *Metal* Works).
- (2b) I worked in that plant from 1949 until the outbreak of the Revolution.
- (2c) It was a medium sized plant. The plant operated under a constant deficit.
- (2d) The place was extremely dirty, the offices were practically never cleaned. The problem of heat in the building was notoriously disorganized. We ourselves had to fetch the coal and do the heating if we did not want to freeze to death.
- (3a) I liked the job, mainly, because it was not a one-sided activity. All sorts of problems came up during a day.
- (3b) My previous job at the shipyards of old Buda, was an entirely different type of assignment. It used to be rather monotonous.
- (4a) 400 forints a month plus the premiums.
- (4b) 1,550 forints plus premiums.
- (4c) 1,900 forints plus premiums.
- (4d) 1,900 forints.
- (4e) There were the forced loans, amounting to about a month's pay in a year, payable in ten equal monthly instalments, and then I had to contribute 3% of my base income toward an old age insurance.
- (4f) I have received an award once, either in 1951 or 1952, in the amount of 900 forints.
- (4g) I worked on a private project with two engineer friends of mine

in 1950 and 1951. This private project brought to the three of us 25,000 forints. Of that I received one-third. I could say that, in the average, I have made 10,000 forints a year privately.

- (4h) All the other engineers working with me received about the same pay. There were people who received more than I ^{did} and others who received less. This depended on the type of their training, and on the type of their assignment.
- (4i) The best paid people in Hungary were engineers and technicians. The second place was occupied by the workers. Engineers ^{who} worked with me received the same pay.
- (5) I worked eight and one half hours a day, Monday through Friday. On Saturday I worked 5½ hours.
- (5b) I worked six days a week.
- (5c) People, whose base pay was over 1550 forints, received no compensation for overtime work.
- (5d) We did have paid holidays. I don't know exactly how many days we had but I can still recall some of the holidays that were paid. These were April the 3rd, Stalin's birthday; May the 1st and May 2nd, and ~~the~~ ^a day in November. I had a paid vacation amounting to 15 days a year. I would have had more if I had not lost my legal continuity. Since I left my previous job voluntarily I lost this legal continuity. When I started working for this ^{Metal} ~~concern~~ concern I had only 12 days vacation in the first year.
- (5f) Punctuality was taken extremely seriously. Those who were late were punished. I was late three times for one minute

in a period of 3 months. As a result I lost ~~the~~ 3/4ths of my quarterly premium. We invented a way to evade the situation later, however. If someone knew that he was going to be late, he would call up and say he was on some official business concerning the plant. He would come ~~and~~ in two or three hours later into the plant and no one would ask a question.

(5g) The ten-minute movement had to do with people offering voluntarily to come in ten ~~and~~ minutes earlier to their jobs. This was the principle, but no one bothered to come in earlier.

(5h) Late comers were punished. The first two offenses would draw a verbal reprimand from the section manager. If a person was late for the third time he would be reprimanded in writing, on every subsequent occasion that a person would be late, he would be sent home, he would receive no pay for the day, and would lose one day of his vacation for every instance.

(5i) Salaried personnel worked under a system of national ~~managing~~ norms. These were either technical or calculated norms, (Hungarian: *Beosztás normák*). They have introduced even for the designers some sort of norm system. According to the designers were required to finish a specific number of jobs within a specified time. This did not apply to all types of designing. It had to do most with technical drawings. This system was introduced in 1950, lasted about a year, and then was abolished.

(5j) Norms usually varied from year to year. On the whole,

it amounted to a reduction of the norm. This meant that a certain type of job had to be finished in a shorter time than previously. Then there were all sorts of corrections in the norms. There would be a national norm established for a particular type of job that was to be observed universally, but very often some element of allowances was made for local conditions, make of machine, etc. On the whole, these norm changes, considered from a technical point of view, amounted to a definite reduction. *(tightening)*

(5k)

The labor unions were designed to serve ~~the~~ this purpose. They would organize work rates for all kinds of different occasions. The unions would from time to time distribute forms asking all individuals to fill them out indicating how much extra work they were offering this week or the other. Everyone had to indicate something. These forms would then be collected and stacked away. As far as I know not even the birds took a look at these forms thereafter.

Now every month there was a labor union day. On these union days a few individuals would receive such tokens as a 100 forints, lighters, or some other articles. The distribution of these articles gave to many a man the notion that it was really worth while doing something extra for the regime. The distribution of these articles, then, did give some motivation to some workers for some time. ~~It~~ They not only offered something on paper, but even did work some more, at least for a time, in the expectation of receiving some such presents during the next union day.

(5l)

Yes.

- (6) They were not very rosy. Technical journals and books were altogether absent. One did not have reference works at his disposal, and one was not able to keep up with the new developments. The tools in the factory were old and inferior. The offices were incredibly dirty and crowded.
- (6a) Our equipment was rather inferior. Of course we did have our pencils and our slide rulers, but we did not have any technical journals or other books.
- (6d) There were sections in the plant where during some weeks, 95% of all the production was rejects. What the Soviet Union refused to accept was sent to the Hungarian market. Our plant worked for both home consumption and export.
- (6e) I used trolley cars or busses. It took me about an hour.
- (7) My associates were made up of all sorts of people. From the youngest to the oldest ages, engineers, technicians and drawers (~~draughtsmen~~ ^{draftsmen}). There were also some former Army officers. But each and every one had at least a maturity examination. There was not one well-to-do among them. Those who had a good apartment considered themselves to be extremely wealthy.
- (7b) We have had an excellent group, a good guard, we all kept together, and each and every one of us would defend every other against whatever situation.
- (7c) Yes.
- (7d) People were absolutely honest. If a new man came to the penmanship place, we were extremely cold and reserved toward him until we established his kader, until we knew who he was.
- (7e) Naturally.

- (7f) We occasionally had our get togethers.
- (7g) We talked about politics every day. Within our groups this conversation was absolutely open. There were also nominal Party members in our midst.
- ~~h~~(7h) Yes.
- (7i) There was no such differentiation in our place.
- (7j) The Party was trying to hold and influence the crowd. ~~It~~ It is quite possible that some in the crowd became sympathizers, in order to thereby gain material advantages.
- (7k) This is out of the question. A definite "No".
- (7l) They simply carried out what they were ordered to do from above. This they did with perfection. They have organized the work races, but they have also helped in organizing ^{cheap} ~~the best~~ vacations. Otherwise they did not do much else.
- (7m) I know of no such changes.
- (7n) These were organizations that ~~straightened out~~ straightened out difficulties in various factories and various controversies. I don't know too much about their function.
- (7o) The plant triangle (Hungarian *Üzemiháromszög*) constituted the management of the factory. The triangle consisted of the director of the plant, of the Party secretary, and of the president of the labor union. These three were supposed to cooperate with one another. Actually, the strongest of the three would force his opinion on the other two, and it would be he who led the plant.
- (7p) Yes. In the beginning the difficulty was more pronounced. Later it was quite *easy* to get along. They made relatively

good money but they could never hope to advance to critical positions.

(7q) The political allegiance of the people was rather carefully investigated in the year of 1949 and 1950. Later no one person could definitely tell when a given person would be neutral and when not. It was difficult to distinguish between the two attitudes. If someone was neutral no one bothered him until someone decided to cut him off (Hungarian: *lefürészelni*).

(7r) Very definitely so. This is what destroyed our country.

(7s) There was a period between 19⁴⁶ and 19⁴⁸ when there was a change in this direction. But the change, in the main, consisted in eliminating politically less reliable people and substituting for them politically reliable individuals. Experts, who were politically neutral, were never employed. Experts would always be placed in the second command. It was these people who did the actual job.

(7t) As far as I know the chief of the personnel and control section of any plant was always an AVH member.

(7u) I don't have a very high opinion of this organization. The election of this body at my place of employment took place at a time when only a few workers were present. As a result former functionaries, such as Party secretaries, the former plant director, and others were again relected to similar positions.

(7v) The work of the Council, as far as I have seen, consisted in such things as payments to the workers during the Revolution, and taking care of the plant property. In small

scale plants these Councils, I believe, did not have any significant role. The situation may have been different elsewhere.

- (8) The practical value or importance, of a change in employment, amounted to zero. Such a change did not have any advantages, but it could at times have a certain disadvantage. If one leaves his place of employment voluntarily, he loses his legal continuity. If one should leave his job with the consent of the plant management, he would still lose his legal continuity if he was not able to secure another position within a short specified time.
- (8a) It simply did not pay to change one's place of employment.
- (8b) I would have worked as an independent consultant.
- (8c) I would have been a free man then, my own master.
- (8d) I had a great desire to learn and to become educated. Because of my father, who was also drawing in his work, I had learned to like the engineering profession.
- (8e) No.
- (8f) I never hoped to make a career in this regime.
- (8g) Most people avoided leading positions. They refrained from accepting the political responsibility which went with such a leading position. To answer your question, I believe that one does look to his success, but not to a success in the eyes of the world, rather to a success stemming from personal satisfaction with the job done.
- (8i) I would spend my free time traveling around the world at least three times. I would do this in order to see as much as possible of the world.

- (8j) Yes. I now think that there are still some places, where I would not want to go.
- (8k) My daughter always wanted to become an engineer, and I was always against it. In her case, in the case of a woman, I did not think that it was practical. And then again, it was not quite a good thing to set one's mind to just one goal.
- (9) It should have been better. It wasn't too bad. But if I had to live on the wages of my regular monthly earnings, it definitely would have been very bad.
- (9a) I was the only one who worked. We had two small children, these children needed their mother's care. In order to permit my wife to remain at home with them, I took on extra work.
- (9b) It is difficult to make comparisons in this respect. I got married just shortly before the outbreak of the war. To start life with two small children in a Communistic regime was not the easiest thing.
- (9c) Entertainment and luxury amounted to zero. I just had enough money to buy what a European considers the absolutely necessary essentials of food and clothes.
- (9d) My ~~month~~ monthly base pay was 1,900 forints. I had an extra income of about 10,000 forints a year. I was ^{paying} ~~paid~~ the equivalent of one month's salary in state loans, which I paid in ten equal monthly instalments. I also paid 3% of my wages to the old age pension plan.
- (9e) My rent amounted to 60 forints a month. We lived in an apartment house, we were the main tenants (we did not have

any subtenants). The apartment was very crowded, and it did not have any plumbing at all. We had two rooms, kitchen, an antechamber, a bathroom, a cellar, and a storage room. My ~~husband~~ ^{daughter} had a piano, we had an electric stove, and a Hungarian washing machine.

(9g)

My whole base pay was spent on food. We even had to use money from the premiums for this purpose. The rest of the premiums was spent on such items as rent, electricity, water, tuition, repairing of shoes and other expenses.

~~Some~~ Occasionally we were able to buy some clothing, some bedsheets, towels and other necessary items.

(9h)

We bought milk from the peasants, our groceries came partly from the market, and partly from the Kőzert stores. All other items were obtainable only in the government stores.

(9j)

I spent about 3,500 forints a year for food. I spent another 600 to 700 forints a year for electricity. We used electricity for cooking as well.

(9k)

In the last years it was becoming better. In the last years it was very difficult to get fuel. The electrical conduits in our area were very inferior, frequently we did not have any electricity for half a day or so.

(9l)

We were using the services of an eye specialist twice a year for 400 forints. We also had dental expenses, so I would say our total medical expenses amounted to about 1,000 forints a year.

(9m)

I had my hospitalization insurance. For less serious illnesses we were using the services of the ~~SAK~~ ^{SZTK}. But one had to give ~~even~~ ^{SZTK} even to the ~~SAK~~ some money if you wanted to go

decent service. Or if one had to go to the hospital, all hospitals being state owned and operated, one would also give some money to the doctor in order to get a better service.

(9n) We have used only infrequently such entertainment facilities as radio, cinema, or theatres. We spent ~~from~~ from 500 to 600 forints a year for books. We never bought daily political newspapers. I did buy technical journals.

(9o) I lived in a government owned house. I kept improving it when I could. I spent a great amount of money on that.

(10) Relatively speaking, yes.

(10a) Everyone felt that he was not being paid as he should.

(10b) This is not debatable even for a moment. Hungary was exploited not only by the Soviet Union, but even by a few capitalists from the West. They insisted that Hungary pay in dollars for all raw materials. When we delivered our export to them, they would refuse to accept equipment. They would force Hungarian firms to give all sorts of concessions and discounts. The average discount so forced upon us was 20%. I am aware of the fact, ^{however,} that the Soviet Union was responsible for some 90 to 95% of our exploitation.

(10e) This was no more, nor less, than a veiled reduction in wages.

(10f) Reparations were mentioned only so often. It did not matter at all whether ~~our~~ our exports shipments ^{were} for reparation purposes or not. They took away everything from us ~~anyway~~ ^{WAY}, no matter how you look at it. The entire country was reduced to a gigantic prison.

(10g) There was always some sort of a meetings, where one was obliged

to be present. But in this connection one's ingenuity was unlimited indeed, and more often than not he was able to find some excuse to not attend. ~~some~~

- (11) The Hungarian industry underwent a substantial, but very one-sided expansion.
- (11a) There was a disproportionate expansion of the heavy industry for the operation of which Hungary lacked the necessary basic raw materials. This over-expansion of the heavy industry was accomplished at the expense of the light industry as well as at the expense of the food industry.
- (11b) The heavy industry was over-expanded. For its operation practically all the raw materials had to be imported. Hungary does not even have coal or coke.
- (11d) Prior to 1944 the Hungarian economy experienced an almost unparalleled boom. This was largely due to the war effort. War requirements have kept our total industrial capacity in operation and there was a considerable expansion of those industries engaged in military production. ^{These were WAR} factories have since been largely converted to other types of production.
- (11e) There was an improvement after 1944 insofar as a substantial percentage of the industrial plants and of their equipment became modernized. Many plants and much of the plant equipment was destroyed during the war. These, of course, were gradually replaced with new ones.
- (11f) The primary aim of the Three Year Plan was the expansion of the industrial capacity of the nation, with particular emphasis placed on the expansion of the heavy industry.
- (11g) The Five Year Plan aimed at further expanding and developing the heavy industry. One must bear in mind here that the Three Year as well as the

Five Year Plans constituted a part of the overall industrial planning of Russia.

- (11h) Nagy, Imre aimed at scaling down the expansion of the heavy industry. He wanted to see a development of the light industry and was desirous of emphasizing the production of consumer goods.
- (11i) There must have been some such argument within the government and within the Party. However, while I must assume that differences of opinion did exist in leading circles regarding this matter, I also am of the opinion that these circles discussed only minor insignificant aspects of this economic question. The significant parts of the economic policy have been super-imposed by the Russian government.
- (11j) In the year preceding the Revolution things became generally somewhat more tolerable, at least from the point of view of the housewife. Articles of food and of clothing were somewhat easier to be had than in previous years. This, of course, may be misleading; the question of the supplies of raw materials to the factories was even more difficult during this year than previously.
- (12) As long as a person is incapable of satisfying his minimum requirements of material ~~sub~~ subsistence, economic considerations play a very important role in one's life and actions.
- (12a) I placed a heavy emphasis myself on material considerations.
- (12b) The upbringing and education of our children constituted another great problem. Equally important was our inability to freely change our place of employment. I don't even have to mention here that we were denied the freedom to express our political opinions and that we did not have any degree of freedom in electing the nation's representatives.
- (12c) Aside from those in leading positions everyone, who had a desire to continue

existing, experienced the difficulties that I mentioned. The complaints centered on one's inability to change his place of employment and on the constant difficulties one encountered in trying to secure the education of his children. Then again, one was exposed to the constant danger of being arrested. If a national, local, or factory plan did not work out to the satisfaction of those entrusted with its execution, scapegoats had to be found to be blamed for the failure. One was never entirely secure in this respect. Also, one was forced to attend all sorts of meetings, to participate in discussions that were of no interest to him. In a word, a person was robbed of all his free time.

- (12d) I don't know of any specific plans.
- (12e) Workers expressed their dissatisfaction by their complete passivity to whatever went on around them. Passive resistance was their only means of resisting, and this everyone utilized to perfection.
- (12f) It is impossible to treat the workers as a separate and distinct category. The entire population, and every strata of it, was divided into two groups; those who were against the regime displayed their unrestrained opposition openly. Whatever they did was correspondingly motivated; those who were in ~~the~~ favor of, or were sympathizing with, the regime, remained aloof and quiet during the Revolution. (TM)

- (1) a I received my education in prewar Hungary. I attended the elementary school, then the 8 year gymnasium, and finally the Budapest Institute of Technology. (Műgye^tsem)
- (1b) I completed my studies at the Budapest Institute of Technology and received a degree in mechanical engineering.
- (2) Yes.
- (2a) I attended a course at the Institute specializing in construction of transportation equipment. I got a job in an elevator firm and this further specialisation was necessary for my continuous employment.
- (2b-f) Not applicable.
- (3) Not applicable.
- (4) Not applicable.
- (5) Not applicable.
- (6) I was an above average student. (Interviewer's note: respondent's grades corresponded to B average in the US)
- (6a) I considered it a ^{MORAL} ~~moral~~ responsibility to study as hard as I could.
- (7) Not applicable.
- (8) Not applicable.
- (9) Communist education did leave its imprint on the students' minds in one form or another. There were children who permitted themselves freely to *be* inculcated and indoctrinated with Communist principles and ideas. There were others who, either because of their age or because of a stronger influence on them at home have come to resent their teachers efforts to indoctrinate them. In the case of these latter pupils the regime has generated opposition to, rather than acceptance of, Communist ideology.

Generally speaking, there evolved a new sort of attitude on the part

of all Hungarian children, which is difficult to describe or define.

They demanded more freedom, they were less prepared to accept the traditional parent-child or teacher-pupil relationship as a basis of their status in the family or in the school. Neither the parents nor the teachers were in such full control over the children as was the case before the 2nd World War.

- (9b) I believe the 23rd of October, and the behavior of Hungary's youth during the Revolution answers this question. Of course, at an early age principles of any kind penetrate easier and are accepted more readily than later in life.
- (9c) I don't think so.
- (9d) Everyone I knew either socially or in my place of work testifies to this contention of mine. I have not met anyone who has consciously used Communist slogans at any time.
- (9e) Communist education is most effective if given to children under 10 years of age. It is least effective in the case of adults, who have reached 30 or are older than that.
- (9f) Communist education has a tremendous appeal to young children insofar as it frees them from various what they consider cumbersome duties and obligations, such as going to church and making confession regularly. Also, under the Communists the practice of physical punishment in Hungarian schools was discontinued. Communists tried not only to indoctrinate children with Communist ideology, they at the same time taught them to disregard what average Hungarians held traditional or sacred. There is far less time and effort now devoted to training characters.
- (10) My father was a typographer. My family comes from the working class.
- (10a) My mother's family is also of working class origin.
- (10b) My wife comes from a peasant stock.

- (11) We were considered as belonging to the intelligentsia.
- (12) My father was a typographer.
- (12a) My father was retired by then. He died in 1946.
- (12c) My father was a very good worker. He reared all of his children under very good conditions.
- (12d) My father completed 4 years of secondary school.
- (12e) My father's nature was entirely different from mine. He liked to paint, he enjoyed his leisure time much more than I did. While he respected engineering, he did not have a very high opinion of an engineering profession.
- (13) We had a very hard life, as I remember, during the 1st World War. Thereafter, our family income was way above the average. My father's trade was in great demand then.
- (13a) Our living standard remained fairly stable during subsequent years.
- (14) Four.
- (14a) All members are still alive.
- (14b) No.
- (15) I alone worked in the family.
- (16) My social background was more of a hindrance ~~rather~~ than a positive help in my case.
- (16a) My social status was not judged on the basis of my father's social status. I have received my training in a pre-Communist society and as such I could no longer qualify as a man of worker's class. The position of my children was even worse. They were considered as clearly stemming from, and therefore belonging to, the intellectual class.

- (17) Yes.
- (17a) My wife was a housewife.
- (17b) I am married since 1940.
- (17c) I have two children.
- (17d) She was 14.
- (18-19) Not applicable.
- (20) We did not have clear-cut problems as yet. But I clearly saw that I would have had plenty of problems in a few years.
- (20_a) Not applicable.
- (20c) My daughter was exposed to various Communistic doctrines in school, especially in her study of political science and particularly in her study of the Hungarian constitution. She has received some instruction at home in this respect, - Teachings that clearly contradicted what she was taught at school. She was visibly confused, very often not knowing whether to believe her parents or her teachers. There were many little incidents in this connection and we parents were never quite certain where the allegiance of our child lay.
- (20f) The influence of teachers on the children was at least as great and powerful as that of the parents. Now there was a constant friction if not contradiction between what the child learned or heard at home and what she was told in school.
- (21a) The school exerted a very great influence on the children. The authority of the teachers in the eyes of our children was at least as great as that of the parents.
- (21b) The children received their instruction both at home and at school. There were marked differences, and at times clear-cut contradictions between these

two types of instruction. These contradictions ~~became~~ became very obvious in connection with the study in school of the science of politics and the Hungarian constitution. The same thing was true respecting the discussions of questions of religion which took place in school under the general heading of political science. In all these cases my daughter was exposed to contrary and contradictory advice, and she did not readily accept our version in the controversy. Repeated admonitions, and repetition of our stand was required until at least formally ~~she~~ she accepted our views.

(22) My relations to my parents and to other members of the family were entirely normal.

(23) Yes, we did talk occasionally about political questions.

(23a) Generally speaking, our political views were similar, if not identical, so that our discussions were characterized by analysis and attempts at a reputation of dissimilar views of others, rather than interfamily fights, or bickerings.

(24) No.

(25) This was not necessary at all.

(26) We have lived a harmonious, normal family life.

(26a) We were very close to one another.

(26b) This may not have been typical at all. There were many families less fortunate than ourselves where the earnings of the head of the family did not suffice to keep the family financially going. In cases of this sort, both husband and wife worked, often at different shifts; the children were not properly supervised and family discord more often than not was the order of the day.

(26c) I didn't have much free time. Usually, after my regular work ended, I

worked on some other private project, in order to supplement my regular earnings. If and when I did have free time, I usually devoted it to my children.

(26d)-e We were usually together on Sundays and on afternoons when I did not work on my private project.

(26f) I devoted considerable time as I explained above on working extra hours on private engineering projects. While I did this primarily to earn extra money, I also gained considerable intellectual and emotional satisfaction from these ~~interests~~ ^{endeavours}. Actually, then, I did not aspire to anything more than that.

(27)a Family ties were breaking down. This was not so much the direct result of the regime, as such. Rather, it was the result of the overall economic situation. The industrialisation opened up a great variety of possibilities for women where they could find work in factories. This possibility of being employed, of earning money, combined with an acute need of straightening out faltering family budgets, made it a practical necessity, in many instances for mothers to seek employment. This was in opposition of long standing tradition in Hungary. But the immediate need of survival outweighed husband's protests, children's needs, and considerations of tradition. As a result, infants were left in the care of nursery schools and older children were left alone at home where they could roam around unchecked and unsupervised doing whatever they pleased. Gradually, the children got used to this situation and assumed a more independent outlook and attitude.

(27b) I did not have negative experiences in this respect but I heard of instances where children turned informers and reported their parents as having said this or that. Once our own daughter informed her teacher at school that her mother was engaged in reading a book describing the slaughter of the

Russians imperial family. She did not mean to cause any harm of course, and fortunately there were no consequences.

- (27c) In our case, yes.
- (27d) In our case, again, no.
- (27e) I don't know.
- (28) I can hardly answer this question, since I did not have personal experiences in this respect. Generally speaking, great changes took place in this respect.
- (28c) Courting is done in an entirely different way now and under different forms; the ideal and the romantic aspect of it is non-existent. Coldness in feeling and boldness in approach are extreme characteristics. Wedding itself is no longer associated with impressive church ceremonies. It takes place in civil marriage bureaus.
- (28d) I am a traditionalist in this respect.
- (28e) There was no officially recognized or tolerated prostitution. It continued nevertheless in places and under circumstances that were beyond the limits of effective control of the authorities.
- (28f) I don't think that the regime was more strict in this respect.
- (28g) There were strict laws against medical attempts at birth control. Drastic measures were provided against any violators. However, if material or medical conditions warranted it, there was a possibility of legally allowed medical intervention.
- (28h) Yes, very definitely. The officially promoted or at least tolerated slogan was that giving birth to a child was an obligation for a married woman, but an honor for an unmarried girl. [The actual Hungarian expressions-Szülni Anyának Kötelessége, Leánynak Becsület.] Neither the unwed mother, nor the illegitimate child, suffered in any way nor did they have any disadvantages.

The unwed mother had the option of surrendering her child to a state institution. There were many illegitimate children in Hungary.

- (29a) He was an engineer.
- (29b) He was about 34-35 years old, and had an intellectual family background.
- (29c) We ~~They~~ worked together after regular hours on private engineering tasks.
- (29d) Yes, sometimes.
- (29e) No.
- (29f) Yes, our friendship still continues.
- (29g) I value honesty in thought and action, and faithfulness to one's ideals most.
- (29h) He would never have entered the Party. Those, who did enter the Party, were already lax in their private dealings and behavior prior to such entrance.
- (30) ~~My~~ My parents were Roman Catholics.
- (30a) We were all Roman Catholic.
- (30b) One ~~ought to~~ ^{ought to} set limits, I believe, to his religious zeal. One ~~ought to~~ ^{ought to} honestly follow his religious convictions and beliefs, but not to a point of religious bigotry.
- (31) a. Communists did influence public religious life. The private religious life of those who have already reached a religious stability--whose beliefs and convictions were well established--was not influenced by Communist actions. Others, who were less mature, or emotionally less stable, very often could not ^{with} stand the atheistic assaults of the regime.

Religion did not become part of the blood of youth to the extent that characterized us in our own day. Adults, on the other hand, were very often hampered in their public worship by such devices as overtime work, say on Christmas Eve, etc.

While Church attendance was strictly checked by the regime, many people escaped possible recognition by going to church to far away places, in different parts of the city, where they were not known.

(31b) No. While attacks were directed against all denominations, the most severe and the most intensive persecution was directed against the Catholic Church.

The Catholic Church was the largest church organization and at the same time it was the best organized one. The Catholic Church refused to compromise with the regime from the beginning; it represented as a result the most determined resistance.

(31c) The other denominations were also persecuted but not as savagely as were the Catholics.

(31d) Persecution of the churches with a view of eliminating them, was necessary from the point of view of the Communists, because one cannot be a practicing adherent of a church and a true Communist at the same time.

(31e) Their ultimate aim was definitely total destruction and elimination of the churches; their approximate goal was to use the churches to their own purposes while they were still around.

I base my opinion on official and semi-official pronouncements of the Party higher-ups. Also on my own day-to-day observations and on the history of the Russian Orthodox Church in Russia.

(31f) Persecution of the Catholics was directed primarily against church leaders. As soon as the church leaders were eliminated part of the flock disintegrated without any further intervention. The remainder was then subjected to closer scrutiny and to all sorts of annoyances. I recall how Party workers came to our district on several occasions and asked people, including me, if we went to church. Of course, after these inquiries I did not dare go to my regular church nearby any more. I felt obliged to go to church to far away places. Because of the distance I did not go ten times to church but only five

times. And this is precisely what they wanted.

- (31g) Theoretically and legally yes. That is to say, if one was prepared to accept the possible consequences.
- (31h) 2--3 times a week and at times 2-3 times a month.
- (31i) Generally speaking, those people who worked did not go to church as frequently as those who stayed at home.
- (31j) I knew a so-called peace-priest whom I had known even before the war. I had regarded him to be an excellent person before the war. He, and many others like him, who have chosen to cooperate with the regime were priests of predominantly temporal, worldly outlook and mentality. They had regarded priesthood as primarily a job, a good job, I should say, and only secondarily as a spiritual vocation.
- (31k) There were no ways of accommodation there. You either remained steadfast to what you thought was right and just or you accepted compromises.
- (31l) There were decidedly less young people seen in churches now than in my own day.

The reasons for this are many; first of all, there was a constant conflict between home and school. As a result of this conflict many a child lived in a confused state of mind. He did not know for sure what is right and what is wrong. He did not know what to do. Then there were the so-called hours (~~hours~~ *Pajtásórák*) which all public school pupils were obliged to attend. During these hours lectures were given to the pupils by convinced atheists that in a subtle way exposed to ridicule various church practices. Thus the Catholic institution of confession was presented to the children as a rather ridiculous affair. While children were never formally forbidden to go to church they were either kept busy with various activities on Sundays, ~~or~~ or else their beliefs were so ridiculed that they no longer cared to go. Another important reason was the absence of any obligation to go. It was certainly more comfortable to stay away from

church than to go.

(32a)

Jews supported the regime in full measure. There were very few convinced Communists among them. Jews considered everything from the material, financial, point of view and they were prepared to do anything if they could thereby ~~by~~ secure their own material well-being.

(32b)

No Jew was, at least openly and publicly, against the Revolution. Some of them offered hot tea and food to the insurgents but that is about as far as they went. For the most part they kept aloof and ~~kept~~ remained silent. They did not participate in the uprising. I have in mind here those Jews of course who were civilians. Many of them were members of the AVH. Those of course, were fighting for the regime.

(32c)

I believe that it is best if they leave the country.

(33a)

Considered from the economic, or material point of view the worst off were the merchants, followed by the following groups; administrative clerks, teachers, state employees, workers with many children, farmers with many small children, technical workers and engineers, workers, and members of the Tsz Co. (This is the Hungarian abbreviation for the Hungarian collective farms.)

Considered from the point of view of political well-being, the best off were the workers, followed by the peasants, cooperative intellectuals. (This last category of cooperative intellectuals had to do with intellectuals who were not opposed to the regime even though they were not Party members.)

(32_a)

I consider myself a member of the intelligentsia.

(33b)

In the first few years an intellectual, if his heart so desired, I.E. if he was prepared to go along with the Party, could advance to his heart's content.

The fact that I didn't advance means therefore only that I did not because

I did not want to advance under those conditions.

- (34a) I would have recommended him to try to become a physician.
- (34a) A physician had the possibility of establishing his private independent office. He had a good chance of becoming independent.
- (34b) I would have told him to acquire a perfect knowledge of his profession or failing that that he try to make political contacts.
- (34c) As a result in his maturity examination, some political connections so as to secure his admission to the university and, possibly Party membership.

- (1) I was, and still am, interested in politics. I am interested insofar as most everybody is.
- (1a) Politics touched and influenced our lives so greatly ^{that} it was impossible for me not to know something about it.
- (1b) I was an outside spectator.
- (1c) A relatively small part of it.
- (1d) In this regime I did not participate in anything at all.
- ~~(1e)~~ I never voted.
- (1e) Generally speaking most everybody was very interested in politics.
- (1f) My interest kept on increasing, as time went by.
- (2) Material difficulties. The problem of educating our children, the securing of a minimum living standard, political worries,--especially between 1945 and 1946. This was the time right after the Russian occupation. Thereafter I kept on worrying about the possibility of someone reporting me to the police, especially after I decided to work on the private engineering project that I mentioned previously. This was a clandestine sort of work, insofar as private work was not permitted nor tolerated by the regime.
- (2a) I would rearrange these problems in the following order of importance
6, 3, 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 7, 12.
- (2b) 10
- (2c) 10, 9
- (2d) 10, 9
- (2e) 10, 9
- (2f) They became disillusioned because the regime's leading spokesman ^e spoke one thing and did entirely another thing.
- (2g) Out of the 8 hours work on a day like that, one actually worked for two hours

and fought a defensive battle, a battle for survival, during the remaining six.

(2h) ~~The~~ We usually spoke about these things among ourselves, in my place of employment.

(2i) Everyone made very many attempts to improve his situation. These attempts, however, brought only very seldom tangible results.

(3
C-V) I approved of some things that the Communists did and disapproved of others. I approved of, for instance, the breaking up and distribution among peasants of great landed estates. I also approved of the nationalization of large industrial enterprises. I was also in agreement with the elimination of the many titles that Hungary was vexed with before the war.

(3d) I was never actively engaged against the Communist regime. In my own mind, on the other hand, I was always in disagreement with the majority of its tenets.

(3e) Many people held similar views. The great majority perhaps.

Those who accepted or sympathized with the regime, were either people who never did like to work, or those who were political imbeciles. In a word all those people must have had some spiritual defect. Most of them were nonentities before the 2nd World War.

(3f) You simply cannot say that. I admit that that may have been the outward appearance of the population's behavior. According to your view, then, only those people would be considered to have been unfaithful to the regime, who have, against their better judgment, stood up openly, and permitted themselves to be mercilessly butchered down.

(4) The real power in Hungary was in the hands of the Russians.

(4a) This is quite evident from the fact, that they were able to do whatever they wanted to do.

(4b) Within Hungary this power rested in the hands of the Communist Party.

- (4d) There were only apparent differences between the Party and the government, and the police. Actually, all these were only separate manifestations of the will of those who have directed the Hungarian Communist Party, — primarily Moscow, and only secondarily Hungarian Communist leaders.
- (5) The Hungarian government followed exclusively the will of Moscow.
- (5a) The Parliament did not have any role at all. It was a circus. Not once did anyone there raise a voice of protest.
- (5b) You will, I hope, distinguish here, between voting and elections. There was only voting. We never did have any elections.
- (5c) Local councils did have power but they did not possess any prestige. The council's powers were manifested. One was bound to go to, and to consult these councils on every question that came up in a person's everyday life. The councils were administrative arms of the government on the primary level. It was these councils that decided all issues pertaining to taxes, housing, selling and buying and many other things. In a word, one had to initiate any sort of proceeding or official business on the council level.
- (5d) Bureaucracy was much greater now than in pre-war Hungary.
- (5e) Yes, there were scandals as well as blackmailing, particularly in connection with questions of housing. The adjudication of the latter sort of question of dispute belonged, as I explained before, to the councils.
- Blackmailing existed because the civil servants were of a very low moral quality, because of absence of any tradition to the contrary, and because the housing shortage—especially in Budapest, was very severe. Those, who had the money, were prepared to pay for a favorable adjudication.
- (5f) Government officials were of two kinds—one group consisted of capable people, those who have conscientiously done their job, the other was made up of people, &—mostly workers—, who have been appointed by the regime without any regard for their aptitude or qualifications.

The majority of the officials were former laborers, political appointees, who were appointed for the purpose of rewarding them for political or other services rendered, and who accepted their appointment with a view primarily to the salaries that were connected with such positions.

(5g) Army officers were made up mostly of people of peasant or worker's stock. The position of an army officer carried with it a certain amount of prestige, not to speak of the financial reward connected with it.

Those who were officers of the army, received apartments, food, as well as a good pay. I must mention here that officers were not paid according to their military rank, but according to the position they held. Thus, it was possible for a sergeant to receive higher pay than a captain.

(6) Membership in the DISZ organization was automatic. While it was not compulsory those who did not join it were exposed to a ~~great~~ great many disadvantages. Membership itself did not entail any disadvantage.

(6b) The overriding majority of young people were members of the DISZ.

(6c) No/ particular pressure was exercised, nor was any such pressure necessary. The position, and the continued holding of such positions, depended on the DISZ membership.

The main mass organizations of the Communists were the Party, the DISZ, and the labor union. One usually felt constrained to join at least one of these mass organizations in order to continue on existing. So, one usually selected a mass organization, where, while it was necessary to participate in some activities of that group, a person did not really do anything at all. In other words, one became a nominal adherent of some Communist group without being required to really become a Communist in any sense of the word. In this respect, the labor union was the least dangerous group, followed by the DISZ, and then by the nominal membership of the Party itself.

- (6d) If one was in no need of employment, he simply did not join the DISZ.
- (6e) They were either misinformed about the real nature of the DISZ, or did not join out of sheer bravado.
- (6f) I was not a member.
- (6g) Not applicable
h, i, j, k
- (6l) I was too old for that.
- (6m) Not applicable.
- (6n) Practically every young person joined the ranks of the DISZ.
- (6o) Not at all. The majority was not in the least interested in all the trash that was said at the DISZ meetings.
- (6p) I don't really know.
- (6q) It was, I suppose, a mass organization of the Party. But since it embraced so many people, it was not an elite, it was rather a watered down organization.
- (7) Membership in the Party did bring with it a certain amount of prestige. While both Communists and Communism were intensely hated and despised by a great many people, still it is undeniable that a Party member amounted to something more in Communist Hungary than an outsider or, say, a class-alien. He did not have first of all great economic difficulties. He could be certain of a reasonably well-paying and easy job. He had certain privileges both within and outside of the Party that set him apart from the rest of the population and,--more important in the eyes of many a member--he was now on the top, in command, able to instil fear, and therefore respect, in those around him.
- (7a) Nope, as far as I know, was obliged to join the Party. People joined the Party in order to satisfy a basic requirement necessary to be eligible for certain leading positions.
- (7b) If, for instance, a person wants to become a chief engineer, the unwritten law requires that he be a Party member.

If, on the other hand, one is satisfied with a more meagre sort of

existence, then, at least in the engineering field, he does not have to join.

- (7c) I am not very familiar with the formal definitions of a member's rights. I know that he may attend all Party meetings, and may freely voice his views *there*.
- (7d) Communist slogans emphasize the member's obligations. He must pay membership dues, determined according to his earnings, must constantly fight for the cause, must give a good example, etc.
- (7e) I have known a Jewish engineer, the father of 7 children who joined the Party as soon as he returned from a PW camp in Russia. This was sometime after 1946. He was not a Communist. He joined the Party, as far as I could judge it, so that he could better provide for his family.
- (7f) I know of a case like this. The man was a draftsman. He, too, wanted to join the Party with opportunistic aims. His application was turned down because of his family background. His family were members of the ~~bourgeois~~ bourgeois class.
- (7g) No, I was not a member.
- (7h,i,j,k) Not applicable.
- (7l) Yes.
- (7m) I had to reconcile myself to the bitter reality that I could never hope to advance professionally and financially beyond a certain limit.
- (7n) There were two types of people; those who joined because they really believed in Communist theory and wanted to fight for Communist aims. And there were those who joined for opportunistic gains. This latter type ~~far~~ far outnumbered the former. The Revolution has clearly brought this fact to life.
- (7o) There was a great change in the behaviour of such people. Very often they became convinced of their importance and made it felt around them. Also Party members tried to assume a formal, reserved attitude when in public

making sure not to cause a disturbance or scandal. When in the factory, and especially on various meetings, they became increasingly aggressive and demanding.

- (7p) Rákosi was the Party's guiding spirit. Local Party organizations had their own officers but since there was hardly any opposition noticeable within the Party. I must assume that local Party branches operated on the basis of central directives.
- (7c) Party and government were identical in substance, differing in name only.
- (7r) The police were under the direct command of the Party.
- (7s) I know higher ranking army officers were, as a rule, Party members.
- (7t) The labor unions were also under direct Party control.
- (7u) The Party's influence on the church was tremendous, yet the church resisted these pressures more or less successfully.
- (8) Yes.
- (8a) I was a member of the labor union.
- (8b) I joined the labor union, usually in the spring each year, in order to be eligible for the reduced train fares and various other vacation benefits during the summer.
- (8c) There was the Party, the labor union, the DISZ, and the guerrilla association. (Hunbadarcos Szövetség) I was not familiar with their intimate operation.
- (8d) Generally speaking, people were not very much interested in these organizations. People did not have a high regard for any of these.
- (8e) I was a member of the labor union.
- (8f) Most factory workers and technicians were members. The size of the union necessarily depended on the size of the factory. Depending on the type of industry that a given factory belonged to, its members ~~would~~ would accordingly join the respective labor union.
- (8g) I joined the labor union in order to qualify for reduced fares and inexpensive vacations.

- (8h) I had to pay monthly dues. This amounted to 14 forints per month. I should have attended, at least in principle, every labor union meeting. I did not have any other obligations.
- (8i) The labor union did try to gain some advantages for its members. i.e. Reduced summer train rates, inexpensive vacations, health insurance, assistance in time of illness. But its chief function, I think, was the organization of the so-called Socialist work competitions, under the motto "Work more and work better." Also, the labor unions were instrumental in propagating and organizing the peace loans.
- (8j) There was no particular relationship between the members.
- (8k) Labor union leaders were elected yearly, and were thrown out yearly, for embezzling union funds. These people belonged exclusively to the working class, and were in general members of the younger generation.
- (8l) There must have been informers. There was also at least one AVH member in every factory. These people were responsible for collecting information concerning every person employed in a given plant and entering such information on the cadaver sheets.
- I know of all these things because we all were able to get hold of our secret files, that these people kept, during the Revolution. I, too, have taken out my dossier from the plant's personnel office.
- (8m) Yes, there were a number of instances of embezzlement.
- (8n) We all felt the same sort of disgust concerning any of these organizations. But we could not—we did not dare to—express our feelings. Everyone assumed the role of an actor.
- (8o) Generally, people did not approve of any of these organizations. If one felt constrained to join one of these mass organizations, whatever his

reason may have been—he was forced by sheer necessity, to assume, pro form at least, a luke-warm attitude. He could not remain ^{cold} (old, or completely indifferent and inactive, lest he ran the risk of being branded a class enemy or some other such thing. Whatever his personal feelings may have been, outwardly he was expected to be, and he actually was, a warm supporter, even making a few speeches here and there, and letting loose the wildest denunciations if the situation or circumstances so required.

- (8p) None of these mass organizations were any good.
- (9) The regime may have meant to form a citadel out of the DISZ. But it became a mass organization, a watered down group of all sorts of people whose views on many questions were anything but homogenous. The only thing that kept these people in the DISZ was the conviction on their part that such formal membership was necessary for their continued immunity from losing their jobs, university status, etc. In reality, most members were completely unreliable and the façade of the organization crumbled as soon as it was put to test.
- (9a) The Communists have accomplished exactly the opposite of what they intended to do. Their propoganda was an effective short-term weapon, i.e. they were able to lead and confuse the masses for a short time in the beginning. But their falsehoods and insincerity soon became all too clear and no one would trust them ~~thereafter~~ thereafter. For example, they proclaimed themselves initially the supporters of ^{e of} craftsmen, ^{of} small merchants, and ^{of} farmers, and many people applauded them. But as soon as they started their policy of expropriation and farm collectivization, the disappointment was so much greater. People do have longer memories than the regime seems to have assumed.
- (10) I don't know much about the AVH.
- (10a) Some people volunteered to serve in their ranks, ^{others} some ~~others~~ were sent there as army recruits.
- (10c) Most of them were young people, of worker's stock, with no previous political



allegiance.

(10c) I cannot tell for sure. There must have been some differences and fear even in the AVH, because I heard of instances where members of the AVH became ill as a result of tensions. In the plant where I worked was one former AVH member also, then working in the personnel department, who had suffered a nervous breakdown while serving in the AVH.

(10d) There probably were some more humane AVH members also. ~~///~~ An opera singer told me at Camp Kilmer that he escaped in the company of an AVH member to Austria.

It is hard to compare AVH people and informers. One would have to know what the motives, and particular circumstances of the informers were. If he acted voluntarily or if he was blackmailed by the AVH.

(11) a I was never arrested. Both my father and my brother were arrested and interned. ~~///~~

(11h) My father was arrested in 1945 for political reasons. My brother was picked up by the Russians. No formal charges were preferred against either of them, and they were never tried. My father served some time in Buda and died shortly after he was let out. My brother was held incommunicado, and one time he was seen in a jail in Szeged, but he never wrote us, nor have we ever heard anything of him. We assumed that he is dead.

(11c) See above. a, b

(11d) Both of these instances made a profound impression on me.

(11e) I have seen the AVH arrest a postman, a former college professor, on our street in 1949. This man, I know ^{him} personally, apparently tried to escape. The AVH people beat him very severely right in front of us.

Another instance, a girl, also from our street, was picked up by the AVH and sentenced subsequently to 4 years in prison. When she returned she was

both physically and mentally broken.

Another instance, the daughter of a professor from Szeged, whom I knew well, was arrested for attempting to cross the border. She was beaten so severely that she died soon afterwards in a mental hospital in ^{Lipótmező} ~~Lipótmező~~.

(11f) No classification is possible here. People of all sorts were arrested for all kinds of reasons. Some were arrested because they visited ~~the~~ foreign embassies, some others because they listened to foreign radio broadcasts, some others in connection with the economic plan, some because of alleged sabotage, etc.

In the factory where I worked a young Jewish fellow was arrested after the police found some incriminating information-literature in his desk. The literature was harmless enough, being some pamphlets ~~being~~ distributed by the United States Legation. But the AVH people took him away anyway and accused him of espionage with the Americans.

(11g) There were occasionally what they called rationalizations. This was actually a ^{personnel} ~~personnel~~ reduction, at times amounting to 10%. During these rationalizations, people who were considered undesirable by the factory leadership were thrown out of work.

Another instance was the purge that took place in the Ministry of the Interior and other places during ^{and} after the Rajk Trial.

(12) A person who is a typical "yes" man, who doesn't say a word, and if asked, is able to give the desired ^{sort} ~~sort~~ of answer has the best chance of avoiding contact with the AVH.

(12a) One's vocation or profession has very little to do with the possibility of arrest. It is true that the regime tended to be more lenient with workers and Tsz Cs members. The important thing, however, was the political allegiance of the person, and the amount of influence he was able to exert

within the Party. Still, ^{no one} ~~he~~ really was completely immune from arrest.

(12b) A politically active person, an active Communist that is, may have a temporary advantage. On the other hand, if you are a Party member you are bound to express your views sooner or later. Thus exposed, you face an increased danger if there is a shift in Party leadership, or policy, or emphasis. Neutral people, who keep their mouths shut, are better off in this respect.

(12c) Connections are worth a great deal in overcoming little obstacles. They are worthless, however, if you are accused of grave political crimes. ^{No one} ~~None~~ is likely to come forward and defend you if you are in a real danger.

(12d) Simple background does have some advantages, If that is one's cadre classification. This is most helpful in connection with education, acceptance to a university, and similar things.

One could conceivably cover up his real background, or falsify it, but it is dangerous, and it might easily backfire.

(12e) Money helps, definitely.

(12f) In all probability, yes. But it isn't as simple as that. One cannot forever isolate himself from his environment.

(12g) Yes. For instance, in an industrial plant, those people who are not the political leaders, but are otherwise exposed, are more likely to get in trouble than others.

(13) Of these three the regular police force was somewhat more loyal. The court, especially in political questions, has rendered such judgements as prescribed, or desired by the Party or the AVH. Even in ^{civil} ~~criminal~~ cases the courts cannot be said to have been impartial. As a rule, there was only one trained judge on such proceedings, and he was assisted by workers-delegates. These delegates knew nothing about the law, and the judge was able to twist

their heads around as he pleased.

- (13a) With neither of these authorities did a man find justice.
- (13b) I don't know.
- (13c) I don't know.
- (14) Some concessions were given during the first premiership of Imre Nagy. There was some relaxation then, that could be felt in all aspects of life. The AVE people were restrained, too. This was sometime in 1953. It seemed as if the ~~terror~~ had somewhat receded.
- (14a) See answer to question 14.
- (14b) See answer to question 14.
- (15) It is the Soviet Union that ~~dictates~~ determines the main outlines of the so-called Hungarian policy, both in the political as well as in the economic sphere.
- (15_a) The Soviet Union prescribes Hungarian policy, or at least the main outlines of it, and the Hungarian Communists executed the desires of the Soviets. It is possible that the Hungarian Party leaders were permitted to work out minor *and* insignificant details.
- (15b) The majority of Hungarian factories were engaged in export production for the Soviet Union. A very large percentage of all Hungarian production was shipped out to the Soviet Union. From this fact alone, one could safely infer the degree of our dependence on the Soviet Union. The factory where I worked has often sent commercial and other delegations to Moscow. So we knew quite well that it was the Russians who determined what we were to produce, in what quantities, and at what time. And this was true of most of the larger factories. To put it in simpler terms, Hungary was not the master of her own economic life, the Hungarian economic plans were an ~~integral~~ integral part of the ~~greater~~ greater economic plan of the Soviet Union.

This same thing is evident in every other respect. Traditional Hungarian institutions were gradually replaced with Soviet type institutions. No one in Hungary really wanted any of these innovations. They were forced

and superimposed on us.

- (15c) There was no direct Russian pressure in the political sphere. No Russian gave direct political orders to ordinary Hungarians. Their political pressure was exerted on the Hungarian Communist Party.

In the economic sphere, however, the direct Russian pressure was eminently felt. First of all, there were a number of Hungarian plants ~~and~~ which the Russians expropriated after the war. These sizeable Hungarian factories were under the direct Russian direction, where all the leading positions were filled by Russians. Since a certain percentage of the production of practically every Hungarian enterprise was designed for Russia, such plants had Russian advisers or at least a Russian inspector.

The position and, perhaps the personal safety, of a Hungarian plant director, often depended on these Russian inspectors. These inspectors supervised every single detail of production, beginning from the blueprints on to the last stages. Whatever changes they recommended, had to be carried out. If the plant director refused to cooperate, the Russian called up the Ministry in charge and had the director removed.

- (15b) I have had official dealings with them. I can only say that they are an aggressive and extremely rude people.

- (15e) Russian influence was strongest in the economic sphere but I don't really know where it was the weakest.

There was hardly any industrial plant in Hungary where there was no Russian inspector. He was empowered to look into every detail of design and production and he could force the plant to undertake whatever changes he felt were necessary.

- (15f) Every Hungarian plant, that was engaged in export production, had at least one Russian inspector. (Atvevo) (Atvevo)

Large Hungarian enterprises also had a Russian adviser. To this

very day there are Russian advisers at the MÁV (Hungarian State Railways).
Plants, ^{which} ~~that~~ before, or during the war belonged to Germany, and whose partial owners were German nationals, or Hungarians who were Nazis, were expropriated by the Russians shortly after the war. These became Russian-owned factories, and the director, chief accountants, chief engineers, and section heads of such factories were Russian nationals. There were a number of such plants in Hungary, the Hungarian Elevator Company, the Hungarian Optical Works, various mines, etc. Russians continued to direct these enterprises until they were resold to Hungary by the Soviet Union.

I have heard of Russians sitting in the Ministries, the Army, police, and collective farms also, but I am not personally familiar with these things.

(16) Exactly to the contrary. People never acted according to their feelings. People always said those things, and in such a way, as a given situation or circumstance required.

(16a) Everyone concealed his real feelings and emotions and said those things that he was supposed to say.

People acted this way because, if they had expressed their true thoughts and feelings, they would have been branded anti-Communists. A Communist State trains the best actors in the world. An individual expresses himself truly only at home.

(16b) I could give you a million examples. Quantitatively speaking, 80% of what an average person speaks on an average day is a sheer lie, with not even a grain of truth in it. It was this abnormal situation, the necessity of telling lies hour after hour, and day in and day out; and the need of keeping constant track of one's own lies--so as to avoid a gross contradiction,--that caused us intense physical pain and headaches and exhaustion. To give you an example; on a labor union meeting, one of my colleagues, a former army officer, dutifully grose and delivered a 15-20 minute speech on the benefits, pleasure, and excitement that comes from production races. He praised comrade Stakhanov

and his Hungarian imitators to high heavens. Did he believe a word he said? No! Neither did the audience, but more than that, every member of the audience knew, what the real ^{views} ~~views~~ of this ~~kind~~ person were. My friend realized that, officially, he was expected to say those things. None of us thought for a moment that he was a Communist. And we had a hearty laugh ~~after~~.

(Interviewer here injected the following question)

How did the real Communists and the high plant officials, who were also present, feel about this? What was their reaction?

Answer: Many of these people knew, took that this was only a circus. But they did not care. The important thing, from their point of view, was the fact, that actually, and formally, no anti-Communist or anti-regime speeches were delivered. In a word, they, too, looked for their own protection. In case there was a planted spy, whose duty it was to report on them, they were well protected. Speeches of this type could only testify to the managerial ability of the leaders of the plant. It was precisely this sort of thing that grinded out nerves.

(16c) During work, amongst colleagues, we did express our real opinions. We had a wonderful group in this respect, where we did not have to fear. Of course, there were some people there who were overcautious, who listened regularly to others, but would not speak themselves.

None ever even tried to discuss politics with strangers. With strangers one discussed only insignificant things such as the weather. I travelled a great deal, as part of my job, on trains. But I always meticulously avoided entering into conversation with people I did not know.

(16d) One spoke honestly with anyone and everyone only on questions pertaining to one's job. One could also indulge in discussions on the weather, or some

such factual and neutral subjects as titles of books, or movies, or what place such and such a movie was playing. And that was about all. Questions on politics, economics, official versions of the government on some cultural questions, or questions that even remotely could have been construed as involving any of the above headings were methodically avoided.

(16e) There was a small degree of freedom during Imre Nagy's first premiership. Even there, we did not really have freedom, but one could, for instance, at that time, criticize past actions of undeniably discredited leaders.

(17) Yes, there was such a possibility. A small escape-door remained open throughout.

(17a) For instance, government regulations strictly forbade government factories to engage the services of private individuals. These factories, however, were permitted to engage the services of experts who were not on their payrolls. As a result, a great number of engineers and technicians were engaged to do all sorts of things, in their free time, and were paid as experts. Other people were nominally entered on the payroll, or were paid in premiums. In this latter case—a regular plant employee assumed responsibility and authorship for a work that actually was performed by an outsider. The plant employee would get the premiums and would simply transfer them to the outsider in question.

(17b) I succeeded in having housing disputes settled in my favor. Or, to give you another example, I tried a few years ago, to change my place of employment. At that time I worked in a shipyard. My application for a transfer was refused. Thereupon I quit my job even though quitting was not permissible. Before quitting I already found another place,—through private connections—where I was assured employment. I naturally accepted a great risk, when quitting, and exposed myself to prosecution. I took the risk, and luckily nothing happened.

(17c) As a general rule, it was not possible. While I know of no instances to the

contrary, I assume that there were peasants, of the diabolical sort, who actually succeeded in gaining some advantages to themselves.

(17d) This was possible only if the person had powerful connections and friends.

(17e) The simplest method of achieving this, if an official transfer cannot be had, is for the worker to provoke a situation where he is hated and detested as a person by the plant management. After a while, they would probably fire him. Another way is simply to quit the job. If he does quit, then he cannot work where he wants to, but must accept whatever employment the state employment bureau assigns him. In either of these cases, a person will be bound to accept a far less-paying job, than what he held before. There is still another possibility, where after a person quits his job, he takes occasional jobs here and there for a period of six months after which time he may seek employment regularly again.

Changing a job is only practicable if the person desiring the change is really wanted in some other factory, where he also has powerful connections.

(17f) Such a student, or prospective student, may accept work in a factory, may enter the DISZ there and, attending the DISZ meetings regularly, may make such speeches and, in general, behave in such a way, as to be noticed. He has to do all these things with a view of so attracting on himself the plant management's attention. If he is thorough enough in his denunciations, the management undoubtedly will recommend him for evening courses. Once accepted by the university, he should try to study real hard in order to make a favorable impression in school. If he has done that, the only remaining thing to do is go get a transfer from evening classes to regular daytime classes. If the student is a master of creating false appearances, this last task is relatively easy to accomplish.

There is also another possibility. If a student is refused admission to a Budapest university, he may still go and try to get accepted in a provincial school. Some schools in the provinces usually don't have the

Budapest educational standards, and acceptance to them is relatively easy. Once accepted in a school in the provinces, the student would want to try to get a transfer from there to a Budapest school. I do not want to create the impression that this is a rather easy thing to accomplish.

- (18) That person who has not any moral or other scruples, and has a strong nervous system, and a good stomach necessary for the process of acclimatization. ^{He must} ~~such a person~~ inescapably accept political obligations, and he must be prepared to act in every respect in full accord with the wishes of his political superiors.
- (19a) I personally had no knowledge of actual open resistance. The resistance I knew was a passive sort of resistance, and this was carried ^{out} by most people to perfection. The Party was completely powerless in this field.
- (19b) Intellectual workers had a far greater and better opportunity to express their anti-regime feelings than did the manual workers. Yet I know that in our own plant there were times when 10% of our own total production was of such poor quality that it had to be rejected.
- (19c) Aside from members of the Communist Party, who cooperated with the regime, it is difficult to compartmentalize the degree of resistance. The difference in degree was so small that, if I assigned 100% to those who resisted completely I would assign 95% to the others.
- (19d) I believe the resistance increased after 1953.
- (19e) The resistance was primarily private, individualistic, in nature. It is quite possible, however, that there were resistance groups, also. Her again I must say that, at least outwardly, most people acted in such a way that it was difficult to discover who was the Communist, the collaborator, or the opponent. One simply did not know who was who. People went to extremes to conceal their true identity.
- (19f) Aside from general symptoms of increased tenseness and despair, ^{which} ~~that~~ were generally noticeable, I knew of no resistance within the Party or army.

- (19g) For instance, the political leadership in our factory came up with some specific proposals, plans, or modes of action, of which we knew they were bad, or unworkable, or silly, and yet we did not say a word in opposition to them. We simply permitted these to be carried out.
- (19h) There were many political jokes. There was even an official government publication specializing in such jokes. But we never told political jokes to strangers.
- (19i) There was a man in our factory who was arrested for possession of information leaflets distributed by the United States ^{Legation} ~~embassy~~ in Budapest. This man was subsequently accused of espionage.
- There were ^{courses} ~~classes~~ given even in our factory with the aim of teaching the Russian language. A large mass attended the first few lessons, but within a few weeks most people stood away, giving all sorts of excuses.
- (19j) I don't know, but I don't think there were such discussions, the ideology having been imported ~~from Russia~~ ready-made from Russia.
- (19k) Resistance most certainly could have been arranged, and probably would have been arranged, if it could have promised some degree of success.
- (19l) Both the MEFESZ and Petöfi Circle were the direct result of the temporary and unexpected loosening up of the regime's pressure. ~~This~~

- (1) I received most of my information from foreign radio broadcasts. To be more specific, I listened to the Hungarian language broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, ^{of the} Voice of America, ^{to} various West German stations, ~~and to~~ the Turkish radio, ^{to} the Spanish radio, and ^{to} the English radio.
- (1a) BBC was the most important for me, because I thought that it was the most objective in its news coverage and political analysis.
- (1b) Next in importance was the Voice of America.
- (2) Newspapers, political newspapers, that is, I did not read at all. I read only technical publications ^{which} were more or less in line with my line of work.

Hungarian newspapers were absolutely worthless. They were loaded with Communist politics, government policies, speeches, and glorifications of various obscure individuals of factories and collective farms who have maintained extraordinary production records. I was not interested in any of this rather dull stuff.

One couldn't see people reading newspapers in the trolley cars during all these years.

(2a, b, c, d, e, f, g) Not applicable.

(2h) Yes, there were ^{WALL} newspapers in our factory.

(2i) The daily newspapers reported and wrote about events from the entire nation, events by the way that ~~no~~one was really interested in. ~~Wall~~ newspapers, on the other hand, reported only such events that were supposed to be of local significance. Events that pertained to our own factory.

The factory management would appoint a person to be responsible for the assigning of themes to various individuals and ^{for} other editorial duties. Because people were extremely reluctant to write articles for the ~~wall~~

newspapers, the editor was very often forced to use paraphrases or paraphrased versions of articles appearing in the daily newspapers, or to cut out such articles and paste them on the wall newspaper. Very often the entire daily newspaper was ~~based~~^{pasted} on the wall.

(2j) See above. 2i

(2k) ~~Foreign~~^{Foreign} newspapers were available at the IBUEL stations (Interviewer's note: these were governmental tourist offices).

One could see there Austrian, Italian, English, East-~~GERM~~ German, and other Communist newspapers. The French L'Humanite' was also there. There were also several foreign magazines and periodicals there.

(2l) See above, 2k)

(2m) I never read any of these publications.

(3) ~~We~~^{We} very seldom visited moviehouses. Once in a month at the most. There were no serious, worth-while films available. People were not overly enthusiastic about Hungarian films.

(3a) We usually went to a near-by movie house.

(3b) I liked films that were imported from the West. Italian operatic films, for instance, or German films treating of biographical theme.

I liked these movies because they offered a possibility of at least a temporary release and escape from the Hungarian Communist scene.

(3c) Practically all Hungarian films were saturated with politics and Communist propaganda. The same applies to Czech, East-~~GERM~~ German, and Russian productions. The themes of these films centered invariably around the factory, the labor union, or Communist politics. The plot of these films had to do with some sort of a sabotage, and the engineer or some counter-revolutionary was the chief villain.

(3d) We always tried to synchronize our available time, money, and the availability of a good film. If all these prerequisites ^{were present} we went to see a movie; ~~if~~ if not, we did not go..

(3f) I wouldn't remember the exact time or title. We have seen a number of Italian opera films, and ~~one~~ ^{depicting} an independence struggle of the ~~the~~ Tirolians. We have also seen a number of German biographical films as well as a couple of French educational and didactic films.

(3g) The situation ~~with~~ ^{of} the theatre was similar to that of the movies. The frequency of our visits to the theatre depended on what the theatres had to offer.

(3h) We usually went with our children and visited such theatres as the Néphéségyszínház and the Városliget Színház.

The frequency of our visits depended on the availability of such plays as were considered by us as suitable for our children. In this connection I always preferred old plays and classics.

(3i) There was a noticeable quantitative expansion. Also, many classical plays were rewritten by Communist writers.

(4) Yes—I read books. ~~XXXXXXXXXX/XXXXXXXXXX~~ I read books of exclusively technical nature. The constant nervous strain of my life prevented me from reading novels. I simply was never in the mood to read such things.

(5) Yes, I listened to the radio.

(5a) Not applicable.

(5b) I had a very powerful receiver, a Phillips, capable of receiving signals from the whole world.

(5c) I was listening to both domestic and foreign radio broadcasts. When I had the time I started tuning my set until I found a program that best corresponded to my momentary mood.

(5d) I listened to music, comedy, anecdotes, and news.

I used the radio as a means of relaxation. Thus, if there was no significant political development at home or abroad, I usually did not listen to news broadcasts at all. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{If}, on the other hand, the political situation

warranted it, then I devoted most of my free time to listening to foreign news broadcasts and analysis.

I know I listened all night to the news at the time Eisenhower was elected to the presidency. He promised us so much and we expected so much from him and from his election.

(5e) I usually listened to the radio half an hour or an hour, in the late evening.

(5g) Music and variety.

(6) Yes.

(6a) Not applicable.

(6b) BBC, Voice of America, Radio Vienna, Paris, Madrid, Ankara, West Germany.

We also listened to Radio Free Europe.

(6c) My wife listened to every newscast of all these stations between 1950, 1951 until she got tired of, and disillusioned in, them.

I listened to these stations occasionally both to hear news and to enjoy West European music.

(6d) My listening schedule was irregular. I usually listened to the radio between 9 and 10 P.M.

(6e) I liked BBC, Paris, and Ankara. I thought Radio Free Europe was rather miserable.

(6f) BBC was the most trustworthy, Radio Free Europe the least.

(7) Yes.

(7a) Not applicable.

(7b) I attended the labor union meetings as well as the production conferences.

(7c) My attendance was not voluntary, even though no one stood there with a gun in my back. Nor did anyone directly force me to attend these meetings.

One simply played it safe and considered it advisable, good policy, to be present, to be seen at these gatherings. Everyone knew that while some meetings might be totally ignored, one was expected to be present at others.

(7d) Four, five times a year.

(7e) Production conferences had to do in the main with production problems, the

Plan, discussion of various bottlenecks of production, etc.

Labor union meetings dealt with union problems, questions of production, pledging of peace loans.

- (7f) These meetings were organized by the plant leadership or management or the labor union leaders.
- (7g) Production conferences lasted some three to four hours. Labor union meetings lasted $\frac{1}{2}$ hour.
- (7h) No one believed in these meetings. No one really wanted to attend them. They were considered to be a joke, a waste of time.
- (7i) Yes. Usually the plant management or the Party secretary appointed some trusted workers in advance to ask certain questions or to make certain proposals. Some of these questions were provocative, some were decidedly stupid and out of place.
- (7j) The meeting began with someone making a long speech. After the speech people were supposed to make comments on the speech. Since no one ever had any comment, 3 or 4 people were appointed ~~to~~, even before the meeting began, to make such comments.

The principal speaker, usually the plant director, delivered his opening speech explaining that the plant's production target has not been reached, that this or that part of the production is beyond schedule because of this or that. Thereupon one of the previously appointed workers stood up, and questioned the reasons given by the plant director, and gave what he considered to have been ^{Real} the ~~two~~ reasons, firecely accusing the chief engineer and/or some other persons in the process.

The chief engineer and/or others thus accused were obliged to silently listen to all that nonsense levelled against them, and to subsequently admit their negligence, and ^{to} exercise a searching public self-criticism.

Quite often workers would stand up and complain that the factory did not have enough screws or washers or some other minor things. The shortages then

would be discussed and plans made for the elimination of such shortages.

While various technical difficulties and material shortages were thus discussed, and plans were laid out to ~~improve~~ ^{remedy} the situation, nothing ever really happened. Naturally, we all became disillusioned and disgusted first, and completely cynical later.

These meetings were a complete waste of time for all concerned. While ~~criticism~~ criticism was officially welcome, in practice only constructive criticism was tolerated. Criticism of the economic plan, of the factory plan, of the Party secretary, or of the plant director would have been destructive criticism and, as such, it was never permitted.

(8) Yes. (~~is that it?~~)

(8a) There were all sorts of reports and ~~is that it?~~ rumors that circulated this way.

We heard of various fires, explosions that took place in Budapest, etc.

(8a) It was reported once that someone received a letter from someone in the United States in which the American writer informed his Hungarian correspondent that "when the autumn comes, the snow shall fall down too." This parable or allegory was immediately solved, and it was said that liberation would take place in the fall of that very year.

(8d) It all depended on the source, on the credibility of the person who was the eye witness or the transmitter of the particular information.

(8e) There definitely were exaggerations and outright rumours. Generally speaking, there was always a substance, a real occurrence behind such reports. Naturally this substance was enlarged in the process of transmission and we often received them in exaggerated form.

(8f) I do not remember any specific rumour now besides the letter episode that I

already mentioned.

(8g) Rumours circulated in schools, at the grocers, and at the place of one's employment.

(8h) Discussion of any kind took place only in one's home.

(8i) On the whole, everyone knew everything that could be known.

I met an elderly engineer in the spring of 1950 who advised me confidentially that the Hungarian Communist regime would collapse by July 10 of that year. He based his prognostication on Radio Reports and on his personal feeling.

(8j) Daily events were discussed at home and at one's place of employment. Restaurants were not suitable for such purposes. One did not have enough privacy there.

Discussions took place at home and at the factory for the simple reason that it was there that one met people whom he could trust.

(8k) No. One did not go out of his way to make new acquaintances. As far as released PWs and prisoners were concerned, these people, at least immediately after their release, did not even care to talk about anything at all. The general impression was that these people received strict instructions not to relate any of their prison experiences or other information they might have, or know.

(8l) I found once some literature of Western origin that was dropped from an airplane. This was a long time ago. I don't even remember its contents now.

(9) No one was interested in these things. What the Party did, or what leading individual Communist leaders thought of this or that problem was of absolutely no importance to us. People, being shut in into a gigantic prison, did not expect their jailers to free them. As a result, no one was interested in domestic politics.

Everyone looked abroad, in the direction of the West, knowing full well that liberation cannot be accomplished from within, but only from without. There are many Hungarians today who do not know even the names of their

Cabinet members. This is remarkable if one compares it to conditions before the war when a similar situation would have been inconceivable.

- (9a) For news from abroad I turned to ~~domestic~~^{Foreign} radio broadcasts.
- (9b) Sport news could be had both by means of foreign and domestic radio broadcasts.
- (9c) Foreign radio broadcasts were more reliable in this respect.
- (10) Such news as people ordinarily are interested in simply was not available in the newspapers. Newspapers reported mainly how X or Y reached and surpassed his production norm. But who was interested in these?
- (10a) One simply had to rely on a rule of thumb, on common sense. ^{To} Compare reports with experiences of his own, or check them against ~~the~~ foreign reports, or see if there was an internal contradiction inherent to the reports.
- (10b) It remained just as unreliable as it always was.
- (10c) Sports news were quite reliable.
- (10d) Political and economic reports given by domestic radio or newspapers.
- (10e) Foreign radios were more reliable. Among these BBC was the most and Radio Free Europe the least, reliable.
- (10f) Of late many people have read the Irodalmi Ujság.
- (10g) It was written in a very courageous way, and most people were extremely pleased with its tone.
- (11) By and large, people did know what was going on, at least in a general way.
- (11a) Gathering news and analyzing and checking it for its accuracy would have required time and effort. Most people lacked both these ingredients. It was clearly a matter of time.
- (12) From the radio.
- (12a) That was the easiest, quickest, and safest way.
- (12b) From the radio, both domestic and foreign, and from the innumerable handbills that were distributed.

(12c) Our information regarding the other Hungarian cities was not always accurate nor up-to-date. This is especially true of cities which did not have broadcasting facilities.

(13) Yes, I knew about them.

(13a) I received ~~part~~ part of my information from returning PWs who would tell us, for instance, that 50 of them were now returning, but that countless thousands were still behind.

I knew, for instance, that, while I worked at the Budapest shipyards, Russians, who served there as inspectors, did everything they possibly could to avoid their being transferred back to Russia.

I also spoke with a Russian-Hungarian, a PW of the First World War who married a Russian girl and came back with the Red army after the 2nd World War. This man explained to me how, when the Germans pushed their way close to Moscow, the Russian population jubilantly received them, looking at them as liberators.

(13b) Communists swore there was bacteriological warfare. Otherwise no one believed it. Those who were Communists believed with Stalin, or believed what Stalin wanted them to believe, in this case, that there was germ warfare.

Those who hated the Russians were inclined to believe Western radio reports that there was no such thing.

(13c) I don't think the Americans could have started the Korean war. The Americans are as afraid of the war as is the devil of the Holy Water.

(13d) He was not guilty of the crime that he was accused of. He earned and deserved the death penalty full well, but he did not receive his punishment for his real crime, namely for his role in the establishment and organization of the AVE.

(13e) All I know is, that it proceeds at a pace, that is much too slow.

(13f) I don't know much about that. It was barely mentioned in Hungary at the time.

(13g) I know that there are the three of them, and that they are pulling in 8 different directions.

~~Directions~~

- (1) First of all universal and secret elections would have to be held. Changes would have to ^{be} affected with a view to creating a condition where individual initiative and freedom of action would be secured. This would be absolutely essential to permit the people to live under normal conditions.
- (1a) I would not retain any of the main and significant features of the regime. It is quite possible that there are certain minor, insignificant aspects of the present regime that are worthy of consideration, and possibly of retention.
- (2) Yes, I believe anyone and everyone should be permitted to organize and form political parties. There is an exception, however, I am thinking here of people who obviously intend to propagage such views or doctrines ~~as~~ that are summarily rejected by the population. To these people I would not give a platform for the propagation of their views.
- (2a) It is necessary to permit everyone to form political parties because it is by this method that that segment of the population comes to the fore which is best suited to assume political leadership of the country.
- (2b) I believe this to be extremely important.
- (2c) Yes, see 2nd part of Question 2.
- (3) Every person should be absolutely free to express whatever political views he desires. This would not, of course, mean that individuals of shady character would be permitted to freely propagage immoralities under the guise of freedom ~~and~~ of political expression.
- (3a) That, which is harmful to the society, must be forbidden. This restriction does not apply to politics. In politics everyone should have a complete freedom.
- This is necessary because moral education is a necessary thing and immorality must be regulated.
- (3b) If the government is a representative one, which acts in accordance with

the people's wishes, then anti-government manifestations should not be permitted. Restriction here is necessary ~~law~~ to safeguard the interests of the state, and through it the interests of the population.

(4) Yes.

(4a) Yes.

(4b) Because this is the process of purification. If the government has no opposition whatsoever, then it may do whatever it pleases to do.

(4c) This is very important.

(4d) Yes. I would restrict this criticism by the forces of the opposition in time of war, and ^{in time of} other grave national emergencies.

(4e) I am thinking of a situation where the people are unable, on the basis of legally held elections, to force the resignation of a ~~ppp~~ minority government. In a situation like that, one is either obliged to suffer the actions of the government, or is forced to rise in arms against such government.

(5) The larger firms of the heavy industry ought to be nationalized. I have in mind here such firms as the Weiss-Manfred firm in Csepel, the MÁV (interviewer's note: this is the abbreviation of the Hungarian term signifying the Hungarian national railroad.) and others.

This is necessary because state ownership of such firms permits a smoother operation of the facilities, and represents a greater security for the many employees engaged in such firms than would private ownership.

(5b) State direction means only a certain partial state involvement and control. The enterprise itself is still in private hands. State ownership, on the other hand, represents a complete state jurisdiction

in every respect. ~~There is no state interference at all.~~

- (5c) One could think of private ownership with no state interference at all.
- (5d) Profit is not objectionable, to the contrary. It is only the excesses in the institution of profit that I object to.
- (6) This question would depend on the industrial structure of the country. If, in a given country, light industry predominates, textile industry for instance, then in such a situation, I would favor government direction of such industry.
- (6a) The underlying principle here is the right of the state to regulate and direct the principal industry of the country, whatever that principal industry may be.
- (6b) There is the outright ownership of an industry by the state, or a compromise solution, where the industry, or plant, or enterprise itself is in private hands, with the state having a certain amount of right to control and direct it.
- (6c) Not applicable.
- (7) State monopolies are not absolutely required and necessary.
- (7a) Monopolies are not necessarily required in a state where the state has other means of income. In other words, monopolies are required in such states, where the state does not possess either agricultural or industrial enterprises and, as a result, is obliged to ~~base~~ base its incomes on monopolies.
- (7b) Since state monopolies are designed to supply a state with its principal source of income, the state usually monopolizes such consumer good items as salt, matches, and alcoholic beverages.
- (8) I do not approve of planned economy.
- (8a) Planned economy is incapable to precisely and completely fulfill consumer demands. Such an economy actually directs consumer demands and tends to prescribe what consumers ought to buy and what they ought not to buy.

Planned economy disregards consumer habits, does not take into consideration possible changes in these habits, and forces upon the consumer the kind, quantity, and quality of whatever it happens to produce.

- (8b) In theory, it may appear desirable, but the practical application of it is an entirely different matter.

Planned economy is good in a predominantly agrarian country, if such a country should desire to change its economic base, wholly or in part from agriculture/production to industrial production. Such a transfer may best be accomplished on the basis of an economic plan.

- (8c) Our experiences showed that depending on the plan—directives, certain consumer or other goods were available in great quantities, and others were totally absent.

- (8d) One of the dangers inherent in planned economy is that it does not satisfy consumer demand. The produced goods very often appear much too late, when it is no longer possible to market them.

- (8e) As a general rule, I should say that, if a planned economy is necessary, the economic plan should be flexible. It should be based on the actual needs of the population. It should take into account population traits and trends, availability of raw materials, and of markets. The plan should be adjusted to the population's needs and not the population to the plan.

- (9) I approve of this.

- (9a) State ownership of the principal means of transportation is necessary because then there is a possibility of uniform direction and standardisation, and because it would not be altogether right, if these utilities, serving the general public, would be exploited, or used for the private profit of just a few individuals.

- (9b) I would treat these three services in exactly the same way.

- (10) I approve of it.

- (10a) The most important thing in the life of a state is that every person may work.
- (10b) If the state provides opportunities of work to its members, without completely destroying one's initiative and independence, then, I do not see any dangers in it.
- (10c) I personally value both security and freedom. As I grow older, I would give up a small portion of my freedom if I could thereby secure a greater share of security.
- (11) The state has no right to enter into family life. Again the education of the children, within the family, is rightly outside of the state's competence.
- (11a) My opinion follows from the consideration, that the state is made up of, and consequently depends on, the family, and not the other way around.
- (11b) Speaking of education outside of the family, the state has no right to arbitrarily determine who does, and who does not, receive university education.
- () What happened in Hungary was that the state actually forced the university education of many a youth, who neither desired it nor was prepared intellectually for it, while shutting out others who were both anxious to study and ~~who were~~ were better qualified.
- (12) Yes.
- (12a) Not applicable.
- (12b) These obligations include paying of taxes, military service and the abiding by the state's laws and regulations.
- (12f) Yes. I hold this view because I believe that a person is obliged to abide by the law of the country in which he lives in order to be able to exist, to live.

If the regulations of a state are contrary to the basic laws and customs of that state, then the population is entitled to get rid of such state.

- (13) There was no basic change in my attitude and opinions.
- (14) Yes, there was a definite improvement.
- (14a) There was a quantitative improvement as well.
- (14b) Practically every segment of the population benefited from these changes. Those who previously were not insured are now covered completely.
- (14c) Generally speaking, privately practicing physicians were always better, but there were situations when the exact opposite of this was true.
- (14d) Insurance is a very good thing. Insurance need not be compulsory. Its benefits should be a sufficient attraction for everyone.
- (14e) See 14d.
- (14f) Not applicable.
- (14g) Not applicable.
- (15) Those who live in ^Budapest have less opportunities, those in the provinces have more, than 20 years ago.
- (15a) The population of Budapest has increased markedly while at the same time there was no proportional increase in theatrical facilities. Actually many theaters were destroyed during the war.
- (15) In the provinces the situation is different. The government fostered the establishment of new theatres and a great number of travelling theatrical troupes were also organized. These troupes are capable of giving two or more short performances during a single day in one or more localities.
- (15b) No, I did not go as frequently to the theatre now as before.
- (15c) I don't think it is a matter of life and death.
- (15d) This is a question of time and finances. Single people generally have

more opportunity than married persons.

(15e) Yes, especially the younger generation.

(15f) See 15d.

(16) No. The situation was best in 1940. 1946 represented an all-time low. 1956 was again a little better.

(16a) No.

(16b) Yes.

(16c) Yes.

(16d) Those who have relatives living in the country are much better off in this respect.

There are, at times, certain food articles, which usually are in short supply, in the Kóvéri stores. The store employees naturally have a far better chance of purchasing these than the general public. This is true in the case of colonial wares.

(16e) Large families are suffering most, and people living in the country are best off.

(17a) No.

(17b) Yes.

(17c) See.

(17d) In 1946, right after the war, there was no manufacturing of textiles for the home consumption. There was no way of replenishing what was lost and worn out as a result of the war years. Much of the clothing was confiscated by the pillaging Russian soldiers immediately after the war. Then came the inflation when thousands had to barter their belongings, including clothing, for food and other essentials.

In 1950 there was a slight change for the better. There were more

textiles on the market, and the inflation was over, so that some people were able to buy clothing.

Today the situation is still better than it was in 1950. But the clothing supply of today and the ability of people to buy them is a far cry from 1940.

(17a) People with higher incomes and people with smaller families, as well as single individuals, spend relatively more on clothing.

(18) Yes.

(18a) A great number of new factories were built. And a great number of other, older factories became modernized. Total industrial capacity is greater now than before the war with a correspondingly greater production. The relative increase of production, however, is somewhat short ^{it} is disproportional to the relative increase of productive capacity.

(18b) The growth of the industrial capacity is, generally speaking, advantageous.

(18c) Yes. Instead of the abnormal development and expansion of the heavy industry, the emphasis should have been on the development and expansion of industries for which there is an adequate supply of raw materials within the country. I have in mind here light industry, food, and packing industry, textiles, etc.

(19) The idea of cooperatives, of independent and voluntary associations, is a healthy one. Cooperatives, then, could be maintained, but not in their present form.

I have in mind here cooperatives that come into being as a result of voluntary action on the part of their members, cooperatives which are independent of governmental pressure and coercion.

Today, members of the ~~Fas Co~~ ^{are} in reality agricultural laborers ^{day-} who go to work every day on the cooperative, with no real incentive. The relationship of a ~~Fas Co~~ member ^{to} of the collective farm is the same as the relationship ^{of} the factory worker ^{is} to a great state corporation, a state

~~factory.~~ factory.

- (19a) It is important that the TSC members themselves decide whether or not they intend to continue their membership. The idea of voluntariness, and the absence of political, economic, and other pressures is extremely important here.
- (19b) If a given farmer prefers to till his own soil within the framework, and under the auspices of, a reconstituted free and voluntary farm cooperative, that is his business. If, however, a farmer chooses to leave the cooperative ^{wishes to} and become completely independent, then he should be given back his land, and whatever property belonged to him originally. This is only natural.
- (19c) See above, 19b. Members of the cooperatives must decide this question for themselves. As far as determination of former ownership is concerned the records of the land registry offices should be consulted.
- (19d) Domestic and farm animals, and all sorts of farm equipment should be given back to the rightful owners, if such owners desire to sever their relationship with the cooperatives.
- Animals and other equipment whose ownership cannot be determined should be given to the state to be sold to cover expenses incidental to the land readjustment.
- (19f) Large estates must not be given back under any circumstances.
- (19g) Every small landholder, or kulak, should be given back his former property.
- (19h) Yes, very definitely.
- (19i) Under the present system, a TSC member does derive some initial profit immediately after his entrance to ~~the~~ TSC. The Communist state also derives some initial gain, ideological gain that is, because the increase of farm cooperatives tends to underline the correctness of Leninist principles. In the long run, however, both state and TSC members are bound

to loss; the experiment is extremely costly in terms of money, production losses, losses of human values, deterioration of arable land, and ^{in terms of} large segments of land remaining entirely uncultivated. These are the long-term losses of the state. Members, while the recipients of more than adequate financial support in the beginning, are subjected as soon as the collective is organized to steadily increasing state pressures.

Free cooperatives, as I envisage them, would be beneficial to all members because of the many benefits of mechanized and rational land cultivation. The state would also benefit in the long run, because its agricultural citizens would represent a stable social stratum, both politically and economically.

(20a) None of the tractors or combines, none of the agricultural machines should remain the property of the state. These should be transferred to private ownership, either on the basis of a long-term lease or outright sale.

(20b) See above-20a.

(20c) See above-20a.

(20d) The tractor stations were managed by incompetent people who knew nothing at all about agriculture. These managers were for the most part political appointees of the Party. The tractor drivers were working under the strain of the norm system and, being required to plow so many hectares during a specified time, they were physically unable to do a good job. In order to reach, or possibly surpass, their quota, -- for the sake of the premiums, -- they frequently did not apply the required depth in their plowing. Their performance was rather mediocre and there was little or no possibility of checking them.

(20e) Yes, the mechanization of agriculture is necessary for the state, for the population, because of economic considerations. But if this mechanization should per force bring about involuntary collectivization, then the resulting disadvantages would far outweigh advantages gained by mechanization.

Agriculture is not only a field of production, a means of livelihood. It represented for centuries a way of life for countless Hungarian farmers. Having due regard for these human values involved, I would say that mechanization should not affect more than 70% of the farms.

- (21) Workers should be permitted to have a definite say in the management of a factory. I do not have in mind here a direct and decisive right on the part of the workers, their influence should be rather indirect. Workers should be entitled to determine who is to work in certain key positions and what the qualifications of these people should be. Once these key positions are filled, the workers should be able to make their influence felt to these individuals. The competence of these individuals ~~should~~ should embrace such questions as the determination of what the factory is to produce and how. Who the plant director should be, who the chief engineer should be, etc. The above should be the case in respect of government-owned factories.

Private enterprises must, of necessity, be run by the owner or owners, with the workers having a fair share of the policy making responsibilities.

- (21a) Labor unions should be competent ^{to} deal with such questions only as are normally within the province of the labor unions. They should be concerned only with the representation and protection of workers in every respect, in the constant economic struggle with the employer. Labor unions must secure as best they can the economic and other interests of the union members by means of such weapons as organization, conferences, persuasion, and strikes.

- (21b) Labor unions should be entirely free from the state.

- (21c) No, membership should not be compulsory.

- (21d) Under the Communists, one was paying union dues, was participating in labor union meetings, and suffered the production races.

(21e) It all depended to what extent one was ready to listen to a variety of nonsense during labor union meetings. And then the payment of dues did mean hardship in many cases. ~~Workers~~, I am sure, liked the production races.

(21f) So that not one person or a few, but a committee, composed of workers' representatives, should direct the activities of a factory.

(21g) All I can say is that one day during the uprising, the committees were elected. In some places many people either did not know of the election, or of the election date, or did not care, and the old management managed to push its way right back into leading positions again. This, of course, was not what the people wanted.

I don't know what the precise aims of these committees were, or who the originator of the worker's councils were. Local councils received their directives from the central committee. But I cannot tell you how these central committees came into being.

(21h) The success of the worker's councils would always depend on its composition. The worker's council that I have seen in my own factory, was no more than the old ~~planned~~ ^{plant} organization serving under a new name. Its principal members continued to be the former Party secretary, plant director, and others from the previous plant management.

(21i) The worker's councils, if they were to direct the factory, would only be morally responsible for their mistakes or failures or negligence. Whereas a private owner, or the state, as owner of a factory, would also be materially and legally responsible. For this reason, I would place factories under state ownership, and partly under private ownership.

- (22) Party members should receive the same sort of treatment they accorded to the Hungarian people in 1944. They should be investigated individually and they should be punished according to the degree and magnitude of the crimes they committed against their fellow members.
- (22a) No.
- (22b) Communist Party leaders should be investigated exactly in the same manner as regular members, except that they should receive a certain degree of punishment automatically since, by their accepting a position of leadership, they already committed a crime.
- (22c) Subordinate members of the Party should also be thoroughly investigated on an individual basis.
- (22d) The same as above, 2/c
- (22e) Only the leading members of youth organizations should be investigated. Ordinary members of groups of this kind need no investigating at all.
- (22f) Members of the AVH deserve punishment merely because of their belonging to this organization. Those members of the AVH who have committed crimes or atrocities beyond and above the ordinary call of duty should be punished accordingly.
- (22g) Members of the police force should also be individually investigated. Also, it is a generally known fact that there were many people, who were not formally members of the Party, and yet have committed crimes far greater than the Party members. These people were particularly active in the various ministries. Ministerial employees, then, should also be thoroughly investigated. The same thing should hold true for all persons who have held leading positions in Hungary under the Communists, irrespective of whether or not they were Party members.
- (22h) Leading personages in many places were replaced during the first days of the uprising. This was especially true of such places where the composition

of the revolutionary worker's councils was representative of the wishes of the larger public. Wherever the revolutionaries gained the upper hand they have eliminated compromised Party members from positions of leadership.

(23)

Communists considered the upbringing and education of children and of youth along Communist lines to be one of their main objectives. This was the impression we received viewing the situation from the outside, and official pronouncements of Party leaders, as well as activities and regulations of Communist educators confirmed this completely.

Political education played a preeminent role in this educational system, and parallel to this a concerted effort was made to discourage young people from thinking along, or in terms of, religious precepts. Communists tried to intimidate young people, advising them not to go to church. They were told that going to church, and participation in religious practices would have a definite bearing on their cadre status.

All these Communist efforts did not succeed completely because parents and teachers, at least a great majority of them, did everything they possibly could to counter-balance this atheistic influence.

(23a)

The system we had prior to 1944 was a curious mixture of democracy and national socialism. The system inaugurated in 1945 was called Communistic, but in reality it was state capitalism of the most extreme sort.

(23b)

Going to school is compulsory until the child is 14 years old. Theoretically, complete freedom of education prevails even after that. In reality, however, both the students and ^{parents} ~~parents~~ are faced with innumerable difficulties already on the secondary school level. Whether a given individual is permitted to continue his education or not, whether he is pushed forward against, and in spite of, his own intellectual inertia, and incapacity, or whether a student is ~~pushed around~~ ^{pushed around} day after day, until he resigns to the inevitable, ^{all} ~~or~~ this is determined not so much on the scholarly merits of the student, but on the basis of his class origin, cadre status, and the

running reports on his behavior by Party informers.

Acceptance to a university, theoretically, depends solely on a candidate's scholastic achievements. In reality, only good cadres, and the offspring of workers' families are granted admission. All the others, unless they have some excellent contacts within the Party are automatically excluded. There is a roundabout way to elude this Communist practice (such as accepting factory work, becoming a DISE member, etc.) but this is extremely circumstantial and not always successful.

(23c) This is very bad indeed.

(23d) Yes.

(24a) Church and state should be completely independent of one another.

(24d) (Interviewers note: respondent at first considered only the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches as groups to be recognized as established churches. He changed his mind however, making no qualifications or distinctions at all between whatever denominations.)

(24c) No, churches should not receive assistance from the State in any form.

(24d) Schools should not teach religion and every denomination should be free to solve the question of religious education of its young members as best they may.

(24e) No. Churches should have no influence in the working out of the school curriculum.

(25) I consider, in this respect, the crowning of St. Stephens, and the acceptance by the Hungarians of Christianity very significant. Further, I should mention Hungary's role throughout the ages as the defender of the West from various attacks that came by people from the East to be important. Hungary has contributed a great many literary, ~~literary~~ musical, and artistic masterpieces to the culture of the West. In the technological sphere, there were also quite a few Hungarian inventions.

(26) I don't think any of the former governments have enjoyed any particular popularity among the Hungarian people. I would ~~single~~ single out the govern-

ment of Gombos, as one of the most popular governments.

- (26a) The Hungarians were assigned a secondary role under the Habsburgs.
- (26b) Because of this secondary role, the Hungarians had under the Habsburgs, the Hungarian economy remained relatively backward. This economic backwardness of Hungary was one of the principal reasons for the large scale emigration of Hungarians to the United States and to Canada.
- (26c) Yes, this is undeniable.
- (26d) It was bad, insofar as it fostered social differentiations based on economic status.
- (26e) Under the Horthy regime we did not have 100% political freedom. The elections held in those days were not 100% free and secret elections. Economically, the Horthy regime managed to just about keep things moving. In the last ^{stages} ~~stages~~ of that regime, the impetus of the coming war has made things look a little better.
- (26f) Yes, there were great social differences in Hungary.
- (26g) Hungary could not have played a more suitable or a more advantageous position in the 2nd World War. This is evident from the fact that we, even though we cooperated with Germany, did not fare any better or worse than the ~~Polish~~ Poles, who have been fighting on the opposite ^{side}. The Poles were theoretically victors and the Hungarians the vanquished, and yet today both of them are on the same plane.
- (26h) This was a period of transition in every respect. It was characterized by the terrible inflation, by mass deportations, by the political stagnation and material starvation of the people. One worked countless hours and yet one was not able to make a decent living.
- (27) Yes.
- (27a) I believe Hungarian character does differ from German, Russian or American

character.

- (27a) No. The Hungarian character did not change during the past 10 years. At $\frac{1}{2}$ worst it has suffered certain temporary modifications. It may have been blackened somewhat as a result of the past decade and *this* *was* probably overemphasized. Changes of this sort, however, are superficial, and are touching only the surface. In its essentials, the Hungarian character is still the same.

- (27a) No, the Hungarian character manifests itself differently in the various social strata. Certain classes are more cautious and give in easier and earlier to great pressures than others. Most of these cautious, compromising, and cooperating Hungarians, who accepted things as inevitable, and who were ready to flow with the stream, were people of the former bureaucratic and military classes.

One may make a differentiation also between the various age groups. By and large, those belonging to the older generations were more cautious than the younger people.

- (28) No, I don't think political boundaries are essential. To the contrary. However, I cannot imagine Hungary, or the Eastern and southeastern part of Europe, as living side by side with their neighbors without a dividing line. Political boundaries, I think, will persist for a very long time to come. As long as the economic needs and the varying economic conditions of one country differ widely from that of another, you cannot expect any change in this respect.

- (88a) Boundaries are necessary because of economic, cultural, and ethnographic differences. They are further necessary because of the conflicting territorial ~~planes~~ ^{claims} and ~~the~~ political aspirations, and because of the high degree of chauvinistic nationalism that characterizes east central Europe.
- (28b) Not applicable.
- (28c) Yes.
- (28d) These territories are in Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia. Hungarians have a claim to these territories on the ground of ~~ethnography~~ ethnography and history. These territories always belonged to Hungary, and there are Hungarian majorities there, living under minority status.
- (28e) Yes. I believe the ultimate aim of the Soviet Union is to incorporate Hungary as an integral part of the U.S.S.R.
- (28f) Yes.
- (28g) This is the case between Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The Hungarians were forcefully expatriated from ~~their~~ ^{there. Whereas} various Slovaks in Hungary were expatriated on a voluntary basis. The same thing applies to Rumania and Yugoslavia.
- (28h) Not applicable.
- (28i) There are no tangible problems at this time. Most Hungarians were expelled from Czechoslovakia, whereas only those Slovaks left Hungary who preferred to live in Czechoslovakia.
- (28j) It is definitely a God's blessing for Hungarians living in Rumania that the Russians are occupying the country. Russians, having a great influence there, exert a certain restraining influence on the otherwise extremely chauvinistic Rumanians. Rumanians living in Hungary, on the other hand, have no difficulties whatsoever.
- (28k) Relations are very cordial between Hungary and Austria.
- (28l) Many of the Hungarians were expelled from Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia decided to solve its minority question this way. There are no particular differences

now.

- (28m) After the 2nd World War all leading Communist positions in Hungary were filled by Jews. As a result, we equated Jewry with Communism. Unfortunately, in 1919, Bela Kun and many of his cohorts were also Jews. As a result, we do not trust them, and consider their rule as an oppressive rule of an insignificant minority.
- (28n) Jews are Jews and Hungarians are Hungarians.
- (29) If only a solution like that were practically feasible, it would be very good.
- (29a) It could stand on the principle of absolute equality between the states.
- (29b) A federation like that should strive to eliminate the intra-national chauvinistic hatred, to bring about economic prosperity. A federation like that would represent a powerful political and economic force.
- (29c) Hungary, just as any other country, should be a full-fledged and equal member of this community of nations. Nationals of the various member-states should be allowed to freely move around and establish their existences anywhere on the basis of their capacity.
- (29d) I have in mind a Danube federation with the participation of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Hungary.
- (30) Russians are a very brutal, oppressive people.
- (30a) In Russia live a variety of people differing in race as well as in character, --this is undeniable.
- (30b) Yes. On the basis of descriptions I have seen in books describing pre-Communist Russia, I think that Russians are relatively more brutal, and more oppressive than other people.
- (30c) No, not all of them are Communists.
- (30d) I have known a great number of Russians and I have dealt with a number of them in the factory, but I was never able to establish friendship or friendly

contact with them.

- (30e) I looked upon them with utmost disgust. ~~No~~one liked them!
- (30f) Our antipathy against the Russians kept on increasing as time went on.
- (30g) We recalled their shameful role they played in 1849 and our hate of them became boundless.
- (31) I only know what Marxists claim to be their final aim; the claim that there will be a time when boundaries and states and police and coercion will wither away --when everyone will contribute to the best of his ability and will be accommodated according to his needs. Knowing human nature, this I consider to be an impossibility, and I don't believe a word of it.
- (31a) I reject Communist theory and practice in toto.
- (31b) I consider the entire Communist movement a ^{Stupendous} ~~stupendous~~ mistake. It is a tremendous structure based on false premises. It does not have any foundation.
- (31c) Everywhere we turned, we constantly encountered it. Radio, newspapers, government and party leaders spoke about it. We heard of it on every meeting, my daughter spoke about it after school. The practical side of it I experienced every day and night in the past 12 years.
- (31d) I did not study Marxism formally.
- (31e) The Hungarian Communist leaders were in no position to change it. ~~There~~ ^{They} were, in a way, worse than the Russians.
- (31f) Not applicable.
- (31g) Lenin was probably closer to Marxist theory than his successors.
- (31h) Stalin was an imperialist who desired to conquer the world.

- (31i) Practically considered I think one ~~may~~ use the two terms interchangeably; Marxists are Social-Democrats and Social-Democrats are Marxists.
- (31j) No. One is either a Marxist or a Democrat, but never both at the same time.
- (31k) Speaking on governmental levels, a democratic government is one whose power rests on the peoples' will and whose actions are in conformity with the peoples' desires and aspirations.
- (31l) Before the war we did have a so-so democracy, but that was not the real thing.
- (31m) Tito is a Marxist.
- (32) A National Communist strives to bring about a Communist system of government which is independent of Russia.
We
- (32a) ~~They~~ did have such Communists who desired to break away from the overlordship of Russia.
- (32b) Imre Nagy appeared to have been of this type. His highest goal was to free Hungary from Russian domination. He hoped to accomplish this by the help of the United Nations.
- (32c) Gomulka's chief ^{aim} ~~aim~~, is Poland's independence from Russia.
- (32d) Gomulka certainly is a Communist.
- (32e) He who is a Communist is not a patriot. I think Imre Nagy was a patriot. For this reason I am not certain if he really was a Communist in October, 1956.
- (33) Yes, the situation would definitely have improved. We would have had a Tito-like situation.
- (33a) See answer to question 33.
- (34a) Good. By socialism I do not mean a system as we knew it in Hungary. I have in mind a democratic socialist system as pertains in several west European countries, offers
- a system which ~~affords~~ security to wide masses of the population in time of need and ^{distress} ~~distress~~, combining this security with a reasonable standard of living

and an adequate protection of personal freedom and civil rights.

- (34b) Bad. Colonialism is that system of ~~mutual~~ exploitation for which Great Britain was well-known for ages and which, today, so far as it pertains to England is on the wane.
- (34c) Bad. This is a condition in which peasants, intellectuals and other classes have, or think they have, opposing interests, and try to settle this by internal war.
- (34d) Bad. This is just a bluff, an attempt to misguide and mislead the public. What you have here is several political parties united under pressure into one, dominated by the Communists.
- (34e) Bad. This is an attempt made by some countries, Russia for instance, to expand politically and geographically at the expense of other countries, with the aim of subjugating and exploiting them.
- Bad.
- (34f) Bad. I take the meaning of the term as is currently used by Russia. Otherwise ⁱⁿ ~~its~~ regular meaning peace movement is good. Peace movement in Hungary ^{formally} aims at peace only ~~formally~~, in reality quite the opposite design is behind it.
- (34g) Bad. I use and understand the term as the opposite of Socialism. Capitalism has many shortcomings, the ^{CORRECTION} ~~collection~~ of which results in the capitalistic country's gradual, but constant shift to the left. In other words, capitalism corrects itself by expropriating ^{to} itself, and applying ^{as it's done} socialistic ~~principles~~ principles. Capitalism ~~exists~~ in the United States, as I see it, contains a ~~great~~ many features of Socialism. As such it no longer corresponds to what is usually associated with the term.
- (34h) This is a surpassed and bygone stand or condition. Bourgeoisie is what used to ^{obtain} ~~exist~~ in Hungary before 1900. Needless to say, it is a system which has

long since outlived its usefulness.

- (35) As far as I know my compatriots, they have, in essence, pretty much the same view and opinion on the questions you asked me, *as I have.*
- (36) I can only give you a relative answer. Those who were well paid received what they deserved. The others did not. Absolutely speaking, everyone received less than he would have deserved, because everyone was paid very poorly. Relatively considered, that is to say considering one group as against another, within the existing Hungarian standards, I should say that the workers were reasonably well paid as compared to the technicians or engineers or teachers. This, of course, is a relative comparison which is not of much value.
- (36a) Relatively good.
- (36b) Less.
- (36c) Less.
- (36d) Less.
- (36e) Less.
- (36f) Less.
- (36g) Less.
- (36h) Some more, some less.
- (36i) More.
- (36j) Less.
- (36k) A few more, most less.
- (36l) Less.
- (37) Workers received more in 1944 than they do now. ^{Their} relative position to the other groups is now better, however, than it was in 1944. To put it in other words, they, too, lost on the deal, but not as much as the other groups.

(37c,d,e,f,h,j,k,l) Were better off in 1944 both relatively and absolutely.

(37b,i) Is not applicable, for there were no such groups in 1944.
with the exception

(38) There is no conflict of interests, ~~since the inception~~ of 38d.

(38h) Yes, I think it will always be like that.

(38i) j)k) Conflicts of ~~interest~~ interests did exist there.

(39) Those drafted into the army would in all probability shoot only in a forward direction. A great many of them, at any rate. Of course, no one would like to participate in a war on the Russians' side.

- (1a) My opinion of the interview - and this may be the result of my not being accustomed to them, interviews of this type are rather unusual for an Hungarian - my opinion is that an American intelligence agency is behind all this. The information you are collecting will probably be used, if not directly [&] than indirectly, for some intelligence purpose.
- (1b) In all probability, yes. Especially if you talk to a great number of persons. You will be able learn many facts about Hungary, facts which otherwise would not be available.
- (1c) Those people who have constructed these questionnaires do not seem to be in need of any warnings. They know their business remarkably well.
- (1d) It will all depend on the individuals, on their character and political affiliation.
- (1e) It would have been interesting to draw up a real and realistic picture of the regime as it actually works and functions from day to day. To relate what it is like to live under Communism in Hungary. It is hard, if not impossible, to relate what life was like in Hungary if I must compartmentalize and break up into small, meaningless little pieces my experiences, just in order to conform to the structure of the questionnaire. My experiences were a fluent and continuous whole where every little detail counted. If one is not familiar with the system, with its structure, and how it operates, the effect of it all on the individuals is rather hard to discern from dry paragraphs.
- (2a) I believe every exile keeps thinking of returning to his homeland until he becomes accustomed to his new environment.
- (3a) I don't know of any documents.
- (3b) I often considered writing of my experiences. Unfortunately the initial diffi-

culties one encounters in a new land make it impossible.

RATING

Respondent is a middle aged man, of average intelligence, extremely conservative in his family life and a traditionalist in his mentality.

His political views are difficult to assess. I have the feeling, based on private conversations, that he was a rightist in outlook before the war. He is a fervent ~~farright~~ nationalist, actively in favor of revisionist politicians. His ideal ^{an} of/Hungarian leader is *Gyula Gömbös*.

I believe his responses to my questions were sincere and honest. But I don't think he told me all he knew. He seemed to have been continuously haunted by the fear that some of his ~~xxx~~ replies, if they ever came to Communist hands, might be used to identify him and that, as a consequence, his relatives still in Hungary might thereby be exposed to all sorts of dangers.