

- (1) The Hungarian people did not have any desire whatsoever for the Second World War. During the war the Hungarian people hoped for a total and thorough liberation from all kinds of subjugation. <sup>In the</sup> ~~Years~~ <sup>ad</sup> after the hostilities were terminated, the Hungarian people were greatly disappointed in realizing that the Hungarian nation was left at the mercy of the Soviet Union.
- (2) The whole thing started with Stalin's death.
- (2a) The beginning was Stalin's death.
- (2b) Following the death of Stalin, a new policy was inaugurated in the Kremlin. The effects of this new Soviet policy were most remarkably felt in Hungary. ~~His~~ Statements made by the Soviet Russian politicians concerning the denunciation of Stalin, caused a devastating effect on the Hungarian Communist Party members, <sup>and made</sup> ~~making~~ them confused. Previously, Stalin, and his name, were treated as if he were a god. After this god was dethroned, <sup>B</sup> the Hungarian Communists were shaken, and they found themselves in a complete confusion. The victims of Stalinist aggression, the so called ~~Trotskyists~~ <sup>Trotskyists</sup>, the slightest deviationists, reemerged; and they were given positions in the Communist party. The so called right <sup>i</sup> ~~ist~~ Communists <sup>initiated</sup> ~~initiated~~ a fight against Rakosi and his ~~clique~~ clique. They started their <sup>of</sup> ~~and~~ activities with a criticism ~~with~~ <sup>of</sup> the Stalinist

line, first at the Party meetings, and later on in the press. Influenced by this criticism, the non-Communists also started to criticize the Stalinist line and later on they openly opposed <sup>a</sup>Rakosi.

(2c)

Yes, he was <sup>the one</sup> who discontinued the internment camps and the deportations.

(2d)

Yes, through the rehabilitation of <sup>RAJK,</sup> ~~the~~ the victims were <sup>exhumed</sup> ~~interred~~ and buried with a military pomp. <sup>On</sup> This occasions exciting speeches were made.

(2e)

Yes it did. It was the starting point of the events. It meant not only the <sup>Psychological</sup> ~~psychological~~, but also the legal basis for criticism. It actually made criticism obligatory.

(2f)

I do not believe that the events in Poznan had any significant impact on the events in Hungary.

(2g)

I was not surprised at all by his replacement. It was a logical consequence of the 20th Congress <sup>SS</sup> of the Russian Party. <sup>Rakosi</sup> ~~Rakosi~~ finished his role, and he was to go.

(2h)

There was no magical point at which I ~~was~~ might have <sup>that</sup> ~~was~~ said this is the turning point. I was convinced that there was no chance for a basic change until Soviet Russia <sup>is</sup> military might was present in Hungary, and I am convinced that the Soviet Union will never give up Hungary, and the ~~the~~ other subjugated countries voluntarily.

(2i)

I did not believe in the possibility of any basic

political change.

<sup>a</sup>  
(3)

The major factors leading to the revolt were the 20th Party Congress, and the ensuing possibility of a free criticism.

(3b)

The meetings of the writers' federation in the ~~the~~ *Petöfi* circles were significant also. Under the impact of the writers the college students <sup>made</sup> their 14 points demands.

(3c)

It was accidental, it was not prepared, and it was not timed.

(4)

The revolt was not planned, the revolt started when the secret police (AVO) opened fire on the mass at the studio.

(4b)

It started as a peaceful demonstration for a free Hungary and for the evacuation of the Soviet Russian troops. The aggressive attitude of the secret police caused the outbreak of the revolution.

(4c)

During the period <sup>e</sup> preceding the revolution everyone wanted the same, an independent and free Hungary.

(4d)

Between October 27, and November 4th, a political reorganization went on with thousands of parties and with different kinds of party aims.

(4e)

The people were against the subjugation, against the terror of the political police, against the exploitation by the Russians, and against the oppression of the national feeling.

- (4f) The people were for the opposite of the aforesaid, especially for freedom.
- (4g) For a Hungary, free from Russian and Communist influence. Get rid of the secret police. Everybody wants democracy in Hungary.
- (4h) By national independence we meant freedom from Russian influence.
- (4i) In its final analysis yes. It is true that, at first, Imre Nagy was demanded, but not as a <sup>U</sup>Marxovite, or a Communist, but because he was the representative of a more liberal trend, as we knew him after his speech of June 26, 1953. It seems to be certain that Imre Nagy would not have been desired and accepted as prime minister. The majority of the Hungarian Communist party members did not believe in Communism. I had a chance to talk to many Hungarian Communists who opposed the *Regime* of R~~o~~kos<sup>d</sup>i, and who disagreed with the exploitation of Hungary by the Soviet Union. By joining the revolt, they probably tried to reconcile their conscience for being party members previously.
- (4k) Those Hungarian Communist Party members who did not join the revolt were deeply compromised and felt that by the fall of the regime <sup>their</sup> life would be <sup>in</sup> danger.
- (4l) The revolution would have been victorious. New *elections* would have been held, and the Communists would have become an insignificant party group.

- (4m) No, neither I, <sup>nor</sup> ~~the~~ the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian people would have been satisfied with a development like that in Poland.
- (4n) I do not know, but it seems to be certain that a few selfish opportunists ~~to~~ persons had their personal purposes in mind.
- (4c) The faithful party members ~~and~~ the members of the secret police, and all those whose life and position were at stake.
- (5) I was an eye witness of some of the events. Late in the afternoon in October 23, I saw a peacefully demonstrating mass of the people moving toward the national museum and toward the studio. In the evening everybody was on the streets. At 11:30 P. M. on the same day I saw a crowd in front of the Western Railway Station ~~see~~ watching a man who pulled down the Red Star ~~see~~ from the top of the station. The Red Star was made of wood. The crowd happily trampled upon the red star. Later on the crowd set the wooden star <sup>to</sup> ~~in~~ fire. I was surprised that everyone dared to talk openly and freely. On the same day I have seen a young man, when he went to a policeman <sup>asking</sup> ~~again~~ for his weapon. The policeman handed it over. On the Marx Square I have seen a truck, and a bus, loaded with workers. The workers shouted on the people on the street. "Hello folks, come along to the studio <sup>if</sup> you wish." At the studio the secret



police is shooting on the people. Those, who did find room on the truck and on the bus, happily ~~we~~ joined the workers. They<sup>in</sup> I have seen Hungarian soldiers *moving* on armored cars, and on trucks, toward the studio. The crowd shouted at them. "Don't shoot". They answered "don't be afraid, we don't".

(5b)

I received my information about the events partly from the people on the street and partly from the friend of my daughter, from those students who actively participated in the revolt.

(6a)

I tried to collect as much information as I could. Then I made contact with my ~~former~~ friends. I participated in the reorganization of the political life. I had part in the organization of the Freedom Party. (The former party of Sulyok). ~~Wemet~~ We met twice during that period.

(6b)

That was the duty of an Hungarian.

(6c)

From the people on the street and from my friends.

(6d)

I did not participate in the fight. I thought to fight was hopeless until a Soviet Russian military forces were in Hungary.

(6e)

No comment.

(6f)

I was involved only in the political organization.

(7)

I have not seen any fighting.

(7a-b-c)

I did not see.

(7d)

I saw the destruction of Red Stars, ~~of~~ of the pictures of Stalin and Lenin.

- (8) I was not an actual fighter.
- (9a) No.
- (9b) Nobody was working. Neither did I.
- (9d) Yes, as an eye witness.
- (9c) No.
- (9f) No.
- (9g) Only ~~in-~~voluntarily~~~~ political party organization.
- (9h) See above.
- (9i) I felt that was my duty.
- (9j) I don't know. I was living in Budapest.
- (10a) Yes I did. I read the <sup>Nepakozet</sup> ~~newspapers~~, and the paper of the army. The papers did not play any significant part in the revolt, although they gave some kind of information.
- (10b) If the newspapers were on the side of the freedom fighters, the people happily read them.
- (10c) I did learn by word of mouth all the events of those days, from my friends and from people on the street.
- (10d) Yes I did. I was listening, as everybody did, to the Free Europe radio, and to the ~~Free~~ Voice of America, openly, and without any fear. Radio Free Europe, and many other foreign radios were irresponsibly inciting. I did learn some details of the revolt this way, but I don't remember those things now.
- (10e) Yes, I did. About the daily events. Sometimes the domestic radio was out of use.
- 10f  
(10f) I received the news primarily from my friend. There was no reliable news center at that time.

- (10g) No I cannot. There was no distinction between getting the facts locally and getting national news.
- (11) The old governmental party institutions were scattered by the people.
- (11a) The party organizations actually disappeared together with~~ed~~ the high party officials and together with the higher governmental functionaries.
- (11b) The police ceased to exist.
- (11c) The members of the AVH were first fighting, and then they disappeared in underground.
- (11d) They did not function.
- (11e) Many of the soldiers joined the revolution. Some of them went home, and others were not allowed to leave the military camps.
- (11f) The trade unions did not function.
- (11g) The local governments did not function.
- (11h) Actually the central government did not function either.
- (11i) They did not function~~ed~~.
- (11j) All the institutions ~~collapsed~~ *collapsed*.
- (11k) Only the printing presses.
- (11l) The revolutionary councils and the armed organizations.
- (11m) The workers councils were dealing with the † most urgent problem of the day. They tried to reorganize the work and to <sup>e</sup>reestablish the smooth flow of working. They were run by those who were elected by the workers.
- (11n) At the beginning there would have been a coalition government. Later on a democratically elected govern-



ment would have emerged as the result of democratic elections. No Communists would have participated in that second government.

- (12) ~~First~~ First the Russian troops intervened, then on October 28, they were withdrawn, and on November 4, they again intervened and crushed the revolution. I received some information about Soviet Russian troops which joined the revolutionaries.
- (12a) They were mostly armed groups moving around in the city.
- (12b) I had no conversation with them.
- (12c) All that I was expecting was that they will shoot and I was expecting vandalism.
- (12d) I do not know about them.
- (12e) I don't know.
- (12g) Before October 23, and after the 4th of November nothing could happen in Hungary without their approval. During the revolution nobody paid any attention to them. During the revolution the Soviet civilian officials were moved out of the capital, but I don't know where they went.
- (12h) Being afraid of the people, members of the secret police and the political informers disappeared. And with their disappearance the whole system ~~collapsed~~ <sup>collapsed</sup>.
- (13) After 4th of November 1956.
- (13a) Since once I was interned, for political reasons, I ex-

pected another ~~es~~ internment of mine later on. I knew the regime has to find scape-goats, and I expected to be one of them.

(13b)

This was a general problem all over the country. This problem was openly discussed by phone and upon the street.

(13c)

Yes, I had plans, but none of them was good.

(13d)

I had no definite idea.

(13e)

No I did not.

(14)

Naturally.

(14a)

Of course.

(14b)

Yes it could, but only in the case of a strong and <sup>Were</sup> determined Western attitude. ~~Were~~ the Western powers ready for an armed intervention, the Soviet Union would have withdrawn, because the Soviet is actually afraid of a war.

(14c)

I cannot answer this question.

(14d)

Hungary is the most Westernly situated country. The Soviet <sup>oppression</sup> ~~oppression~~ was the most cruel in Hungary. The National <sup>CONSCIOUSNESS</sup> ~~consciousness~~ ~~conscious~~, and the desire of freedom, is the greatest and most revolutionary <sup>thing</sup> in the soul of the Hungarian people. <sup>Look</sup> at the Hungarian bravery and you will understand the problem. We don't mind about the <sup>e</sup> consequences.

(14e)

He is just as <sup>✓</sup> Moscowite as the others are, but under the pressure of the revolution he gave in, step by

step.

- (14f) Nobody had a significant role.
- (14g) The 10 year old children.
- (14h) There were no groups. H Everybody was happy to participate in the revolt which was led by the young people, irrespective of their social ~~status~~ status, or of their occupation.
- (14i) No I did not.
- (14j) No. *Petofi Circle*
- (14k) The ~~Petofi circle~~ had a role in the spiritual, or intellectual preparation of the revolt. I was surprised by this fact, because most of them belonged to the Communist Party.
- (14l) The peasantry acted bravely. They sent food for the city people, free of charge.

- (1a) I was an attorney-at-law.
- (1b) My father had a restaurant.
- (2a) I had my own law office until August 1949. Then I was interned. After I was freed in April 1954, I received a job as a litter and waste collecting enterprise.
- (2b) I was a buyer.

- (2b) I voted by print D from April 15, 1954, to October 23, 1956.
- (2d) Yes, it was a large organization. Yes, it was an efficient one.
- (2e) It was a small office-room. I did the cleaning, consequently, it looked nice. Then we had a warehouse also.
- (3)<sup>a</sup> I did like it, because I was independent and free. I was supervised only once in a week.
- (3b) I liked everything.
- (3c) I enjoyed my other job too.
- (4a) One hundred thousand ~~seventy~~ *Forints*
- (4b) I was in the internment camp.
- (4c) Eight thousand ~~seventy~~ *Forints*
- (4d) Seven hundred and thirty ~~seventy~~ *Forints* per month.
- (4e) I don't remember.
- (4f) I received a premium of twenty-thirty percent of my salary.
- (4g) No, I had no other job, but I increased my salary illegally, by false accounting.
- (4h) My income was in the ~~most~~ *lowest* income bracket.
- (4i) It was the lowest.
- (5) I was working eight hours a day, and I had thirty minutes for lunch. This time was also paid for.
- (5a) I was working six days a week.
- (5b) No.
- (5c) All the Sundays, 4th of April, and 1st of May, I had eight days of paid vacation after one year of service, and two weeks of paid vacation after two years of service.
- (5d) It was the same in all the jobs.
- (5e) It was not very strict where I was working. Actually, I was my own boss.
- (5f) I think it was quite liberal.



- (5g) We had no norm system.
- (5h) There was no such a thing where I was working. As far as I know, the workers looked upon the norm system as a means of exploitation.
- (5j) I don't remember.
- (5k) Naturally, the regime ~~was~~ tried to squeeze out of the workers as much as it ~~can~~ could.
- (5l) We did not.
- (6a) The technical conditions were primitive and ~~very~~ <sup>VERY</sup> neglected.
- (6b) Most of the shops were dirty and unhealthy.
- (6c) The equipment was worn out.
- (6d) I don't know.
- (6e) I was commuting by local train, and by streetcar. The round trip took me one hour and thirty minutes.
- (7a) The people with whom I was working were uneducated people. They were living in the same misery as everyone else.
- (7b) The relations between superiors and subordinates were quite friendly.
- (7c) No, I did not.
- (7d) People were not very frank with each other.
- (7e) No, I did not.
- (7f) No, I did not.
- (7g) Yes, I did with my supervisor. He had also a doctor of law degree, and I knew that he was reliable.
- (8) Yes we did, its primary aim was political indoctrination and the promotion of working discipline.
- (7i) Yes, there was. The salary of the party members was twenty percent higher than that of the non-members.
- (7j) No, he could not.
- (7k) At our <sup>neutral</sup> enterprise a politically ~~new~~ man had no trouble.
- (7l) Yes

- (7m) No, there was no change in this respect.
- (7n) They were everywhere, but I don't know anything about ~~these~~ <sup>their</sup> activity at our enterprise.
- (8) After I returned from the internment camp, I was not allowed to continue my vocation as an attorney-at-law.
- (8a) I would have picked for myself the job what I had previously--attorney-at-law.
- (8b) Because it was my vocation.
- (8c) Lack of responsibility. Naturally these factors are different with each individual.
- (8d) No I did not. I always preferred to be a lawyer. In a true democracy, I would have participated in the political life of the country.
- (8e) No I did not. Only in the case of basic change in the regime.
- (8f) I don't think so. Most of the people try to stay in the background.
- (8g) No.
- (8h) I would spend my money on traveling. I would ~~visit~~ <sup>see</sup> new films and <sup>visit</sup> art collections. I am interested in the antique world and in the antique arts.
- (8i) No, my ideas have not changed since I <sup>e</sup> left Hungary.
- (8j) No, my <sup>last</sup> ~~last~~ job was far below of what I was prepared for through my education.
- (9a) My wife was not working until I was deported. Then she was working between 1950 and 1955. Then she gave up her job in 1955 due to her illness.
- (9b) Yes after 1949 I lost everything. I lost my apartment, my house, and I had to give up my law practice.
- (9c) I could afford to buy the bare minimum of food, nothing else.
- (9d) My salary was from seven hundred to eight hundred ~~forints~~ <sup>forints</sup>.
- (9dII) My illegal income was one thousand and two hundred ~~forints~~ <sup>forints</sup> per month.
- (9dIII) The deductions amounted to fifty ~~forints~~ <sup>forints</sup>.
- (9d IV) My net take home pay amounted to one thousand and nine hundred and fifty ~~forints~~ <sup>forints</sup> per month.

- (9e) I paid two hundred and twenty ~~scorints~~ <sup>Forints</sup> for renting an apartment.
- (9f) I rented a one room apartment with bath.
- (9g) I spent almost all of my income on food. In general, one member of the ~~bank~~ family spent one hour a day waiting in ~~ever~~ <sup>Lines</sup>.
- (9h) Nothing at all. I used my old clothes. Once in a while we had a chance to buy something for my wife or for my daughter.
- (9i) What was available I bought in state stores. I bought coffee, lemon, and cocoa on the black market.
- (9j) ~~These expenses~~ <sup>These expenses</sup> are included in the sum mentioned in point e.
- (9k) We had a central heating. Gas service was very poor. The electricity service was quite satisfactory.
- (9l) We had no money for dental care.
- (9m) Vacation and medical care.
- (9n) I had no chance for going on vacation. Once in every second month we went to the movies or to the theatre. I had a radio. Once in ~~a while~~ a while I bought a book.
- (9o) I had nothing to spend.
- (10) No, I did not.
- (10a) Yes, I felt that, I was exploited.
- (10b) Yes, naturally, with the exception of a handful minority, ~~say~~ say 10 or 15% of the population. Those, who executed the exploitation.
- (10c) The new leading class.
- (10d) I thought the ~~rates~~ <sup>peace</sup> loans were another form of taxation.
- (10e) They led to the impoverishment of the country. The ~~prices~~ <sup>prices</sup> of goods delivered by Hungary were set by the Soviet Union, and those prices were far below the prices <sup>on</sup> of the world market.
- (10f) We had to participate only in the production conferences <sup>which</sup> were held once in every second month.
- (11) No, it was not.

- (11b) Many.
- (11c) The ~~cohort~~ cohorts were forced, the middle-~~classes~~ <sup>Estates</sup> were abolished, the small orders, the small traders, and artisans were oppressed. There was <sup>an</sup> over-size bureaucracy, and the Hungarian economy was ~~at~~ at the mercy of the Soviet Union.
- (11d) Yes, there were economic difficulties in Hungary before 1944. It was the result of the first world war, and it was due to the unjust ~~terms~~ <sup>Treaty</sup> of Trianon.
- (11e) What happened after 1944, ~~SP~~ was not an ~~improvement~~ <sup>improvement</sup> at all, and in no respect at all.
- (11f) I do not remember.
- (11g) I was in the internment camp at that time, and I did not know about it.
- (11h) I was in the internment camp at that time.
- (11i) I didn't know.
- (11j) The situation was worse. Everything was taken away by the Soviet Union. The earthquake, and the flood caused further deterioration of the economic situation of the country.
- (12) Among the various complaints the Hungarian people had, were ~~that~~ that the material conditions were of secondary importance.
- (12a) For me, they were not of primary importance.
- (12b) The terror and the complete lack of freedom were more important.
- (12c) For all the honest people.
- (12d) I don't know anything about it.
- (12e) They did what the whole nation did. They were for the revolution.

- (1) Elementary school, gymnasium, and university.
- (1a) From 1915 to 1935.
- (1b) I have a doctor of law degree, and I have the certificate of lawyers and judges.
- (1c) Budapest, Peter <sup>PÁZMÁNY</sup> ~~Petersburg~~ University.
- (2) I did not.
- (3) Question 3 is not applicable.
- (4) Yes, I did receive as much schooling as I wanted.
- (5) I did study what I have liked to study.
- (6) I was a good student.
- (7) Yes, I did.
- (7b) Yes, those who were better off financially. They were able to travel, to attend schools abroad, and to attend any school they wanted at home.
- (8) Yes they were.
- (8a) I don't remember.
- (8b) I liked them.
- (8c) We had no such courses at that time.
- (8d) I don't know anything about it.
- (8e) I don't know much about it.
- (8f) I think it is right, and it is necessary.
- (9) The Communist education changed the attitude of the children toward their parents and toward their superiors. They became less disciplined.
- (9b) No, it did not. The Revolution is a good proof of this.
- (9c) Partly yes.
- (9d) I cannot recall specific cases.
- (9e) I think it is most effective between the ages of 14 and 24, Over 24 it is not effective at all.



- (9f) In these ages the soul of the youngsters is willing to be <sup>enthusiastic</sup> ~~idealistic~~ for seemingly idealistic purposes.
- (10) My family belonged to the middle class.
- (10a) My Mother's family belonged to the middle class.
- (10b) My wife's family belonged to the middle class.
- (11) They all became class aliens after the Communists took over.
- (12) He was an innkeeper.
- (12a) No he died in 1930.
- (12c) I liked his job.
- (12d) He had a matura diploma from the gymnasium.
- (12e) He liked my career.
- (13) A little bit better than the average.
- (13a) It was more, and more difficult.
- (14) There were six people in the family in which I grew up.
- (14a) My parents died and my brothers are living.
- (14b) No.
- (14c) No.
- (15) No one else.
- (16) Yes it did hurt me.
- (16a) Because I was a class alien.
- (17) Yes I was married.
- (17a) After 1954 she was a factory worker. Then she became an accountant.
- (17b) Since 1944.
- (17c) One.
- (17d) Seventeen years old.
- (18) Yes, both my wife and myself got along pretty well with my daughter.
- (18a) No it did not. Because we understood each other.
- (19) Yes I did.

- (19a) Both with my wife, and with my daughter.
- (19b) Also, some things we were talking openly.
- (20) Yes, we did.
- (20a) As class aliens, we had no hope of being able to send our daughter to the university.
- (20b) No.
- (20c) In 1953a and 1955 yes. It was quite difficult to counter-balance the influence of the school and that of the ~~the~~ *DISZ*.
- (20d) They were taught not to be religious.
- (20e) We we had no other trouble.
- (20f) I don't know.
- (21) We had no problem in this respect. Naturally the school, and the so-called democratic youth association, had their influence on the children, but slowly when the children became mature, the influence of the parents became stronger and stronger.
- (22) Yes we did get along pretty well with our parents.
- (23) At that time, when my parents died, I was still a youngster and politics did not play a role in the family life.
- (24) No, I had no troubles at all.
- (25) No.
- (26) My family was very close.
- (26b) My family life was better than the average. My impression is that the Communist education had a devastating impact on the family life in general. I know a case where the child <sup>Reported</sup> gave up his father to the police. The father was a surgeon. The boy <sup>Reported</sup> gave his father, quoting his remarks criticizing the regime. The boy received a <sup>Scholarship</sup> scholarship from a university in Russia. I believe it was in Leningrad. When the boy returned from Russia, he begged his father's pardon in tears, because he had seen in Russia what the Communist paradise meant in the reality.

- (26c) I read novels and history.
- (26d) We enjoyed ourselves at home together with all the members of the family. Once in a while we went to the movies, or the opera.
- (26e) We spent every evening together.
- (26f) I would have liked to do sports but I had no time. It was late in the evening when I arrived home.
- (27) I think family ties have ~~loosened~~ <sup>Loosened</sup> since 1945.
- (27a) It was due partly to the shortage in housing; partly to the general poverty, because both the mother and the father had to work all day.
- (27b) Yes they can.
- (27c) Yes. They are.
- (27d) In general no. But the respect and dependence decreased.
- (27e) Yes it is.
- (28) Yes.
- (28a) They spent together their summer vacations. They are mixed in the camps and their ~~morals~~ <sup>morals</sup> have been loosened.
- (28b) Although there is a shortage in housing, still more young people marry <sup>at</sup> ~~in a~~ <sup>an</sup> earlier age <sup>than</sup> they did before.
- (28c) The courtship is more free, and marriage is less rigid.
- (28d) I opposed this change.
- (28e) No, there was none. Those ~~with~~ women, who were engaged in that kind of business, mostly became members of the police force or jailor's wardens.
- (28f) In reality, the Communists were less-~~strict~~ strict about sexual matters than the authorities before, although ~~there~~ <sup>their</sup> propaganda slogans were for a strong family. — ~~As a~~ Actually, they aimed at the demoralization and destruction of family life.
- (28g) First, the birth control was prohibited; later on it was permitted.
- (28h) Yes it did. The legal status of illegitimate children has been changed. Their mother was allowed to choose the family name of the natural father, or any other <sup>known</sup> illegitimate children there were in Hungary.

- (29) We used to meet once, or twice a week, in my home.
- (29a) He was a medical doctor.
- (29b) He was sixty years old. He belonged to the middle class.
- (29c) We had conversations on different things.
- (29d) Yes, mostly on internal and on world politics.
- (29e) No.
- (29f) Yes.
- (29g) The same spiritual problems, the identical ideology and, in general, the common problems.
- (29h) Yes, it would, because a party official had such obligations towards the party which I resent, and which exclude the possibility of continuing our friendship even in the most formal way. I would not talk with him any more.
- (30) My parents belonged to the reformed church.
- (30a) Yes, all the members of my family had the same attitude toward religion.
- (30b) In order to be more human, human beings need religious education. A man without religion is usually more brutal.
- (31) Yes the Communist rule opposed religious life in the greatest extent.
- (31a) There was a time, when people lost their jobs, just because they went to the church.
- (31b) Yes, all the Christian faiths were hit equally. I am not familiar with the Jewish religion.
- (31c) All of them were under strong terror.
- (31d) The Communists interfered with the religious life, because materialism is the most organized enemy of the Church everywhere.
- (31e) First, they tried to use it for their own ends, and then they tried to stamp it out. I do think so because I know the Communist ideology, and because I have seen the Communist practice.
- (31f) The persecution of all the faiths was directed primarily against the leaders of the faith, and only secondarily against the believers

- (31g) Actually I could go to church, but I was watched.
- (31h) During the last years not very often. Once in every three or four months.
- (31i) The older people attended the church very often. The young did not attend church at all.
- (31k) I condemn the peace priest because they have co-operated with the regime.
- (31l) Yes, the Roman Catholics resisted the regime most strongly. The Protestants<sup>a</sup> were less strong in their resistance.<sup>a</sup> I don't know about the Jews.
- (31m) Yes, religion is less important to young people than it was to their parents. Why? Because they don't believe.
- <sup>a</sup>  
(32) At the beginning, the Hungarian Jews saw the liberator in the Soviet Union, and therefore, they supported Communism. Later on the Jewish capitalist turned against the regime.
- (32b) Those Jews, who were <sup>the</sup> in Communist party, or government position, were afraid afraid of the victory of the revolution.
- (32c) Religion must not be a dividing line between Hungarian and Hungarian.
- (33) I was a member of that group which was worse off under the Communist rule, and I wanted to belong to that group. I did not have any desires for a better living <sup>at</sup> on the price of dishonesty.
- (34) I would have advised him to be a medical doctor.
- (34a) Because that occupation was acknowledged, and honored, by the Communists also.
- (34b) There was only one way to advance, and it was through party work, <sup>D</sup>but I would not have advised him to do anything with the party.
- (34c) The youth of the workers class had the best chance for advancement in all the occupations.



- (1) Yes, I was, and I am, interested in politics. Because no one intelligent person can understand world events without being familiar with politics. I had always been interested in politics. Primarily for being well informed.
- (1b) Primarily interested as an observer.
- (1c) An essential part of my interest was devoted to politics.
- (1d) No, I ~~was~~ never participated in political action but I have given voice <sup>to</sup> my entire ~~attitude~~ <sup>attitude</sup> and I ~~try~~ <sup>tried</sup> to explain how dangerous the Communist system was.
- (1e) I was more interested in politics than people around me. This is due to my nature.
- (1f) Between 1946 and 1956 my interest in politics was growing.
- (2) I was deprived of my law practice, and then, I was put in an internment camp.
- (2a) All of them would be equally important.
- (2b) All of them.
- (2c) All of them.
- (2d) The same.
- (2e) The same.
- (2f) They became dissatisfied primarily because of the exploitation of the country by the Soviet Union, and because of the terror that hurt everybody.
- (2g) This atmosphere of terror was constantly upon our shoulders. We lived in it.
- (2h) Yes, but only with the most trusted friends.
- (2i) No it was impossible. I thought only a revolution could help.
- (3a) I think <sup>I</sup> sympathized <sup>with</sup> the civic democratic party in 1945, but I did not do anything for it, because I was sick at that time.
- (3b) No, it did not.
- (3c) I was always against the regime.
- (3d) My attitude toward the Communist regime did not change at all since 1945, because I always opposed the regime.
- (3e) Yes, most of the people felt the same way. Only those, who held who had governmental or party positions, felt not the same way.

- (3f) It is not true that just about the whole population was loyal to the regime. until October 1956. Only an <sup>l</sup> ~~un~~ <sup>formed</sup> insignificant group was loyal to the regime. The group which ~~was~~ <sup>formed</sup> the regime. The rest of the population eagerly awaited for the moment when it can turn against the regime.
- (4) The real party in Hungary was the Soviet Union.
- (4a) I have seen it and everybody knew it.
- (4b) A small ~~group~~ <sup>clique</sup> in the service of Moscow.
- (4c) The ~~cliques~~ <sup>Rákosi</sup> cliques reigned everywhere.
- (4d) The Communist party, the police force, and the government were in the hands of Moscow, or we may say that in the hands of <sup>Rákosi</sup> ~~Robert~~, who served Moscow faithfully.
- (5) <sup>Rákosi</sup> ~~Robert~~ did.
- (5a) The parliament was a theatre.
- (5b) The role of elections was just the same.
- (5c) The local government had power, but no authority. They had power, they had an ~~and~~ executive power in the cases allotted to them by the law.
- (5d) There was <sup>at</sup> least five times as much restraint.
- (5e) Yes, there was, especially in the cases of housing. The population had low incomes, and there was a shortage in housing.
- (5f) Most of the civil servants <sup>a</sup> were recruited from among the workers' <sup>cadres</sup> ~~caterers~~.
- (5g) I think the same kind of people became army officers. And they were recruited from among the party members, but I am not very familiar with that problem.
- (6) The teachers actually feared the Communist youth league organization. I know a case when the teacher did not dare to flunk a student, just because he was a member of the Communist youth league.
- (6a) There were no drawbacks of belonging to the Communist Youth League.

- (6e) Because it was a Communist organization.
- (6f) No, I was too old to belong to it.
- (7) To be a party member it means advantages. If you are a party member, you can <sup>have</sup> get a job more easily, and if you are a party member, the state officials and the party officials will help you.
- (7a) All those who wanted to get good positions, and all the members of the police force, of the secret police, and of the army, and, naturally, all the officials of the different offices.
- (7b) Mostly those who are opportunist<sup>s</sup>.
- (7c) I don't know.
- (7d) I don't know.
- (7e) I knew many Communist party members. Partly those who joined the party already in 1945, and partly Social Democrats who later, after the unification of ~~the Communist~~ the two parties, became members of the Communist Party.
- (7g) No I did not.
- (7l) No I did not try.
- (7m) I was put in an internment camp in 1949 and I was there for four years.
- (7n) Most of those who joined the party were opportunist<sup>s</sup>.
- (7o) They became more aggressive to the non-party members.
- (7p) <sup>Mitya's Rakosi</sup> ~~Mitya's Rakosi~~ did run the party. The local party organizations received their orders from the central office of the party.
- (7q) (To tea) The party had an unlimited influence in the government, in the police, in the army, and in the labor unions.
- (7u) Party exercised <sup>very</sup> strong pressure on the religious bodies.
- (8) No I did not. I was not familiar with the mass organizations.
- (9) The revolution was actually a reaction against the suppression of liberty.

- (9a) I think it was quite significant. It became apparent in their lack of respecting authority, and in their coolness, or hostility, toward religion.
- (10a) The rank and file was recruited from among the soldiers, from among the volunteers, and the officers were recruited from the Communists worker's ~~cadres~~ <sup>cadres</sup>
- (10b) The rank and file, more than twenty years old, usually was a worker of peasant background. The officers were of different age, and usually of ~~workers~~ <sup>workers</sup> backgrounds, and very slight group of them belong <sup>ed</sup> to the intellectual class.
- (10c) ~~They~~ <sup>they</sup> were not immune from ~~persecution~~ persecution, but they were not afraid of anyone else but each other.
- (10d) The secret informants have no official function.
- (11) I was arrested, and many of my friends were arrested.
- (11a) On the ground of class struggle.
- (11b) There was no trial, no charges, no sentence. About ninety percent of the inmates of the interment camp had no trial whatsoever. All of them were specific cases.
- (11d) There were many cases that produced great impression on me. All of them were tragic.
- (11e) I have bitter experiences about physical abuse and atrocities. I lost a few teeth of mine due to that physical abuse. And I was an eye-witness of many such cases. Neither new <sup>NOR</sup> surprising to me. Already in 1948, as an attorney-at-law, I have visited one of my clients in the prison. He had told me that he was treated with electric current under his eyes, and he was beaten cruelly. A week later I was told that ~~my~~ <sup>his</sup> client died in the prison.
- (11f) As a rule, the class alien will be arrested according to the slogans in use. For instance, kulacks, intellectuals, former army officers, high ranking ~~elite~~ <sup>ecclesiastical</sup> personalities, and former politicians.

- (11g) Yes I remember the case of Rajk.
- (12) <sup>Would</sup> I advise him to get out of the country, and to be in the West.
- (12a) There is no safe profession.
- (12b) Yes, for awhile it helps to be politically active. But later on it will be the cause of fall.
- (12c) Yes, personal connections may help, but only good connections, with those in leading positions. The case of one my clients was before the court. The secret police ordered the court to discontinue the trial. The client was freed by the secret police.
- (12d) Yes, it helps. One cannot conceal an unfavourable class background.
- (12e) Yes, it helps, if nobody knows about it.
- (12f) Yes, if one knows how to keep one's mouth shut. He is likely to escape trouble.
- (12g) Yes, they are priests, kulaks, former intellectuals, former capitalists.
- (13) All those organizations that <sup>wear</sup> ~~carry~~ the uniform, and the secret police, are serving the regime. Actually the secret police have the right to dictate to both the uniform police, and the courts.
- (13a) It is not likely to get justice. At any of these organizations.
- (13b) These organizations are under the secret police.
- (13c) I don't know.
- (14a) Yes. They were.
- (14b) Yes, after the speech of Imre Nagy we felt some loosening of the terror.
- (15a) All the major decisions in political, economic and <sup>social</sup> ~~political~~ questions were made in Moscow.
- (15b) It was well known all over Hungary.
- (15c) I have seen evidence of Soviet pressure in the fact that we had to copy the Soviet pattern in everything.



- (15d) No, I had not.
- (15e) The Soviet influence was most pronounced in the most essential political and economic questions, and it was less pronounced in the less important cases.
- (15f) All the important Hungarian enterprises had Soviet advisors assigned to them.
- (16) No, they don't.
- (16a) Yes, they do. <sup>T</sup>They do conceal their sentiments, because they are afraid of re-  
~~percussions~~ discussions.
- (16b) All those, who dared to talk openly, had to be prepared for internment or imprisonment. That is what happened with me.
- (16c) I could be frank with only the members of my family, and with my closest friends, and ~~with~~ nobody else.
- (16d) Most advisable thing is not to talk openly <sup>even</sup> ~~even~~ about the least important questions.
- (16e) Yes, during the Imre Nagy period.
- (17) Only the political authorities dared to ~~to~~ circumvent, or ignore, official orders. For private individuals it was very dangerous to do that.
- (17a) No, there are no laws <sup>that</sup> ~~that~~ one can <sup>disobey</sup> ~~disobey~~ and get away with it.
- (17b) No, I did not.
- (17c) It was very dangerous to do that. Such a crime was severely punished.
- (17d) ~~He~~ He can try to do something through party channels.
- (17e) If a special permit for settlement was not needed in the other town, the worker could ask for his transfer. He usually succeeded without much difficulty.
- (17f) No, he cannot.
- (18) Only those, who sell out themselves to the ~~Kadars~~ <sup>cadres</sup>.
- (19) The opposition to the regime took the form of least resistance <sup>a</sup>.
- (19a) It was passive.

- (19b) All the groups were equally hostile .
- (19d) Opposition increased after 1953.
- (19e) I have no knowledge of it.
- (19f) Yes, we /id hear of opposition in the party due to some aggressive groups, thirs/ of power, but this clique were not against the regime. They were for themselves, within the Communist system. After the rehabilitation of R/jk, the college students and the Petofi circle were very active. Those activities were actually in opposition to the party.
- (19g) People dared to talk more openly and dared to criticize the regime.
- (19h) Yes, there were ~~political~~ <sup>political</sup> jokes that hurt the regime.
- (19i) Yes, there were such things. Slow down, and waste were commonplace in the factories. Students did not want to study the Russian language. People refused to see the Russian movies., and they did not buy Russian books.
- (19j) I never heard about ideology ~~causing~~ <sup>causing</sup> disagreement within the Party circles.
- (19k) No, it was impossible. The secret police and its informants knew everything.
- (19l) They were the logical consequences of the the ~~20th~~ <sup>20th</sup> party congress of the Russian Communist party, and ~~of~~

- (1) I use to get most of my information of what was happening in the world from the radios and from the Hungarian newspapers which I knew how to read.
- (1a) The BBC of London.
- (1b) The letters from the West.
- (2) I usually read newspapers.
- (2a) The Hungarian ~~Nation~~ (~~Magyar Nemzet~~) *Magyar Nemzet*.
- (2b) Twice in a week.
- (2c) Because I have found in it some news on world affairs.
- (2d) I read the section of foreign politics.
- (2e) Yes, once in a while I read the editorials.
- (2f) I liked only the news on world politics.
- (2g) If and when the newspaper dared to criticize the situation in Hungary I was happy to read it.
- (2h) No, there were no ~~world~~ <sup>WALL</sup> newspapers in my office.
- (2i) The ~~world~~ <sup>WALL</sup> newspaper wrote only on the event of the enterprise.
- (2j) They did carry propaganda material in connection with the enterprise, and in connection with the general political line of the party.
- (2k) Yes I did. You can buy Western European Communist newspapers in Budapest, but I did not read them. Secretly, I received the American life magazine, and the Reader's Digest, from a friend of mine.
- (2l) The foreign Communist publications were openly sold in Budapest.
- (2m) From the American magazine I have seen the riches and wealth of America. And I made a comparison between the economic situation in Hungary and in America.
- (3) I went to the movies once in every three months.
- (3a) Where there was a better show.
- (3b) I ~~ese~~ preferred to see historical plays, and in general, those films that were not filled with politics.

- (3c) I preferred not to see politically corrupted shows.
- (3d) Not very much.
- (3e) Yes, I did.
- (3f) I don't remember the title. They were ~~music~~ *musical* shows.
- (3g) Yes, mostly to the opera theatre.
- (3h) I have seen operas in every second month. I used to go to the National Theatre twice in a year, but I was interested only in the classics.
- (3i) Yes it did. More and more classical shows were given. Mostly Shakespeare and Shows ~~and~~.
- (4) Yes I did.
- (4a) I did.
- (4b) I read about twenty -thirty books a year.
- (4c) "Fight for the Pacific Ocean", "History of the United States of America", "Study on Shakespeare", "The Biography of Mozart" etc.
- (4d) I read them because I liked them.
- (4e) Because I heard about them, or I have seen them, or have read some critiques on them.
- (4f) No. I had no difficulty getting those books I wanted.
- (5) Yes, I did, but not to the domestic radio.
- (5a) Partly because I had no time to do that, and ~~part~~ partly because I didn't like it.
- (5b) Yes I did ~~and~~ and Orion type.
- (5c) I did listen to the Hungarian program of the Western ~~radio~~ station. Primarily London, the Free Europe Radio, The Voice of America, I liked their foreign news programs.
- (5d) I liked only the political programs.
- (5e) About twenty minutes each evening.

- (5f) At home.
- (5g) Politics.
- (6) I did listen to foreign stations exclusively.
- (6a) I did.
- (6b) The BBC of London, The Voice of America, Radio Free Europe.
- (6c) Because they gave news on world politics.
- (6d) Usually every evening.
- (6e) From ~~the~~ among them the most reliable was the NBC.
- (6f) The BBC was the most reliable from among the Western stations which had Hungarian programs.
- (7) No, I did not.
- (7a) I hated them.
- (7b) To none.
- (8) Yes, I did.
- (8a) It was information on domestic and foreign affairs.
- (8b) From my friends.
- (8c) At the time of different congresses and party conferences some news leaked out on certain disagreements among the high ranking Communists.
- (8d) There was always some truth in it.
- (8f) I don't remember right now.
- (8g) I don't remember.
- (8h) In family circles, or in the Expressos.
- (8i) Yes, different kind of people. I don't know from where they received their information.
- (8j) Primarily at home and then in the Expressos.
- (8k) Yes, there were some people who had some special information, but primarily to those, who regularly listened to the ~~foreign~~ foreign radios, or had specific connections.



- (81) Yes, I did. I have seen pamphlets which were sent to Hungary through the balloons.
- (9) I had no specific individual for that purpose .
- (9a) I listened to the foreign radios. I was not interested in sport news.
- (9c) I was not interested in economic matters.
- (10) It differed from time to time.
- (10a) I have scrutinized and measured the new information in the light of my other information concerning the same event.
- (10b) The reliability of the press increased in the course of ~~them~~ time.
- (10c) It's quite difficult to tell, because, in reality, every information served the purpose of Communist propaganda.
- (10d) I think they were equally unreliable.
- (10e) I don't think <sup>K</sup> so. I think all of them were equally untrustworthy.
- (10f) Only one or two issues.
- (10g) I liked when it criticized the regime, but it started only shortly before the revolution.
- (11) Yes, people tried hard to find out what ~~really~~ really went on.
- (11a) Everybody.
- (11b) Only those who were afraid of a change.
- (12) From my friends, and from the Western Radio.
- (12a) Because I couldn't <sup>get</sup> them from anyone else.
- (12b) I was on the streets.
- (12c) Partly yes.
- (13) Yes I did.
- (13a) From the prisoners of war, who returned from Russia , I heard that thousands and tens of thousands of people lived and died in misery, and were treated with inhuman cruelty in those forced labor camps.

- (13b) I don't know anything about it.
- (13c) I was in the internment camp at that time.
- (13d) He was not ~~guilty~~ <sup>for</sup> guilty ~~in~~ that crime for what he was sentenced to death.
- (13e) I know about German rearmament only what I read in the newspapers. I thought it was going on for a long time.
- (13f) I did not hear about it. I was in the internment camp at that time.
- (13g) I knew that there were many groups of immigrant politicians. I thought that that injured the cause of Hungarian unity.