

- (1) In order to understand the Hungarian uprising, one has to realize, first of all, that the Russian as well as Communist oppression was nowhere as cruel and unbearable as it was in Hungary. Other countries had some ~~XXXX~~ racial or political, or even linguistic affinities with the Russians, while Hungary had none. In other countries, the Communist Party was significantly stronger than in Hungary. Hungarians, therefore, were not trusted either by the Russians or by the Russian-trained Communists. Consequently, Russian and Communist indoctrination was enforced by drastic methods, which made our lives insecure and miserable right from the beginning. Being a student, I can give you a brief picture of the ~~XXXXX~~ manifestations of this oppression in the students' lives. The curriculum was prescribed by Moscow, disregarding our individual interests and needs. The most important subject was marxism, the next important was Russian, of course. Students who failed in these two subjects were not admitted to examinations in their own field. Since nobody liked these subjects, many students failed at the examinations. Regular attendance at classes was strictly enforced. Upon repeated absences, disciplinary procedure was swiftly initiated and such students were expelled from the school and barred from higher studies. This was especially hard upon us because most of the students had to work at the same time, and the same strict rules prevailed on their jobs, too. There we were under constant pressure created by the norm-system. If we did not fulfil the norms, we didn't get full wages. ~~If our products did not have~~

norms, we didn't get full wages. If our products did not have the prescribed quality, it was also deducted from our wages. At the same time, even the normal wages did not secure our subsistence. Consequently, we lived in an atmosphere of constant tension and worry, many people were often near a nervous breakdown. This state of mind, I think, was ^a more important factor in the whole series of events than any ^{vi} ~~visible~~ or factual reason.

- (2 a) I could not say when and how the movement began. All I remember is that about four or five months before the Revolution the writers started to use stronger and sharper criticism against the regime and the situation.
- (2 b) The news of Stalin's death created a certain feeling of insecurity. Everybody expected a change, though nobody knew what kind of a change.
- (2 c) The first government of Imre Nagy definitely opened the way for new political trends. He became very popular, because it was obvious that he is an expert politician, who is capable to achieve a certain degree of independence of the Moscow line. His reforms showed clearly that he considered the specific Hungarian interests, and that he is able to offer effective new solutions. Although his reforms were repealed soon after his resignation, he remained the symbol of a better form of Socialism. He was especially popular with the students, because he was known already before his premiership as an outstanding professor and lecturer.

- (2 d) Moscow's reconciliation with Tito had no immediate effect upon the events, though Tito's defiance of Moscow became an ideological example for the freedom fighters.
- (2 e) The XXth Congress of the Russian Communist Party increased the feeling of insecurity and expectation. Nobody seemed to know what would follow. Even the teachers of marxism hesitated to answer questions, often made contradictory statements. The strict control system was somewhat relaxed. The Russians became friendlier. But there was no decisive change noticeable.
- (2 f) Of course, we knew about the events in Poznan, although the official press gave only scattered information. We heard the news first in the foreign radios, but the most detailed informations were given on the meetings of the Writers' Association. How impressive these news were for us is shown by the fact that the uprising began with a demonstration of sympathy for the Polish workers.
- (2 g) The removal of Rákosi impressed the population very much. That seemed to be a sign that radical changes ~~XXXXXXXX~~ could be expected. Since Communist terror, persecution, and the hardships of everyday toil were associated first of all with Rákosi, everybody expected liberation, or at least significant relaxation of the pressure.
- (2 h) No, I could not indicate any particular turning point. After the removal of Rákosi, people dared to speak up more openly. Criticism of the regime and of the situation was more often heard than before, but that means only that the previously hidden thoughts and remarks

told to reliable friends were spoken out publicly. I don't know of any new political activities which could have prepared the way of the Revolt.

- (2 1) I expected gradual changes, a slow evolution towards a new form of socialism, though I had not the slightest presentiment that a decisive political change would be imminent.
- (3 a,b) See Q.1.
- (3 e) The outbreak came on the spur of the moment: the inspiration of the Polish example, the unanimous approval and enthusiasm of the assembled ~~XXXX~~ masses on the one hand, Geró's humiliating speech, the AVO's cruelty on the other hand, induced an unexpected explosion.
- (4 a) I know only that we students had ^{several} ~~seven~~ goals in mind, I don't think the others had any specific plans. Our objectives concerned first of all some reforms in education. We wanted changes in our curriculum: first of all the abolition of marxism as a major subject, the introduction of more practical and more important subjects, the admission of Western books, periodicals, the use of Western methods, and in general, closer contacts with the West; furthermore the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ abolition of compulsory Russian and return to the facultative language teaching; the admission of professors who are the best experts in their X field, regardless of their political attitude; better utilization of our own facilities and resources: e.g., the foundation of a nuclear research institute, led by Hungarian professors, to conduct researches connected with the

uranium mines at Pécs, (which was used by the Russians only, the public ~~was~~ hardly knew even of its existence), etc. As a political exponent of our ideals we choose Imre Nagy, first of all because he was popular as an outstanding professor and an ^{economic} ~~political~~ expert with sufficient national feeling. Finally, we wanted to get rid of the Russians, because we were convinced that they are our exploiters, and without their help the government could not keep the country under such an inhuman terror.

- (4 b) I think everybody fought against terrorism, and for some freedom, security, and in general a better living standard.
- (4 c) I think everybody wanted the same thing. Were there a few who had in mind the return to the old system, they had no chance to speak up.
- (4 d) Yes, definitely.
- (4 e) Against terror, exploitation, Russian influence, insecurity, etc.
- (4 f) Above all: for a peaceful, secure ^{home} ~~home~~....., and normal living conditions.
- (4 g) There were many slogans born on the spur of the moment, though none of them lived longer; I cannot recall any which would be ~~of~~ of importance.
- (4 h) National independence meant the withdrawal of the Russian troops and advisers, neutrality guaranteed by the major powers as in the case of Austria.
- (4 i) It became anti-Communist in the course of events, originally it

was not. The Communists, who did something for the real interests of the people, were always welcome, e.g., Imre Nagy. AVH-members and loudspeakers of Russian propaganda were rejected.

- (4 j) The majority of party members joined the party only in order to secure their position or future career, these people naturally turned over to the insurgents.
- (4 k) Not applicable.
- (4 l) Without Soviet interference, the uprising would have won an easy victory.
- (4 m) No, we were determined to finish with the Russian influence and interference in our national affairs.
- (4 n) I don't know of anybody who had selfish personal cause. Among the students there were no such persons, I am sure.
- (4 o) Party leaders, government officials, AVH members, and a few others who had a secure position through their party affiliations, nobody else.
- (5 a) I was with the students of the Technological University from the beginning. I did not participate in the actual fightings, except occasionally, when we were attacked unexpectedly. My main duty was to distribute pamphlets, posters, to give and gather information, and transmit news or orders between isolated groups; sometimes to get food for our groups and for hospitals.
- (5 b) Not applicable.
- (6 a) It is hard to say, in chronological order, what I did and what I witnessed. Most of the time I was at the Technological University,

which served as our headquarters, and from there I went out on a variety of missions, as it was required at the moment. When at the headquarters, I was listening to foreign radios to get as much information as possible, and help^{ed} to write posters to inform others. In the first days my main task was to convince as many people as possible to spend their free time on the streets, that way we had more freedom of movement and action. In the beginning, the police and even the AVH tried to save the peaceful population, and they seldom used weapons where seemingly innocent crowds gathered. Later I was sent out to nearby villages to get food, which was distributed among the wounded. Finally, I participated in building barricades on the Széll Kálmán Square.

- (6 b) I was in the student group which organized the demonstration, and naturally I wanted to^{go} with them all the way. It was our vital interest to do so. Our situation was worse than that of a common laborer. A young engineer (a non-Communist) earned 900 to 1000 forints a month. A good worker could make 1300 forints at the same time, and a Communist engineer earned 2-3000 forints a month.
- (6 c) The task was assigned to me by our group^s, the methods of execution I learned from the Russian propaganda films which included instructions in guerilla fight, underground activities, etc. Our experiences in the Pioneer Movement and in the training of freedom fighters were also very useful.

- (6 d) I did not think of consequences, I was so confident in our victory.
- (6 e) I did not think of that possibility; only eowards did not participate.
- (6 f) See above, Q. 6 a.
- (7 a) I have seen fights between soldiers of the Hungarian army and the Russians around the Danube (the Technological University is on the West bank of the river). Neither part made an attempt to open attack, there were only occasional shootings and skirmishes, each side trying to keep its own position. Finally the Russians withdrew to more distant positions. -- The regular police turned over to the side of the uprising, if they did not want to fight personally, they turned over their weapons. -- The high ranking officers of the army were hesitating, only few of them joined the freedom fighters, most of them disbanded their units and tried to save themselves. -- The AVH was, of course, our toughest opponent, although the so-called "green" AVO avoided the fights, and some members turned to our side.
- (7b) Yes, I have seen a unit of 8 to 10 Russian armored cars which marched near the University, there were already Hungarian soldiers on the tanks with Hungarian flags, the Russians were celebrated warmly by the freedom fighters. They spent already six to eight years in Hungary and appanently liked the people.
- (7 e) I did not witness any scenes of marked violence, I only heard of a few cases. We were rather engaged in the search of political prisoners. I remember when we were building barricades at the

~~Szék~~
~~Szék~~ Kálmán Square, we heard noises of prisoners from underground. We started to dig in and to search for them. Unfortunately, I did not see the result, but I heard later that they were found and at least some of them could escape.

- (7 d) I could talk about many more details, but I don't think there is anything of importance.
- (8 a) As I said, I was with the students of the Technological University.
- (8 b) The group was formed spontaneously among students who knew each other from the classes and also socially.
- (8 c) Young factory workers joined the group during the demonstration of October 23, and they remained with us during the fight. We accepted anybody who was vouched for by a few members, complete strangers could not join in. But even in these matters, we acted rather instinctively. There was neither an organized leadership nor strict precautionary measures. Teams were set up occasionally and, to our own surprise, teamwork was always excellent. As far as I know, that was the case with all other groups. The only more or less organized center was the Kilian barracks.
- (8 d) The group was gradually disbanded on November 4. Who had their parents or relatives in the country, tried to find refuge there, and from there tried to escape to the West. I think about 38 of us managed to escape in this direction. Allegedly about 32 were deported to Russia, one, unfortunately, was arrested and allegedly hanged by the Communists. We heard of three who are still at home.

These were arrested, too, but allegedly, if they sign a statement that they were instigated by Western or reactionary agents and received weapons from them, they are released. These are rumors only, I am not sure if it is true or not.

- (8 e) We got most of our weapons from the Hungarian army: rifles, machine and submachine guns, a few trucks (we used them mainly to collect and deliver food). We got even a few tanks from a Hungarian armored division which was sent to Budapest to quell the uprising. Since the Communist authorities forgot to give them munition, they could not enter a serious fight, even if they wanted to do so. Consequently, they turned over their tanks to the freedom fighters. Some of the soldiers fought along with us, too. The tanks which joined us were under the direction of a former officer, and I don't know further details about them. However, our most effective weapon was the Molotov cocktail of which we had limitless supplies.
- (8 f) As I said, there was no organization whatsoever, consequently there was no discipline either, in the strict sense of the word, but there was astonishingly good teamwork. The oldest or the most experienced for the task, or the most alert took over the direction and his authority was never questioned by the others.
- (8 g) See Q. 8 f.
- (8 h) First of all professional officers, then students who had military training.
- (8 i) Decisions were made by free and informal discussions. We usually reached agreements very easily.

- (8 j) We had fairly good connections with the other groups. We had a few motorists with us whose only duty was to get and forward information. Of course, ^{that} ~~these~~ was not sufficient to ~~be~~ know the momentarily situation, but such information was always given in time by the people who, upon our insistence, spent most of their time on the streets, day and night.
- (8 k) See 8 j.
- (8 l) Yes, practically with anyone, except uniformed AVO's and Russians.
- (8 m) That was a different thing. We did not discuss our plans with any outsiders.
- (8 n) No group had any special authority in the beginning. In the course of events, however, the Kilian barracks turned out to be the most important center of resistance. Consequently, this group gained undisputed authority among all other groups.
- (8 o) I don't know of any disagreements among the rebels.
- (8 p) Students and workers fought together. They got along very well, since most of the students were also workers.
- (9 q) We were members of the MEFESZ, of which we soon formed a revolutionary students' association (Forradalmi Diákszövetség), later joined the Students' Revolutionary Council which tried to unify all the similar students' organizations in Budapest. This council got in touch with the Central Workers' Council and also with Imre Nagy. Unfortunately, I don't know any details about these connections. We exchanged intelligence information with all other fighting units we could get in touch with. We sent out missions to the nearby

villages to get food from the peasants. We always got as much as we needed, but that was the only contact we had with peasants. They did not participate actively in any revolutionary activity. With the elergy we had nothing to do.

- (9) Not applicable.
- (10) As I said, we had motorized messenger service, the radio was watched by others, practically day and night.
- (10 a) In the beginning, there were posters and wall newspapers only. Everybody ~~had~~ read them avidly, because these gave them the most important informations. A few days later, several newspapers started publication. Everybody read them indiscriminately, because most of them gave different news, (and most of them were only one or two pages). There were hardly any Communist papers, therefore all of them were reliable from our point of view.
- (10 b) None of these papers was particularly outstanding. Although each of them had different party affiliations, people read anything they got, since the only thing that mattered was more and more information about the momentary situation. I think, few people would remember even the new titles.
- (10 c) We learned much about the outcome of street fights by word-of-mouth. Contradictory informations received from different broadcasts were cleared by eyewitnesses. On our missions, we were given valuable advice by passers-by.
- (10 d) We had regular service to follow as many broadcasts as possible.

First of all, we listened to local stations in the country and also to foreign stations, the BBC, Voice of America, Radio Free Europe. Radio Free Europe broadcast^{ed} too much unnecessary propaganda. It was a great mistake, I think, to encourage further resistance after the renewed Russian attack of November 4.

- (10 e) There were only a few telephone lines in operation, consequently, that was not a good source of information.
- (10 f) The posters and wall newspapers were the best sources to learn about the facts.
- (10 g) Radio Szabad Győr had the best news service among the local stations. The local news broadcasts by Radio Free Europe were not always reliable. I heard once myself news about heavy fights around Celledömök and Pápa, later -- when I went there -- I found out that there were no heavy fights at all. In general, there was great confusion and uncertainty about ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ what happened in other cities. The best information we received through the food convoys, but these covered a relatively small area.
- (11 a) I heard only rumors about the fate of the central party organization. It was said that the highest government and party officials were flown to Russia. Most of the offices were taken by the freedom fighters, but the officials were disbanded in time. Where they were hiding is a mystery to me. The freedom fighters closed most of these offices.
- (11 b) Regular police joined the uprising.
- (11 c) The blue AVO members remained as bloodthirsty and inhuman enemies

of the people as they were before. Allegedly, some of them found their deserved death. Personally, I did not come across any of them, neither did I witness any scene of alleged mob violence. After the confusion of the first days, the AVO-men were collected in prisons. What happened to them later, I don't know. The green AVO-men were different, some of them helped refugees to escape, and some fought along with us.

- (11 d) I don't know anything about the courts.
- (11 e) Army units sent to fight against the uprising joined the rebellion, the remainder was disbanded.
- (11 f) The trade unions remained in function, though the leaders were replaced by more reliable members. In some cases, the revolutionary councils were elected within the framework of the trade unions.
- (11 g) Local authorities were kept in function, though officials who were known as convinced or influential Communists were replaced by new ones. That happened first of all in Budapest and in the more important cities; in smaller localities, the same officials were often retained.
- (11 h) There was great confusion around the government, nobody knew exactly what was going on. I had no direct insight into the situation.
- ((11 i) There were hardly any significant changes in the Church. No personal change at all, except some imprisoned priests were liberated and returned to their assignments. Cardinal Mindszenty's case is well known.

- ((11 j) I could say that the whole state and party administration collapsed. There was no government organization or control mechanism in function. There were sporadic cases of opposition, but in general, freedom fighters mastered the situation. Political prisoners were released, officials were replaced according to the demands of the population.
- (11 k) Practically, none of the existing organizations were used by the rebels, except after radical ~~changes~~ ^{personnel} changes, e.g., trade unions, local authorities.
- (11 l) The different revolutionary committees were the ~~key~~ key organizations which emerged during the uprising. Political parties, first of all the Smallholder Party, the National Peasant Party, the Social Democratic Party, ^{re}assumed their independent activities, but I think they made only the first steps toward reorganization.
- (11 m) The workers' councils were elected by the workers by secret ballot. In some cases, a temporary committee recommended a list of candidates ^{from} selected/among the co-workers. These councils represented the interests of the workers ^{as} and the trade unions. They organized welfare activities. They replaced the management, if it seemed necessary, i.e., if the workers did not trust them. Some officials were retained, though, almost everywhere. The councils directed the strikes, which ~~was~~ ^{were} their most effective weapon. In all their activities, they were almost totally independent. In certain ways and to a certain degree, they were connected with the Central

Workers' Council, but the leadership of the center was not very strong, it had rather an advisory character.

- (11 n) I think a new national government would have been formed, possibly headed by Imre Nagy. Further developments were not foreseeable at the time.
- (12) The behavior of the Soviet troops was changing from minute to minute and place to place. Their actions and reactions were completely unpredictable up to November 4. The new troops which waged the fatal attack behaved exactly like the fighting troops of 1945.
- (12 a) Of course, I saw them along the Danube, on the outskirts of Budapest, and scattered on the streets and in the nearby villages.
- (12 b) I have to distinguish at least three phases in this respect. In the first phase, they were caught, obviously, unprepared, and they acted on the spur of the moment, according to their good or bad temper. The first shootings might have been the results of misunderstandings. They mistook the first AVO shot as an attack upon themselves, and opened the fire in self-defense. After that, some units were probably rushed in to restore order. If they were not attacked, they proceeded comparatively peacefully. I remember one instance, unfortunately I cannot say the time and the exact location, when a truck, manned by a student group, informed the approaching armored unit by a loudspeaker (in Russian) that they are facing a demonstration of students and workers

who want to enforce their just demands, whereupon the Russians stopped, some turned back, some joined the crowd, leaving their tanks for the demonstrators. In general, whenever people had the chance to talk to them, they became sympathetic bystanders, often relinquishing their weapons. We heard in the broadcasts and from eyewitnesses of outright Russian deserters, though I had no personal experience with any of them. On the other hand, as long as they obeyed the orders, or they saw themselves driven into defensive, they knew no mercy.

After this initial confusion, the troops were apparently withdrawn to their garrisons, and they seemed to be occupied only with their own safety. We believed that they were making preparations for their return to Russia.

After a few days ~~EEK~~ of hopeful peace, came the third phase ~~EE~~ on the dawn of November 4, when entirely new troops attacked Budapest and renewed all the cruel memories of 1945. These troops ~~EE~~ did not know mercy, did not distinguish between fighters and non-fighters. They proceeded step by step, block by block, killing everybody, demolishing every building they ~~EE~~ thought to be a possible nest of resistance, though some of them were peaceful residences, others evacuated office buildings. They were looting, robbing everywhere. We could not face them with our weapons; our unit was rapidly dissolved.

(12 e) No, we did not even think of it. We hoped only they won't interfere.

(12 d) I don't know anything of the civilians, they did not take part in

any operation. Perhaps they sought refuge somewhere outside of Budapest.

- (12 e) No, I don't know and I did not hear of any.
- (12 f) I don't know. The civilians certainly received some instructions, because they disappeared right at the beginning.
- (12 g) Before October 23, every important decision was made by Soviet officials. During the uprising, their influence was gradually or suddenly eliminated. I did not follow the political news closely enough to be able to say when that happened, but when the Russian tanks left the city, the government seemed to be independent of Russian influence. After November 4, they kept in their hands everything, more than ever before.
- (12 h) I was often thinking of that myself and I could not wholly understand it. One of my explanations was that the Russian expected an uprising and they purposely opened the way for an outbreak of popular discontent. The trouble is that I cannot find out for what purpose they would have done so. Maybe they wanted to liquidate some of the old leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party, or perhaps they wanted to reinstate Imre Nagy upon an apparent popular demand. Were they eventually expecting the Suez crisis, and they wanted to camouflage their possible activities by a spectacular uprising in Hungary? Of course, the Hungarian uprising broke out before the Suez crisis. On the other hand, the new Russian troops were inquiring about the Suez Canal. That can also be interpreted so that the preparation for the Suez crisis preceded

and surpassed the preparedness for ~~RUSSIAN~~ quelling a Hungarian uprising. (Think of the time these semi-barbaric troops needed to learn the name of Suez and other localities and a few other necessary informations.) I know this is a weak argument, but -- knowing the Russians -- it does not seem to be impossible. Still, it is more likely that the Russian spy system failed in our case only because the outbreak came so suddenly, without any previous organizing and planning, that there was really nothing to report, nothing to refer to as a possible armed uprising. I am absolutely sure that on October 23, before 8 p.m., none of us thought of a revolution.

- (13 a) Shortly after the renewed Russian attack, I left Budapest, and, as inconspicuously as possible, returned home to Pápa. I was hiding there, omitting the compulsory registration, because I heard of several arrests and new deportations to Russia. These news made me think of a possible escape to the West.
- (13 b) I discussed the problem and my decision with other students.
- (13 c) When I made up my mind, there was no time left for planning. I spent only a few hours in preparation and I left.
- (13 d) My plan was simple. I had an acquaintance in the United States, I wanted to get in touch with him and, if possible, come to the U.S. to finish my studies.
- (13 e) When I left Budapest, I thought I can hide until the first storm of revenge is over, then I might return unharmed. But when I heard

of the deportations, the arrest of my older brother (he is still under observation), I knew I could not stay in Hungary.

- (14 a) I am positive that the uprising was useful, not only for Hungary but for the whole world. It proved beyond any doubt that a Communist government can be overthrown by the population. I am thinking naturally of the Hungarian Communists only, without Russian interference.
- (14 b) Yes, I think it could have been successful, and I am not thinking of any outside help, that would have only widened the conflict, possibly to a world war. I am thinking only of the possibility of Russian neutrality. Without the double-dealing Communists, like Gerö and Kádár, the Russians would not have even an apparent legal pretext for intervention, and in that case they would not have crushed the uprising in order to save their prestige in the face of world opinion.
- (14 c) I would fight against the Russians, as every Hungarian would, I am sure.
- (14 d) Because Hungary suffered the most cruel oppression, and because Hungarians are more courageous than the people of the other satellite countries.
- (14 e) Imre Nagy is a good expert in economics, an outstanding professor in his field. He was more independent of Russian influence than any other Communist minister. He would have been capable to reorganize the Hungarian economy.

- (14 f) The name of Béla Kovács impressed many people, and certainly has won many people for Imre Nagy's government, but he was not active during the uprising. Tildy is ^{an} entirely insignificant figure now. Anna Kéthly has some following among workers. Maleter is the most important figure in the story of the uprising.
- (14 g) General Maleter and the unknown dead are our heroes.
- (14 h) One, students; two, writers; three, soldiers; four, workers (skilled and unskilled), especially the youth; five, all others.
- (14 i) No, I did not expect it, because young people seemed to care for entertainment only, they appeared to be disillusioned of everything more serious and noble, but their actions contradicted the appearance.
- (14 j) I did not expect the students, either. I expected rather the workers, they voiced their discontent more often.
- (14 k) The Petőfi-Circle prepared the spiritual resources of the uprising. That was to be expected right from the beginning, those writers were always critical of the regime when controls were a bit relaxed.
- (14 l) The peasants supplied food, and stood calmly and firmly, without taking action.
- (15) (Interviewer's remark: Respondent must be more familiar with the history of the fighting of the students of the Technological University, I have the impression, however, that he is still hesitating to talk openly about his experiences. Is it too painful or is he still intimidated? -- I cannot tell. The fact is that he keeps on escaping into generalizations or giving evasive answers.)

- (1 a) I was first of all a student of mechanical engineering, besides I worked in a textile factory as a technician (and also as work analyst).
- (1 b) My father was teaching in a teachers' college (he died during the war).
- (2) When I finished gymnasium, I applied for admission to the Technical University of Budapest in 1946, however, my application was rejected because of my social background. In order to become eligible for admission, I went to work in a textile factory in my home town, Pápa. I had different jobs in the machine shop, most of the time I worked as a locksmith or repairman ("generálózó").

I applied every year for admission to the same university, I was three times rejected, though in 1952 I was finally admitted, probably due to the good record I had in the factory.

While studying, I had a part-time job at the ^{British} ~~English~~-Hungarian Yarn Factory as a technician. The next year I was transferred to the Goldberger Textile Works, as a technician, later as a work analyst. I was working here up to the uprising.

In addition to my work, I was also a soccer player (mainly in order to make additional money).

1. Állami Textilgyár Kombinát, Pápa, the largest enterprise of its kind outside Budapest; ^a fairly well equipped, medium-sized ~~and~~ cotton mill. The production was, at that time, fairly good, though we suffered often of lack of raw material. It stood still

for an average of one month a year on this account. Cotton was supplied by Egypt or by Russia. When cotton supplies were flowing in, the work was pressed hard. In the summer, the work was always slackened somewhat. Before the issue of new government bonds, we always received premiums, not otherwise. Working conditions were not excellent, but there were no ^serious reasons for complaint. In general, it was a good medium in every respect.

2. ^{British} ~~English~~-Hungarian Yarn Factory, a small but very well equipped enterprise which worked almost exclusively for export. It was supplied with the best raw material available, usually from Turkey. The production, the quality of products, as well as working conditions were excellent, so much so, that it was the factory shown to Russian or other foreign visitors. Work was, however, often interrupted for lack of electricity (the factory was idle for three quarters of the year 1952).

3. The Goldberger Textile Works, probably the largest ^{textile} factory in Hungary, including every branch of textile manufacturing and employing 4000 workers. Since it was working for export as well as for home consumption, the quality of raw material as well as the finished products varied greatly. Working conditions were somewhat below the level of the ^{British} ~~English~~-Hungarian, though still bearable, at least relatively. Workers were often put under high pressure.

(3) (Referring to the Goldberger Factory).

(3 a) I liked my work because I had a chance to learn about all types of machinery and processes.

(3 b) The norm-system, the senseless high pressure, too many and unjustified responsibilities (e.g., there was an accident in the absence of the "főmester" ((foreman)), a lathe operator worked without the prescribed glasses, a splinter cut into his eyes; and for this accident the foreman was suspended for eight months and fined for 1500 forints. Another example: in summer time, many workers who came from the country left voluntarily, i.e., without official approval. This is an old practice among Hungarian workers who are still more or less peasants in their habits, and in the summer they like to earn their bread grain. They think it is humiliating to be compelled to buy that in the stores. With the new drive for industrialization, this practice meant great loss of work hours, therefore it had to be stopped. The first preventive measure was that workers who left voluntarily in the summer were not eligible for re-employment. Now, one of these rejected workers attempted suicide, and for that the foreman was fined who rejected him, although the foreman merely followed the rules.) All these complaints and difficulties are insignificant compared to our major grievance, i.e., that we could not live on our salary.

(3 e) The same complaints applied to my previous jobs, too.

- (4 a) In 1946 I did not work yet, and I cannot remember the beginning of 1947 either, because of the peculiar circumstances created by the infamous inflation. In August 1947, my first salary paid in forints was 710.
- (4 b) In 1950: 760 forints.
- (4 c) In 1955: 920 forints plus premium, which amounted to an average of 100 forints a month.
- (4 d) Deduct about 17 percent of the above figures, that was my net income.
- (4 e) There was deduction for old-age pension, in the first years one percent of the gross wages, later 3 to 4 percent, there were always some kinds of so-called voluntary contributions (state bonds, peace loans, etc.), that amounted to an average of 10 percent a month; and for childless couples and singles there was a special tax (gyermektelenségi adó). That amounted to 3 percent of the salary.
- (4 f) We had about 100 forints premium monthly (in Budapest, at Pápa we received only once in a while, when new contributions were announced).
- (4 g) I had relatively very nice extra earnings as a soccer player. We received 200 forints after each match we won; in case of tie, we got 100 forints; when we lost, we received only 60 forints "salary compensation." These are the figures for the second National League to which our team belonged. Players of the first

league received the double of the above amounts, in addition, a premium according to the score, which amounted sometimes to 1000 forints. If they won an international game, the premiums were much higher. I think an average first-league player earned about 20,000 forints a month if there was an international match each month.

There is a good reason behind that. Soccer means big business for the state: soccer is extremely popular in Hungary, there are big crowds at each game, and tickets are relatively expensive, 5 to 35 forints for the home teams' match, and 5 to 10 forints more for championships.

- (4 h) Disregarding my extra earnings, my salary was a low average, if compared to workers and clerical employees. Bookkeepers had about 720 to 1000 forints a month. Skilled workers up to 1300 forints (without premium). Party officials, and influential party members in general, belonged to a different category, their real income was mostly a mystery to outsiders.
- (4 i) Compared to technicians, my salary was in the lower bracket, their salaries varied between 900 to 1150 forints. Graduate engineers had 1160 to 1400 forints a month. Engineers who were party members advanced rapidly, I think their basic salary amounted to 3000 or 4000 forints a month.
- (5 a) I worked eight hours a day.
- (5 b) Six days a week.

- (5 e) I worked overtime whenever I had no school. I was not paid for it, but I could get extra free time, equivalent to my overtime work. According to the law, overtime had to be paid for, in the first two hours at the regular rate, in the following hours 25 percent, 50 percent, and finally 100 percent more; Sunday work was always 100 percent above regular wages. In practice, however, they ~~always~~^{paid} a maximum of 6 hours overtime at the regular rate, the rest had to be shifted ("csúsztatták"), i.e., forwarded to the next time-sheet period, and the accrued time could be used for extra vacation. Sunday work~~ed~~ could be used for "walkouts" ("lesétálták"), i.e., on certain days one could leave before scheduled time.
- (5 d) Paid holidays were: New Year's Day, April 4, May 1, and 2, November 7, December 25. I had twelve days paid vacation a year, plus a day more after every four years spent on the same job.
- (5 e) That was almost uniform everywhere. Teachers had long, almost two months vacation, but they could leave their assignment only for a month, for the rest of the time they had to report for occasional or emergency work.
- (5 f) Lateness was strictly punished: the first time by public reprimand, thereafter by deductions .
- (5 g) Yes, from time to time there was such a movement, but it was not taken seriously.
- (5 h) Absenteeism was also strictly punished: one day of unjustified absence ~~is~~ brought immediately a disciplinary procedure, after

three similar cases the worker was dismissed, and the decision was entered in his service certificate. Such workers could not get another job, except on the lowest levels, where great labor shortage existed, i.e., in the mines. (The mines presented a great problem throughout. That was the only place where anybody could get a job, and get relatively decent wages (about 1600-1700 forints). Workers who endured the hardships for more than a year received a loyalty bonus, which meant double wages, but allegedly there were very few people who could put up with the great pressure and inhuman treatment. Many political prisoners were forced to work in the mines. A friend of mine got a 15-year sentence for having criticized the DISZ, and he spent five years working in the mines.)

- (5 i) There were established norms for every single operation. In my work a certain time was given for every repair work and the "normás" (the norm supervisor) carefully checked our work to the minute. The first "national norms" were so severe that only the most experienced skilled workers could fulfil the requirements. Consequently, about 3 or 4 years ago, new norms were ^{introduced} established, which were established to the capacity of the average workers.
- (5 j) See Q. 5 i.
- (5 k) Every possible method was used to speed up production. There were constant competitions suggested by confidential party members. There were premia, distinctive titles for the fastest workers and

for the inventors of new, faster processes. Though innovations often were not reported, instead the factory used the process to speed up the production, because that way all the workers received more in premiums than the inventor would have got for his innovation. The drive for speed damaged very much the quality of the products. In my field, for instance, we produced thicker yarn than required, because that goes faster. This way we surpassed the norm in length considerably, and received high premiums. If the undue thickness was detected, we were fined, but that was still less than the premium. Similar methods were used everywhere. The distinctive titles of factories (e.g., "élüzem") were always results of such deceiving practices.

(5 1) Piecework was introduced from time to time in repair work, also in order to speed up the output.

(6 a) As I said before (See Q. 2), the equipment of the Goiberger and the British-Hungarian factory was first class, especially the latter, which was equipped with British machinery. The factory at Pápa was somewhat antiquated, but still in good condition. There were two other well-equipped textile factories in Hungary: one at Miskolc (this had German Textima outfit), and another at Szeged (with Russian equipment, which was a copy of the German Textima machinery). --I think the Russians never respected patent rights, they copied and used other countries' products whenever

they found this suitable to their ends. At an international fair held at Budapest, I saw a nice Russian-made bus, I inspected the motor and the body, and I found the trade mark of ~~the~~^a well-known Győr machine factory.—Lesser factories had antiquated outfits. The real trouble was, however, in the management. There was too much political interference everywhere. The experts were subordinated to party representatives, who made final decisions without technical experience. There were delays in the supply of raw material, in the distribution of spare parts and other vital tools.

(6 b) Sanitary conditions were good only in the British-Hungarian factory, in all others they were below standard. The Goldberger factory was overcrowded, there were only a few showers, the dining room was in the ~~the~~ supply room, etc.

(6 c) See Q. 6 a above.

(6 d) See Q. 2 and 5 k of this Section.

(6 e) It was very difficult to be on time in the factories. Buses and streetcars were always overcrowded, in a 30-passenger bus there were often 70 passengers. Apparently the transportation system could not cope with the increase in population. Beyond that, the increase was also due to the fact that almost everybody started to work at the same time. Before the war, white-collar workers started later than the others. There were no private cars, except for physicians, managers, party officials, and outstanding champions.

- (7 a) In the Goldberger factory, my co-workers were engineers, technicians, foremen ("mester"), and assistants. Each unit was headed by a "fomester," all, except one, of these were engineers, graduates of the Technological University of Budapest. Most of them had long experience, and, according to my knowledge, all of the^ywere good experts in their field. The only "fomester" without a university degree had very long experience and a diploma of a technological high school. Their social background varied from the working class to middle class. Among the technicians were several party members, one ~~none~~ of them was taking university courses in marxism, he was a known informer, consequently avoided by others. A few technicians were selected among outstanding workers, the majority of them were students of the Technological University.
- (7 b) The general manager (who had studied in Germany) had easy informal manners, that created a pleasant atmosphere and he was trusted by all of us. The chief dispatcher (technical manager) was just the opposite. He was seldom seen in the factory, he gave orders on the 'phone from his home or his office. The general opinion was that he was not a good expert, and he got his job through his good political connections. Otherwise, there was excellent teamwork and friendly cooperation, with the exception of the known informers.
- (7 c) Yes, I was on friendly terms with most of my co-workers.
- (7 d) Social relationship developed only within the branches and within the same social category. The students kept together~~ed~~, including also the younger engineers. Within this group, we were perfectly

sincere and open-minded.

- (7 e) I think, this is natural, (i.e., to stand closer to those who work in the same field), particularly when one has little time for social life.
- (7 f) We used to go together to the soccer games, to the theater, etc.
- (7 g) Politics were discussed in a very limited circle of trusted friends, although there were a few party members who could be trusted, too.
- (7 h) There were party ~~NA~~ meetings once or twice a month. Most of ^(members) them thought that was a useless waste of time. There were also DISZ meetings, the more intelligent young people were not attracted by those meetings. Students usually were excused, if they had courses.
- (7 i) Sometimes, party members got easier assignments. The main distinction was, however, in wages: the party member always received a premium, though the basic wages were equal, according to the collective contract.

It was known ~~B~~ that the entire factory was managed directly or indirectly by the party, the management had no word against party orders. Consequently, everybody, including the management, was afraid of the informers. Those party members who participated in party indoctrination courses were avoided by non-members, because these people were (or gradually became) fanatics: they were the most feared informers. Some intimidated workers -- mostly the older ones who had to support large families -- showed pitiful examples of adulation towards these possible spies. People who were objects of their attacks or provocation, fled the factory

as fast as possible.

- (7 k) The trade union was not trusted by the workers, because it was an extension of the party organization. The union was pushing workers hand-in-hand with the party. It organized the competitions and other movements to speed up production. On the other hand, workers who were not union members got little, if any, assistance in case of sickness, accidents, or other emergencies. Still, many workers did not pay membership fees for years. If they wanted to have full assistance, they were compelled to pay half a year's fees retroactively. (Although I must add that the entire health and accident insurance was taken over by the union only about the beginning of 195³/₄, before that it was handled partially by the OTI (Országos Társadalombiztosító Intézet)).
- (7 l) As I said, the union organized competitions and controlled the speed and quality of production. As far as insurance policies are concerned, the union was a complicated and inefficient organization. Compensations, sick leave, and other allowances were handled and approved by the central office (SZCB, i.e., Szakszervezetek Országos Bizottsága). Each accident had to be reported ^{to} the central office. The worker^s or foreman in charge ("balesetvédelmi felelős") had to fill out a detailed accident report, including such details as if/or what kind of instructions the injured received about accident prevention. The same report had to be filed with the daily work report. Then, the report

went through regular channels and had to be approved by all the intervening authorities. Naturally, weeks and months passed until the workers got something. It often happened ^{that} ~~the~~ the procedure was suppressed and the case concealed by the factory, because the number of accidents weighed heavily in the service record of the enterprise: a so-called "élüzem" could not have many accidents. In such cases, the injured got nothing, of course.

- (7 m) The control of the union expanded and became more and more strict.
- (7 n) I heard of the existence of "mediation committees," but I don't have any first-hand information about them. These committees decided concerning dismissals, pay raises, promotions, etc. Members of the committee were ~~chosen~~ selected from amongst managers and supervisors, but I don't know by whom.
- (7 o) The word "shop triangle" was time and again mentioned in the trade union, but I don't know anything of its function.
- (7 p) Experts who were unreliable politically could get ahead if they were irreplaceable, but that is a very rare case.
- (7 q) Politically neutral experts could keep their jobs and the party tried to win them over.
- (7 r) Definitely, political influence opened the way to every good position, regardless of capabilities.
- (7 s) Experts were gradually subordinated to politically reliable (though often inexperienced and unqualified) superiors.
- (7 t) Yes, cadres were checked again and again. As I said already, there were informers among us, fortunately these were well known.

Pro forma communists did valuable service in detecting these spies. Unfortunately, the most dangerous AVO-spies were not known.

- (7 u) The members of the workers' councils were elected by secret ballot, and they represented the workers' interests and were trusted sincerely by the majority of the workers.
- (7 v) These councils actually replaced or controlled the management of the different enterprises. Every important question was decided by them. They organized the strikes, the assistance of the wounded, and of the families of workers who were killed during the fight.
- (8) As soon as I had a chance to continue my studies, I did not think of changing my job.
- (8 a) In general, it was very difficult to change one's job. One had to have very serious reasons, for instance, when I was admitted to the University, that was considered weighty enough for a transfer. Family reasons and other personal matters were not considered. People who left their jobs on their own initiative could not get a job on the same level, they usually had to work about six months on the lowest level, where great labor shortage prevailed. If they had a good record there, they could try again in their field.
- (8 b) I would have chosen mechanical engineering again.
- (8 c) That was my plan since early childhood.
- (8 d) I think inclination, capabilities, and financial circumstances are the decisive factors. Of course, in certain cases, family

traditions were also important.

- (8 e) No, I did not change my original plans, I had only some difficulties in realizing them.
- (8 f) I don't think so. I had no chance to advance into a leading position, because I did not belong to the party and my social background was not favorable either.
- (8 g) Not necessarily. A good expert finds satisfaction in his work, regardless of material rewards or even approval of others, provided the work is sufficiently creative and enticing.
- (8 h) Because he finds his greatest reward in the work and accomplishment itself.
- (8 i) It is hard to answer this question. I have no idea how such circumstances would touch me. I never had the experience to live under ideal or near ideal circumstances. But I guess I would like to own a nice family house, a well-selected library, an office with excellent equipment. I would like to travel in my vacations and do plenty of hiking and other exercise.
- (8 j) No, my ideas did not change since I left Hungary.
- (8 k) No, they should have had free choice.
- (9)a) My mother was supposed ^(to live) on her pension. Of course, that was not possible. Her net pension amounted to 110 forints a month. Fortunately, she had grown-up children: two sons and five daughters, and we could support her. My oldest brother is an engineer,

he works ^{at} ~~in~~ a power plant and is relatively well off, mainly because the factory gives him a house with garden. One of my brothers-in-law is a physician. He is also relatively well off, he can also help my mother. The others have problems of their own since 1945, because they were civil servants, and could not retain their positions, except one sister who is still a teacher (though she can hardly live on her salary, and in addition she is overburdened with work).

- (9 b) The situation was getting worse. I could live better in 1947 with my 710 forints a month than with my 910 forints a month in 1955.
- (9 c) It was really ~~very~~ very little what we could afford to buy. We could not even think of buying new furniture. The price of a combined bed and living room was about 30,000 forints (made of aluminum it was about 8-12,000 forints). As far as clothing is concerned, we used to say that we are going to "build up" a suit, an overcoat, etc. (About 1500 to 2000 forints each). By that we meant that we were saving every month a certain amount, till we had the necessary sum. It took at least a year to build up a suit or an overcoat. We had enough headaches, if we wanted a decent pair of shoes. Those we got in the stores (for 300 forints and up) were good for nothing; good custom made shoes were available only on the black market, made of good, stolen leather; those were about

5-700 forints a pair, but it was still worth the difference of 2-300 forints.

- (9 d) 1. My last salary before the uprising amounted to 1064 forints a month.
2. That time I had no other income, since I had no time for soccer playing, on the other hand, my wife had 820 forints a month.
3. Deductions amounted to 17 percent of my salary.
4. My take-home pay was about 890 forints a month. Of that I spent about 120 forints for tuition and other expenses connected with my studies. About 700 forints were left for living.
- (9 e) Fortunately, I did not have to pay rent, because I lived in the house of a sister of mine. We lived in a garden-house which was originally a garage and has been remodeled for an emergency dwelling during the war. It was not satisfactory at all, its only advantage being that it did not cost us anything. In the meantime, the house was occupied by a Communist employee of the housing authority. Although there were sufficient rooms for two families, we could not enforce our legal rights against party opposition. On the other hand, I don't think I could have got any other place in Budapest at all. Maybe I could not even get a transfer or a permit to settle there if I could not prove that I don't need living quarters.
- (9 f) The foregoing illustrates clearly how acute the housing shortage was in Budapest. Some shortage had to be expected, even after the amazing reconstruction of the severe war damages, on account

of the increase in population which followed the enforced industrialization; but this situation was aggravated by the preferential treatment enjoyed by influential party officials and the presence of Russian civilians who occupied large family homes ~~in~~ ^{and in the best} entire sections of the city, while all other people had hardly more than a room for a family, sharing their kitchen, bath, and pantry with four ~~or~~ ^{of} five other families.

- (9 g) Fortunately, both of us could eat at the factory mess hall. The food was below standard, consisting of soup and vegetables, but at least reasonable in price (1.50 forints a day). With our meager Sunday meals, we spent about 400 forints a month. Meat was the greatest problem, we were often waiting for 2-3 hours in queues, only to find out that everything has just been sold out.
- (9 h) We tried to save 2-300 forints a month for clothing, but considering the prevailing prices, we could afford very little.
- (9 i) We bought food, linen, underwear, summer shoes, in the state ~~stores~~ stores; dresses, suits, and nylons we tried to get from foreign (possibly Western) sources through my soccer player friends who often went abroad and usually brought home many things which were not available in Hungary.
- (9 j) I spent about 22 forints a month for electricity; 12 forints for the radio. I got my coal and wood ration through the factory for about 4-500 forints a year. If I wanted more, as I usually did, I had to buy it on the black market. Fortunately, there was no great difference in price.

- (9 k) It was very difficult to get wood, and coal was of the worst quality I had ever seen. There were some difficulties in the supply of electricity. In our first year in Budapest, there were still restrictions, the use of electricity was limited to certain hours of the day. In the following years, there were still many disturbances, the slightest storm caused interruptions in the service.
- (9 l) In addition to the health insurance benefits, I received free medical care as a soccer player (except hospitalization), one of my brothers-in-law was a physician, consequently I did not spend much for treatments or examinations.
- (9 m) I had an examination every month free of charge by a staff doctor of the factory. I could have an individual insurance policy, but I did not have one. The returns were far below the contributions, and each payment of compensation was preceded by a long and tedious administrative work.
- (9 n) For us, amusements were almost out of the question. I went to soccer games when I was not playing, that meant about 12 forints in expenses on a Sunday. Vacationing was rather expensive. If one received a reservation through the union, one paid about 112 forints for the twelve days. Food was usually miserable, since every luxury item was very expensive (I mean coffee, which was 6-7 forints, a glass of beer 2 forints, two lbs of fruit about 20 forints). Consequently, one had to add about 30-40 forints

additional expenses daily.

(9 c) Nothing else.

(10) I certainly have never been satisfied with my income.

(10 a) Definitely, I always had the feeling that I was exploited. There were many people who earned more, advanced faster with less qualifications and less efficient performance, but better political connections. I was assigned to more difficult tasks and, in spite of my good performance, my requests for promotion or raise were always rejected.

(10 b) Yes, the entire country was exploited. That is very obvious.

While production raise was enforced by most ~~the~~ brutal pressure, the living standard was restricted to an unheard-of minimum, still the economy was disastrously unbalanced. The profit had to be taken off somewhere.

(10 c) One exploiter was the state itself. The government tried to blind people with different show constructions (day nurseries, cultural centers, subway constructions), but their gains were much greater than these investments. The greatest part of the profit went certainly to the Russians. Those Russian civilians who stayed in Hungary for a while had no intention to return home, their life was so much better in Hungary. I think the material gains presented the decisive factor for the Russians to quell the uprising and retain Hungary in their firm grip.

(10 d) The situation of the workers was constantly changing, according to changes in the norm-system and the conditions of piecework.

- (10 e) Peace loans were emergency measures to balance the budget and provide capital for propaganda constructions. It was a great burden for workers and employees, especially since nobody believed that it was justified.
- (10 f) The reparations were but another form of exploitation. Hungary certainly was unable to do that much damage to the Soviet Union. The reparations paid to Yugoslavia was not even known to the people. The first time we heard of it was after Tito's reconciliation. When Geró returned from Yugoslavia on the eve of the uprising, people expected him to report about a new settlement, possibly a more favorable solution for Hungary, but he did not even mention it.
- (10 g) I had to take compulsory courses in marxism at the university. There ~~was~~ were monthly lectures in Socialist doctrine for non-party members, but students were excused.
- (11 a) The development of Hungarian economy was disastrous.
- (11 b) There were plenty of mistakes.
- (11 e) Agriculture, the main source of national income, was neglected for the sake of ^Bpropagandistic industrialization program which could not make up for the loss suffered in agriculture. Many times, large enterprises were built up while there was no raw material for them. I must admit, though, that the already existing enterprises (Csépel, the machine factory at Győr, MÁVAG, etc.) were working at full capacity, some of them were expanding, and the quality of products was also excellent. In agriculture,

the administration was unable to sustain the already established estates, all the state farms operated with a deficit, most of which were prosperous estates before. Individual farming was made impossible by heavy taxes and lack of credit and ~~state~~ subsidies in the years right after the war, when farmers needed seeds and livestock to replace war damages. There were other and more cruel means of ~~pressure~~ against the kulaks. Their sons were not drafted to the regular army, but to work units where they did mostly construction work under the most inhuman circumstances (no winter clothing, no heating in the barracks). When discharged, these young men were but nervous wrecks. They could not get any decent jobs afterwards because their kulak origin was entered in their service certificate. The kulak father of a friend of mine committed suicide when he saw the tragic fate of his son. Many kulak families were dispersed all over the country, changing from one job to the other, unable to settle permanently anywhere. Beyond the human part of these tragedies, all these ~~is~~ factors contributed to the decline of the once famous and prosperous Hungarian agriculture.

- (11 d) People who witnessed both the pre-war economic life and the postwar period, kept on repeating how much better the previous situation was, especially the agricultural situation. Unfortunately I am unable to make comparisons because I have no personal experiences concerning the previous period.

- (11 e) Some improvements were clearly felt if compared to the last war years. This does not mean, however, an absolute progress in comparison to the pre-war situation. A new decline began with the enforced nationalization. The introduction of the new currency has brought a short period of stabilization, which was upset again by a new inflation from the beginning of 1950 on. The forced industrialization created labor shortage in agriculture. Imre Nagy was appointed premier to improve the situation, however, his reforms were reversed soon after his abdication.
- (11 f) The three-year plan was too ambitious. There were no adequate means to fulfil it. If there was any success in it, it was due to the heroic efforts of the entire population, willing to endure hardship for a better future.
- (11 g) The willingness of the population began to cool off, since there was no improvement in their lot, regardless of their efforts. The administration tried to raise the output every year, but succeeded only in a few cases.
- (11 h) Imre Nagy was a good expert, especially in agriculture. His reforms proved that he saw what was at the core of the matter. As I said, his reforms were repealed soon after his abdication, and agriculture was sinking gradually in depression and disaster.
- (11 i) I heard of some discussions and opposing views within the government and the party. There were some temporary changes according to the ~~temporarily~~ prevailing tendencies: there were

short periods when better consumer goods were available on the market (better materials, more food), but these improvements were soon reversed.

- (11 j) In the last year before the uprising, the situation was generally worse. While some people made a little more money, the rising prices prevented any real improvement. Items of vital importance (clothing, meat among food supplies) were still lacking. The improvement in foods and certain luxury items was insignificant.
- (12 a) Material conditions are of vital importance, especially if the greater part of the population lacks vital necessities and ~~NEED~~ a minimum of security.
- (12 b) Economic decline was followed by a parallel decline in culture: only the cheapest entertainment was available, artistic creation was loaded with propaganda, spontaneous artistic expressions were suppressed, a great part of our traditional culture was branded as subversive, and demoralizing "bourgeois" culture.
- (12 c) The latter was missed first of all by the educated, especially those who had tasted the pre-war atmosphere, but the lack of genuine entertainment was deplored by everybody, including the youngest generations, who did not find satisfaction in dancing, which was the only entertainment open for them.
- (12 d) There were complaints among the workers long before the uprising, but there were no organized movements nor plans against the government.
- (12 e) On meetings, workers sometimes voiced their dissatisfaction,

sometimes protested against innovations, against methods imported from Russia. That was about all they could do.

- (1 a) I attended high school after the end of the war. I got my diploma in 1946. After that I applied for admission to the Technological University, my application was rejected three times on account of my origin. Finally, in 1953, I was admitted to the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering of the Technological University and I was taking courses there up to the time of the uprising.
- (1 b) I have a high school diploma and about two years of courses at the Technological University.
- (1 c) I was graduated from the gymnasium of Pápa.
- (2) Yes, I went to school after 1944.
- (2 a) It was my childhood desire to study engineering and I did my best to realize my plans.
- (2 b) Yes, when I went to the Technological University, I took evening courses.
- (2 c) When I started to work in the textile factory, I had to take specialized courses for technicians for about a year.
- (2 d) I had some military training in 1949-1950, though it was not serious military training. We did exercises and gymnastics.
- (2 e) The study of marxism was part of the compulsory ~~XXXX~~ curriculum at the university.
- (2 f) As I said, I followed my childhood desire and inborn inclinations.
- (2 g) The curriculum was generally fixed for all students of engineering.
- (3) Yes, I think I had the chance to study as much as I wanted. But that would not have changed my position in the factory.
- (3 a) I wanted to continue my studies up to the highest grade in ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

mechanical engineering.

- (3 b) I wanted to have a useful degree.
- (3 c) In my case, there were no further handicaps, first of all because my education meant an advantage for the factory, too.
- (4) Apart from the interruption when I was not admitted to the university on account of my origin, I think I had as much schooling as I wanted.
- (4 a,b) Not applicable.
- (4 c) Because I had an inborn inclination for engineering.
- (4 d) My life probably would not have changed even if I had been a graduate engineer, unless I had been transferred to one of the ministries or, if I had joined the party.
- (5) I would have studied mechanical engineering in any case.
- (5 a -d) Not applicable.
- (6) I was a mediocre student.
- (6 a) Having a responsible, full-time job, I did not have the sufficient time and energy to do better work in my studies.
- (7) When I was finally admitted to the Technological University, I had the same opportunities as everyone else.
- (7 a) Not applicable.
- (7 b) The working class had great privileges as far as admission to higher studies was concerned.
- (8) As I said, the curriculum was fixed for each student.
- (8 a) Beyond the courses in engineering, we had Russian language classes and compulsory courses in Marxism. However, the Russian courses

were discontinued later in the evening courses, upon the request of the students.

- (8 b) We did not like either one, but we were intimidated and we had to learn very much of these subjects.
- (8 c) The Russian language courses should be voluntary and facultative with other languages.
- (8 d) An engineer has no time to study dialectical materialism, there should be more specialized courses instead of marxism.
- (8 e) The national defense training had a great advantage for the students: they were not drafted into the army.
- (8 f) I did not mind sports. That was healthy and refreshing.
- (9) Communist ~~XXX~~ indoctrination taught us the basic inconsistencies of the doctrine. Before term examinations in marxism, we used to say to each other: "This is the easiest subject; just use common sense, think of a logical solution, and then say the opposite: that will be the correct answer." The younger children were attracted only by the different entertainments which were always connected with party activities. I doubt that they had absorbed anything of the indoctrination. The only sort of education which showed some doubtful results was the military, which could be enforced by strict discipline.
- (9 a) This education had hardly any effect upon the attitude of the children.

- (9 b) No.
- (9 c) No, after Stalin's death many Communist slogans were officially repealed.
- (9 d) I can state negative effects only.
- (9 e) In the age group of 8 to 14, there were some positive reactions, but this was soon counterbalanced by the influence of family and church.
- (9 f) Some of these youngsters became rebellious against their parents. But there were examples of opposite reactions, too: at Magyaróvár, students have beaten up the son of Communist parents because he did not go to religious instruction. I think that happened in at the time when religious instruction was forbidden (i.e., after 1950).
- (10) My father was a teacher, and later director of a teachers college. As I said, he died before the Communists took over.
- (10 a) My mother's parents were landowners. Although they had a comparatively small property, my mother was considered a kulák on account of that.
- (10 b) My wife's parents also belonged to the so-called exploiter class: they owned a mill.
- (11) My father was not alive. My mother was considered a kulák on account of the small property she inherited. She offered her property to the state, but for certain unknown reasons the state did not accept it.

- (12 a) My father did not live in 1944.
- (12 b) He retired after thirty years of service.
- (12 c) Teaching is the most unrewarding profession.
- (12 d) My father had college education, including PhD.
- (12 e) While he was alive, he approved of my choice of a career.
- (13) In my parents' home we lived a little better than my father's colleagues, in general, a little better than average.
- (13 a) After my father's death and the political turnover, we lost our resources. My mother's pension was not sufficient to support a family. Fortunately, my brother and older sisters could support my mother and could help me to finish high school.
- (14) My parents and seven children.
- (14 a) All the children have their own jobs (excepting the married daughters). (For details, see Section W, Q. 9 a)
- (14 b) No, each member of my family lived separately.
- (14 c) Not applicable.
- (15 a) My mother had a pension, but she did not work.
- (15 b) My grandparents are not living.
- (15 c) See Section W, Q. 9 a. (Respondent cannot give more details because he had very few opportunities to talk openly with his relatives, and he does not think that information given by mail is always genuine.)
- (16) My social origin was my greatest handicap.
- (16 a) As I said, I was not admitted to the Technological University when

I wanted, only after six years, and I had no great hopes for advancement in my job.

- (17) Yes, I was married.
- (17 a) She was a bookkeeper at the Goldberger factory.
- (17 b) For two years.
- (17 c) We had no children.
- (17 d) Not applicable.
- (18 - 21) Not applicable.
- (22) We got along very well.
- (23) No, I could not discuss politics with my parents: my father was not living when I grew up, and my mother was not interested in politics.
- (23 a) Not applicable.
- (23 b) See above, Q. 23.
- (24) No, I never had any trouble with my parents over my education.
- (25) No, I respected them sufficiently.
- (26 a) Our relations were very intimate and the best possible ones. We helped each other, we used every opportunity for brief family meetings, especially at Christmas we always assembled in our parents' home. Important decisions were always discussed by the whole family.
- (26 b) I think this is typical for middle class families.
- (26 c) I spent my free time mainly in sports.

- (26 d) I spent my vacations with my wife on Lake Balaton, in my brother's week-end house. We were swimming, rowing, hiking together. Sometimes we went to concerts.
- (26 e) In general, we spent very little time together. A few minutes at lunch time and after 11 o'clock at night.
- (26 f) I would like to have more free time and to go more often to concerts, to the theater.
- (27 a) I think family ties have loosened since 1945. Young couples have difficulties to get jobs in the same locality, and even then they were always exposed to the dangers of new transfers, which might have separated them. There were periods when such transfers broke up family ties intentionally.
- (27 b) In general, they could trust each other.
- (27 c) Where a basic understanding existed, couples were more dependent on each other than before. They had to share their struggles, on the other hand, couples were always more successful than single people.
- (27 d) I don't think so. Communist education could not break up family ties.
- (27 e) I think there is no difference between city and country. Maybe in the city there are a few more children influenced by Communist education, but that is still an insignificant minority.
- (28 a) The new regime favored education, consequently the old-fashioned formalism between boys and girls dwindled rapidly. Especially

the ~~boys~~ girls took up boys' attitudes and manners. The regime favored the liberal behavior in every way. Girls were encouraged to have children out of wedlock. In girls' camps and maternity wards, signs impressed the slogan: "Childbearing is a duty for a married woman, a glory for a girl." Illegitimate children were legitimized, if the girl did not want or was unable to bring up the child, the state bought the baby (for 1500 forints). In spite of this government attitude, however, traditional morals prevailed in the overwhelming majority of the population, which proves the strength of family traditions as well as traditional religious attitudes.

- (28 b) The average age for marriage might have been about 21 or 22 for men and three-four years less for girls.
- (28 c) In spite of the regime's trend for "liberalization," patterns of courtship and marriage did not change substantially.
- (28 d) I prefer the old formalism. Many young people were disgusted about the manners which were introduced in DISZ meetings and parties. I think American youth would not find it objectionable, but for us it did not seem to be the right thing.
- (28 e) Prostitution was forbidden (maybe in 1950), but secret prostitution was still flourishing inspite of frequent police raids and severe punishments.
- (28 f) With regard to prostitution, the new regime was more strict than the previous; otherwise the Communists advocated complete freedom,

they had no moral code, nor moral education.

- (28 g) I think birth control is a strictly personal problem.
- (28 h) See Q. 28 a)
- (29) I had two intimate friends, one was an engineer whom I met on the job, he became the chairman of our revolutionary council, he is in Switzerland now; the other was a student whom I met at the Technological University, he is now in Vienna.
- (29 a) See above.
- (29 b) The engineer is ³⁴ ~~XX~~ now, the student ²⁴, both come from middle class families.
- (29 c) Apart from working or studying together, we used to go to soccer games, to theaters or movies together.
- (29 d) We did not have to discuss politics. Our views were almost identical.
- (29 e) No, there were no changes in our friendship.
- (29 f) Certainly, we are still friends.
- (29 g) Loyalty, sincerity, and challenging exchanges of ideas, which presupposes a certain degree of cultural affinity, are the most valuable properties of a friend.
- (29 h) It depends on the sincerity and the degree of conviction of his Communist beliefs. I cannot imagine any of my friends becoming a convinced Communist. Should any one of them join the party, I would try to avoid political discussions until I had a good chance to prove ~~XXXX~~ they futility of their choice.

- (30) My mother is Roman Catholic and that was my father's religion, too.
- (30 a) My entire family was strictly Roman Catholic, and each member had the same attitude towards faith.
- (30 b) Missing in the Hungarian text.
- (30 c) I was just as religious as the rest of my family.
- (31 a) The regime tried to eliminate religious influence on social life, and used every possible means short of outright liquidation to separate the people from the Churches. In spite of that, religion had never stronger appeal than in these ~~war~~ years of disguised or open persecution.
- (31 b) The unyielding priests and believers were equally hit by the pressure. There were a few priests who were prepared to serve Communist aims, the so-called peace priests, but these were despised by the population as renegades.
- (31 c) The different denominations came silently closer to each other, because they had but one common opponent, and all of them had to face the same difficulties. Jewish communities were somewhat isolated from the rest of the Churches, mainly because there were more Communists among them, in percentage, than in any other religious community, and especially because about 90 percent of the highest Communist officials had Jewish backgrounds.
- (31 d) Any religion is inherently in opposition to marxism, especially by being the keeper of adverse traditions. It might be that the Communists are afraid of any organized social body which is not

entirely under their control, thinking that such organizations might become centers of resistance against the system.

- (31 e) I think they tried to place the Churches under their control and use them for their own ends. That explains the role of the peace priests.
- (31 f) The persecution was directed against the church leaders. The fate of Cardinal Mindszenty is a good example. In the Catholic Church, the monastic orders were particularly persecuted. With the exception of a few historic monasteries, i.e., the Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma and the Cistercian abbey of Zirc, all these orders were dissolved, including the convents of religious sisters (only those who served in old-age asylums were allowed to continue their work in civilian clothes), and members were deported to mines, to forced labor camps, and some of them to Russia. Among the Protestant schools, the Reformed College of Pápa was left for a while under Church supervision, though later it was also nationalized. The believers were not persecuted directly, but they were dissuaded from going to church, if they did go there, they were reprimanded, threatened with dismissal, and finally dismissed.
- (31 g) No, I could not worship freely: I did secretly, because I lived far away from the factory and from Communists who knew me.
- (31 h) Almost every Sunday I went to church.

- (31 i) Older people went to church regularly, younger groupings from time to time, the children went with their parents. I know of party members who went to church when there was no danger of being caught by other comrades.
- (31 j) (I.e., 31 k in the English text) The peace priests were Communists in religious garbs, who were neither authorized nor recognized by the respective Churches, while they enjoyed the support of the regime.
- (31 k) (I.e., 31 l in the English text) There was no difference among the Churches from the point of view of adjustment: all of them resisted Communist interference.'
- (31 l) (i.e., 31 m in English) I think religion means less to young people than it meant to their parents, because the children do not receive systematic education in religion, though, I think, parents do a successful job in transplanting in them the moral traditions of their faith and society.
- (32 a) As I said, many Jews joined the Communist Party. Some of them thought of revenge for the persecution they suffered by the Nazis. These people tried to get jobs with the police, with the AVO, in concentration camps, etc. I think, later on many were disillusioned, especially when they were affected by the nationalization.
- (32 b) Those who were disillusioned, many rank-and-file party members, fought with us. Party leaders, high officials were, naturally, loyal to the party.

- (32 e) As long as they are citizens, no distinction should be made between Jews and others.
- (33) Factory workers and white-collar workers of the industry were in the worst situation, the students should also be added to this group, since some of them worked along with them anyway. The foremen, specialized skilled workers, were better off. Miners were better paid than any of the previous groups, still their lot was the worst of all. Some heavy industrial workers were special pets of the government, i.e., the iron founders at Csepel. State officials (in the ministries) had the highest salaries. On the same level, or somewhat higher, stood physicians, a few lawyers, and other professional intellectuals (though much less in number than it used to be). Artists, actors, singers, champions could be added to the same category. Finally, party officials, AVO, etc., forⁿ a special category which was on the top of material wellbeing.
- (33 a) I belonged to the technical intelligentsia, which class stood ~~above~~ above industrial (white-collar) employees and below the group of foremen.
- (33 b) There was no such group to which I would have liked to belong.
- (34) If I would have advised ~~him~~ ^{him} to study medicine.
- (34 a) This profession gave the highest possible security and relatively^r good income.
- (34 b) He should have become a district doctor, which is a civil service position with opportunity ~~to~~ for private practice. That is the

best way to establish personal prestige.

- (34 e) Sons of physicians, workers, or peasants had the best chances to be admitted to the study of medicine. With sufficient talent, they had no further problems (there is still a great shortage in physicians).

- (1) No, I have never been particularly interested in politics.
- (1 a) Not applicable.
- (1 b) I was an observer, who wanted to be informed, but did not want to be involved in any way.
- (1 c) I think political developments were less important to me than to the average Hungarian student or other intellectuals: political interests and active participation in political life are typical features of the Hungarian intelligentsia.
- (1 d) I never participated in any political action before the uprising.
- (1 e) I was less interested than the others, probably because work in my own field gave me more ~~SKA~~ satisfaction.
- (1 f) My attitude was always the same.
- (2) My most important everyday grievance was the lack of decent living quarters.
- (2 a) Most important: above all (iii). Other important grievances: (vi), (ii), (x). The others were also important, maybe we could bear those with more patience. I should like to add one more grievance, ~~SKA~~ i.e., that we had no chance to talk openly, we had to endure everything silently, almost locked up in a terrible seclusion. (Interviewer's remark: after hearing (xi), inadequate professional recognition, respondent exclaimed with surprise: "I really never thought of anything like that." Then added: "But it was certainly one of those things we have missed without realizing what it is.")

- (2 b) The problem of housing was the most important for intellectuals, they seldom received any assistance from the employer, while workers usually got either apartments, or at least some help in obtaining one.
- (2 c) The restrictions inflicted upon independent farmers were the most important for the peasants, (interference with civil rights), the rest did not affect the peasants very much.
- (2 d) For the workers, (iv).
- (2 e) For the students, (the lack of financial support. They had to work first of all, their studies were only second to that. (Interviewer's note: the worker student was a real exception in prewar Hungary; there were some students in the faculty of law who were already employed in civil service or in a lawyer's office, but the rest of the students were supported by their parents.)
- (2 f) Some people, mostly workers, believed in Communist slogans, and they expected improvement in their situation. When they saw the deceit, they turned against the government. These were the dissatisfied Communists. Some of them still believed in the Communist doctrine, they thought that only the government, or maybe the Russian domination was the source of the troubles. Some of them were cured of Communism for ever.
- (2 g) The housing shortage was felt in every single minute, the other grievances from time to time.

- (2 h) We talked about the housing problem as much as we were inquiring about possible improvements, better solutions, etc. But we never added any further remarks.
- (2 i) No individual could do anything about these problems, the government, on the other hand, did not show much interest in improving the situation.
- (3) In my everyday life I felt the effect and consequences of political changes, but I did not follow these changes more closely, nor did I think of them very much.
- (3 a) No, I did not join any party, nor did I sympathize with any one.
- (3 b) No, my father did not belong to any political party.
- (3 c) I. (Never interested in politics.)
- (3 d) No, I was always against them.
- (3 e) I am sure that many people felt the same way. Many turncoats were the ~~NA~~ products of the disastrous economic situation. Real convinced Communists did not amount to 5 percent of the voters.
- (3 f) I don't think anybody (except the above 5 percent Communists) was ever loyal to the regime; people tried to ensure it, because under the given circumstances, with the presence of the Russian army in the country, there was nothing else to do, nothing else to say, if one wanted to be this side of the prison gates. But when the first chance came, the whole country, as one man, stood up against the regime and against the Russians.

- (4) Russia was the only real power in Hungary.
- (4 a) Any politician who spoke against the Russians disappeared in no time. New political trends, innovations, etc., went always parallel with Russia, with some delay in Hungary.
- (4 b) Rákosi and his clique dominated everything.
- (4 c) As above, in 4 b.
- (4 d) I cannot add any further details.
- (5) The government was run by the Kremlin.
- (5 a) Parliament was but a collection of insignificant yes-men.
- (5 b) Apart from the first one, elections had no meaning either: there was only one list of candidates.
- (5 c) Local authorities had only executive functions, decisions were made by the government.
- (5 d) Red tape was worse than ever.
- (5 e) There was the worst corruption of our history, that was the opinion of the older generation. I know of only such examples which were published in the papers. We were always convinced that these are only show processes to find scapegoats for greater crimes which were never publicized.
- (5 f) Many civil service officials were promoted worker cadres who underwent some special training; some young people and a few old, experienced specialists who had no political record.
- (5 g) Good cadres who did not like to work joined the army, and within two-three years they became officers. For them, the military academy was not obligatory. There were a few officers from the
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Horthy-regime also.

- (6) The main advantage of membership in the Communist Youth League was that members were not molested by party propagandists: the membership fee was the most important thing, otherwise nobody cared about them. The organization did not do anything serious. The peak of their activities were the meetings, which ended usually in dances.
- (6 a) Its disadvantage: waste of spare time, which was short anyway.
- (6 b) No, nobody was really interested. Most of the students preferred other organizations, where members could be engaged in sports or similar activities.
- (6 c) Outstanding students, athletes, were selected for membership. If one was selected by the leaders, one could not escape. They used all kinds of pressure to force such people into the organization.
- (6 d) By protesting in a very determined way that this organization does not offer enough to satisfy one's cultural demands, one could avoid membership, though not always.
- (6 e) Lack of interest, too much work, etc., but none was sufficient if they insisted.
- (6 f) No, I was not a member.
- (6g - k) Not applicable.
- (6 l) Yes, I could have joined.
- (6 m) Since I was working and studying at the same time, I had sufficient reasons to stay away, consequently I did not have any disadvantages for not being a member.

- (6 n) Young men who were fond of dancing, a few sympathizers, and students who had been studying in Russia (these were usually the leaders).
- (6 o) I did not notice any effects.
- (6 p) Rank-and-file members had no influence on the policy of the organization.
- (6 q) It was run by the party.
- (7) One has to distinguish two groups among party members: one small group of convinced Communists and the other, much larger group, of people who were seeking security through their membership, this being the best protection against dismissal in consequence of rationalization, against undesirable and unpleasant transfers, against "original sins," i.e., unfavorable social background, etc.
- (7 a) Outstanding workers, experts, specialists, were put under pressure till they joined.
- (7 b) Voluntary applicants were very few, maybe a few factory workers.
- (7 e) Frankly, I don't know what are the rights of membership.
- (7 d) The main duty of a party member is to "keep the party clean," i.e., to report any undue or unseemly action of other comrades, to believe the dogmas of marxism as expounded by the party, and to translate them into actions; to follow party instructions faithfully (i.e., without thinking or criticizing).
- (7 e) I knew a textile engineer in our factory who joined while I worked there. He was working in the technical supervisory department

(műszaki ellenőrző osztály), apparently he wanted to secure his position. After three months of party schooling, he became a group leader, but a few months later, disciplinary procedure was started against him. Unfortunately, I don't know the reasons.

(7 f) Yes, there were some people who wanted to join, though they were not accepted; first of all, former staff officers and high government officials of the previous regime. These people wanted to get better jobs, therefore tried to join the party, but the more prominent ones were often rejected.

(7 g) No, I was not a party member.

(7 h - k) Not applicable.

(7 l) Yes, I was asked to join; I had a good excuse that time: I ~~had~~ had ~~not yet~~ ~~worked~~ worked for 12 months at the same place, and that was mandatory.

(7 m) Up to the uprising, it did not affect my career very much. Although party members enjoyed milder treatment ^{at} the university (especially in marxism), the party membership was entered on all the papers, so that the professors should know about it. On the job, we were often told that only a party member can be a good technician, because he knows how to bear criticism and self-criticism. But all that was unimportant. In the future, however, I had hardly any hopes for advancement, while party members had all the chances.

(7 n) All the supervisors, many white-collar workers (in factories only), veterans, and former officers usually joined the party.

(7 o) I did not notice any changes in new members' attitudes.

(7 p) Everything was directed by the central committee of the Communist

Party, local organizations were only executive organs. The Central Committee, on the other hand, received directions from Moscow.

- (7 q - t) Up to 100 percent under the party's control.
- (7 u) The party had no direct influence. It tried to break up unity through the peace priests and to keep under constant pressure every religious organization.
- (8 a) I belonged to the trade union.
- (8 b) Non-members did not get full benefits of health insurance (only about half of it), that was the principal reason I joined the union.
- (8 e) I also belonged to the technicians' and engineers' scientific association (Technikusok és Mérnökök Tudományos Egyesülete). This was a scholarly seminar: there were lectures about scientific literature, foreign and domestic, about innovations, and anything else which might have professional interest for us. That was the best source of information concerning Western literature and Western ideas, which were otherwise unknown for us.
- (8 d) Party organizations were not popular, at the universities the scholarly organizations attracted many students.
- (8 e) The above technicians' and engineers' scientific association.
- (8 f) Nearly all the engineers in the country and the student technicians belonged to this organization. It was a nationwide organization, but the country was insignificant if compared to ~~XXXX~~ Budapest.
- (8 g) I joined on account of its great professional importance, soon ~~XXXXXXXX~~

after I started my studies.

- (8 h) I attended meetings three times a month.
- (8 i) The society's goal was to disseminate professional information, collected mainly from foreign periodicals, books, and other sources which were unavailable to all members.
- (8 j) There was a friendly professional atmosphere. The main thing was that, through this organization, all the engineers employed in Budapest got in touch with each other, had a chance to discuss their problems, and assist each other whenever it was necessary.
- (8 k) The chairman was Boldizsár Gangly, in his early forties, an engineer graduated from a German university, his father was also an engineer, unfortunately I don't know anything about his party affiliation. Other prominent members of the different committees were also outstanding experts, some of them had foreign diplomas (from Germany, Czechoslovakia, and a few young members from Russia).
- (8 l) I don't know of any informants within the association, and I don't think that would have been possible.
- (8 m) There were no illegal activities whatsoever.
- (8 n) Membership in the above association was approved by anybody familiar with our profession, that was the best source of information about foreign literature, which has such a vital importance for an engineer.
- (8 o) Workers did not approve of any organization, they wanted to rest in their family circle. Intellectuals liked the purely professional

societies which were active and had something to offer.

- (8 p) The most criticized organization was the trade union. Workers and employees expected much more from an organization which was supposed to represent their interests.
- (9) The DINZ has never been a stalwart Communist organization. There were no serious activities in any sense or in any direction. Members were interested in cheap entertainment only.
- (9 a) Communist indoctrination led the brighter young men to ^{the} discovery of the weaknesses of the doctrine; the activities of the youth organizations arose only the interest in light entertainment.
- (10) According to Communist newspapers, the AVH members were recruited from party members drafted to military service. The "green AVH", the frontier guard, were actually regular soldiers in different uniform.
- (10 a) Rank-and-file members were drafted from party members, but the officers were trained in Russia, at least for a year. How they were selected I don't know.
- (10 b) All I know is that most of them were relatively young, about 20 to 24 years old, the officers in their early thirties.
- (10 c) I have no idea, but I assume they watched each other too; they formed an isolated society, they could marry but AVH members (there were women members, too).
- (10 d) The secret informants were more dangerous and treacherous than the others.
- (11) Before I left Hungary, none of my relatives or close friends

were arrested. But I know that my brother disappeared after the uprising. A month later he was home again, where he had been, what happened to him in the meantime, I don't know, but he lost all his teeth and much weight. On May 1, he went into hiding again, for he ~~feels~~^{fears} a possible prosecution, which is the ~~usual~~ usual pattern of Communist tactics.

- (11 a) The reasons are usually unknown to the victims until they are forced to sign a prepared statement which usually has nothing to do with the facts. That happened in my brother's case too. I have no idea why he had to disappear and I am convinced he does not know himself.
- (11 b) Apart from my brother's case, I did not know closely any other victims. I heard stories, though, by the dozen, and in many cases from ~~trust~~^{trust} ~~trustworthy~~ trustworthy, if not first-hand sources. I am going to report on two cases where I knew the victims, although they did not tell me the story themselves. One of them had been a fighter pilot in the war. Sometime in 1947 or '48 he was picked up at a commemoration exercise: the car was supposed to take him to his parents. He landed at the police headquarters, from there he was transferred to a special (political) branch of the Army, from there to Russia as an alleged war criminal. He was released in 1956, and until now he does not know why he had to be imprisoned. The other victim was a former classmate of mine. A Russian officer was billeted in their house. The Russian was most of the time

drunk and often had fits of rage without any reason. Most likely, in one of his outbursts, the Russian started to beat up my classmate's father. His son ran to his aid. At the same time their faithful German shepherd dog went into action, leaving some visible marks on the Russian. This classmate of mine spent eight years in Russian camps. These prisoners were intimidated, then schooled in marxism and sent home to propagate the doctrine. Naturally, these men are the arch-enemies of communism and the Russians.

- (11 e) I have no direct knowledge of any other case.
- (11 d) I don't know much more than what I already said about the above cases.
- (11 e) I did not get any direct information from the victims. These people are so intimidated that they always refuse to talk about their experiences.
- (11 f) Anybody who was a thorn in Communist or Russian eyes was arrested. One cannot discover any system or design which would fit the whims of Communist ~~XXXXXX~~ "justice."
- (11 g) There were purges, deportations, rationalizations, reorganizations every once in a while. The last tidal wave of general purges was ~~RM~~ I guess in 1955. The preceding one in the beginning of 1953. I don't remember the dates of previous ones.
- (12) My advice would be: do not see and do not say anything.
- (12 a) The only safe occupation is mining, there is such a great shortage

that anything is allowed.

- (12 h) Not necessarily. Even the highest government officials might be sent to Russia for longer "vacation" or for "studying."
- (12 e) Connections help when one is looking for a better job, or expecting promotion, transfer, etc. For security purposes they are not sufficient.
- (12 d) Good origin is a great advantage. Unfavorable origin cannot be concealed altogether, but one can excuse it by doing menial work with a good record.
- (12 e) Money cannot buy security.
- (12 f) Yes, most troubles are avoided by keeping silent.
- (12 g) The recent purges, persecutions were directed against individuals, not against groups or classes, but the immediate surroundings of the individual in question is placed under strict observation.
- (13) I have not much experience about the operation of ~~XXXXX~~ courts, police, and secret police. The most important thing I know is that torture, terrorism, persecution is the exclusive privilege of the AVH, the regular police has nothing to do with it.
- (13 a) There is no such place in a Communist country (where one gets justice).
- (13 b) I don't know.
- (13 e) I don't know.
- (14) After the official denunciation of Stalin's crimes, there was a noticeable relaxation of the pressure. Before that it had

always the same intensity, it changed only directions, objectives, and sometimes methods.

- (14 a) Not applicable.
- (14 b) I did not notice any significant change in 1953.
- (15) Moscow played the first violin in its gypsy band and we danced to the melody.
- (15 a) In Hungary, it was "decided" what was already decreed and accepted in Moscow.
- (15 b) It was very obvious in the papers that every political decision reported in Hungary was published previously in Moscow.
- (15 c) One could not see the direct manifestations, though indirectly one could infer of certain signs, ~~XXXX~~ i.e., every important decision, every new restriction, every new production drive, government bond issue, etc., was preceded by the visit of Russian authorities.
- (15 d) I had no contact with Soviet personnel.
- (15 e) The uranium mines were under direct Russian control, in all other fields their control was indirect, exercised through the Hungarian ministries and similar central positions.
- (15 f) In the beginning, Russian advisers controlled every larger enterprise. Now the Russians are assigned only to central control offices.
- (16) Nobody dares to behave spontaneously.
- (16 a) Yes, everybody does conceal sentiments for security reasons.
- (16 b) I could see very often that in the presence of a Russian-trained

Communist who just arrived from Russia, no party member dares to say his opinion.

- (16 e) Frankness was reserved to the closest, most intimate friends and relatives.
- (16 d) One could speak frankly about sports, for instance, and similar neutral subjects; about everyday problems, working conditions it was better not to speak at all.
- (16 e) After the removal of Rákosi, one could speak a little more openly.
- (17) One could postpone certain things, nothing could be ignored, altogether.
- (17 a) There are ~~no~~ no laws one could break without penalty.
- (17 b) No, I cannot give any such example (i.e., self-protection in defiance of official decrees).
- (17 e) Not without due penalties (except during the premiership of Imre Nagy).
- (17 d) I do not know of such cases.
- (17 e) It is difficult, but in the last one-and-a-half years it was possible with the approval of the management. Previously it was impossible; workers who risked such a step had to start again on the lowest level; besides, they lost accrued vacation time and other benefits.
- (17 f) It is not possible to reverse such a decision (i.e., which barred a student from continuing his studies because of his father's social background). The only thing he can do is to go to work and try it again as a worker cadre.

- (18) People who are engaged in black marketing can get HM ahead in Hungary now.
- (19 a) One can hardly speak of any organized resistance. If there were such movements, those were detected and quelled in time. For instance, the Rajk conspiracy, which was more important than it appeared at the trial. It did not find popular response for personal reasons: Rajk was the most inhuman Communist hangman, and that was not forgotten, nor forgiven. Passive resistance, a certain degree of sabotage, was tried here and there, however, if it assumed greater dimensions, the authorities tracked ^{it} down, as it happened when farmers tried to sabotage compulsory deliveries.
- (19 b) I think that the middle class is most hostile to the system.
- (19 c) High government officials whose position depends on the regime.
- (19 d) Opposition was growing gradually.
- (19 e) Mostly it was a personal matter (see also Q. 19 a).
- (19 f) Apart from Rajk's movement, I did not hear of any opposition within the party, neither in the army, nor among students. The writers started their open criticisms somewhat before the uprising, but I did not hear of any movement, organization, or plans for active opposition.
- (19 g) Some more or less open criticism was the only sign of opposition.
- (19 h) Plenty of political jokes were circulating, but only a few got printed.
- (19 i) Slow-down, damages in quality, and other forms of wilful sabotage, black marketing were common practices all over the country, but

all these were individual activities, and seldom, almost never initiated by organized groups. (See also Section W, Q. 5)

(19 j) There were different trends and tendencies within the government, but these affected practical methods rather than basic ideology. I don't know of any serious disagreement within the party.

(19 k) I think it was impossible to organize opposition, in view of the ever-present informers.

(19 l) The MEFESZ was formed about a week before the uprising, in Budapest it was not organized at all. How it was possible, I cannot explain.

- (1) I learned the Russian version of world news from the Hungarian newspapers, the Western version from the foreign radios, BBC, Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and the Spanish radio.
- (1 a) The Spanish radio was the most important source of information for me.
- (1 b) After that, BBC or the Voice of America.
- (2 a) First of all, I read the Sportujság (Sport News), which included a concise review of the political situation and a section of general news, too. Then, I read technical periodicals like the Magyar Újítók Lapja (Hungarian Innovators' Journal). For entertainment I bought the Ludas Matyi, Színház-Mozi (Theater-Movies), and the Irodalmi Ujság (Literary Gazette).
- (2 b) I read these regularly, i.e., when I could get them. All these papers and magazines were very popular and sold out very quickly. Some vendors kept them hidden and sold them only if one bought with them a Szabad Nép (Free People), the official party organ, which apparently did not sell so well.
- (2 c) Since I was not very much interested in politics, the brief review of events in the Sportujság was sufficient for general orientation, on the other hand, sport was my hobby and there I found all the details I wanted to know. The others served my professional interests and entertainment.
- (2 d) I went through the whole paper. It was not too much anyway.
- (2 e) No, I did not read editorials (those were filled with propaganda).

- (2 f) See Q. 2 e.
- (2 g) In professional papers and in the Irodalmi Ujság I liked to read book reviews and criticism in general.
- (2 h) There were many wall newspapers.
- (2 i) These wall newspapers consisted mostly of newspaper clippings with some local news items and added propaganda salt.
- (2 j) Some news of local interest, then mostly some examples of excellent Soviet work, pictures of Russia, etc.
- (2 k) Yes, I have seen some foreign publications, too.
- (2 l) The soccer players and other athletic teams brought some papers and magazines when they returned from abroad.
- (2 m) The Western papers had more news items, dealt with local events and problems more extensively than the Communist papers which were always overloaded with propaganda and generalities.
- (3) I went to the movies two or three times a month, depending on how many French or Italian movies were on schedule.
- (3 a) Wherever I could find an Italian or French film.
- (3 b) As I said, I preferred French and Italian films, because these were free from politics, were always well played, and sometimes had plenty of good music.
- (3 c) The Hungarian and Russian films were mostly overburdened with propaganda, but I avoided them.
- (3 d) Good movies I liked very much.
- (3 e) Yes, I did see foreign films, too.
- (3 f) The Il Trovatore (Italian), Devil in the Flesh (French), Roman Girls (Italian), etc. †

- (3 g) Yes, I went to the theater, too.
- (3 h) Once a month to the Opera House or to the Városi Színház (Municipal Theater).
- (3 i) There was no significant change in the above theaters, though some modernization was permitted in the Vígszínház.
- (4) I read comparatively few books (not counting textbooks and technical literature), first because I had little spare time, secondly because there were few books among the approved ones which I found interesting.
- (4 a) Not applicable.
- (4 b) I read about 25 titles a year.
- (4 c) Mostly Hungarian classics: novels by Mór Jókai, Ferenc Herczeg, Kálmán Mikszáth, etc.
- (4 d) I found these books very entertaining.
- (4 e) I chose them upon recommendation of my friends who ^{had} already read the book.
- (4 f) I could not buy these books because book prices were too high for my budget (85-90 forints per volume), but I got them without difficulty in the libraries.
- (5) Yes, I did listen to the radio whenever I had time.
- (5 a) Not applicable.
- (5 b) I had a German Telefunken model named Terta, with amplifiers.
- (5 c) I listened first of all to Vienna, then to French and Spanish stations, to the Voice of America, NBC. I listened to Vienna mainly because of the excellent musical programs, to the others

in order to listen to the news.

- (5 d) As I said, I followed the musical program of the Vienna station and the news of the other stations. The Vienna musical program provided the type of entertainment we often missed in Hungary, I mean in Communist Hungary, and I listened to the news to get correct and factual information within the shortest possible time.
- (5 e) I spent about 2-3 hours listening to the radio.
- (5 f) In my home.
- (5 g) My favorite domestic programs were the concerts, especially on Saturday nights, and besides the comedies or humorous sketches.
- (6) Yes, I listened to foreign stations.
- (6 a) Not applicable.
- (6 b) See Q. 5 e above.
- (6 c) See also Q. 5 e above.
- (6 d) I spent about half an hour every day listening to foreign news.
- (6 e) The musical programs, whether classical or jazz, were excellent, the news were reliable.
- (6 f) We had, of course, no way to check the reliability of foreign broadcasts, but we trusted them. However, we followed Radio Free Europe with some reservation. It sounded a bit propagandistic, at times seemed to instigate open resistance that made us a bit more cautious toward that program.
- (7) Outside the university, I did not go either to lectures or meetings.
- (7 a) I had no time for that.
- (7 b - j) Not applicable.

- (8) Before the uprising, we did not get much information by word of mouth, because people did not dare to speak openly. (For the time of the Revolt, see Section R, Q. 10)
- (8 a) What we heard was usually insignificant or unreliable.
- (8 b) Among students I heard always certain rumors which were told rather for curiosity's sake than as a piece of reliable information. Therefore I did not pay any attention to these things. I preferred to exchange opinions and ideas about important events which were already proved facts.
- (8 c) I cannot think of anything worth mentioning.
- (8 d) As I said, before the uprising such informations were often unreliable.
- (8 e) Often false rumors.
- (8 f) Once an American 'plane was forced down in Hungary, whereupon people kept waiting for American parachutists and there was plenty of excitement among the more credulous population.
- (8 g) I heard that in the factory.
- (8 h) At the university, we gathered occasionally, at almost any place, in the factory in the office of the technicians.
- (8 i) Administrative secretaries had some insight into future plans, possible changes concerning our work in the factory; news of greater importance and of broader significance seldom leaked out.
- (8 j) If I discussed current events, I did it at the factory with my friends, or at the university; because there I knew to whom I

can speak openly.

- (8 k) No, released prisoners never spoke about their experiences outside their families.
- (8 l) No, I did not come across any illegal publications.
- (9) I had no special source of information about the party. I had to rely upon the papers and other official sources.
- (9 a) For foreign news, I turned on the radio and listened to one of the Western radios.
- (9 b) Sports news I found in the Sportujság and in domestic radio news.
- (9 c) It was very difficult, almost impossible to get objective information about the economic situation.
- (10) Sports news were the only absolutely reliable information we found in the newspapers, the rest had to be read with a critical mind to distinguish between fact and propaganda. News about production were easily checked by comparison with our daily experiences in the factory and in the shops. Other informations had to be compared to foreign news.
- (10 a) Commonsense helped a great deal in deciding what to believe and what not to believe.
- (10 b) The reliability of the press was gradually decreasing, the only exception was the Irodalmi Ujság (Literary Gazette).
- (10 c) Foreign radios gave the most reliable information, if checked with domestic radios for local news.
- (10 d) The least reliable: the Szabad Nép (Free People).

- (10 e) As I said, BBC, the Voice of America, were more reliable than the others.
- (10 f) ~~Yes~~ Yes, I read the Irodalmi Ujság regularly.
- (10 g) Its criticism was interesting, factual, enlightening.
- (11) In the beginning, everybody was eager to be well-informed, but later people grew more and more indifferent.
- (11 a) Intellectuals were mostly alert and eager to know the truth.
- (11 b) The youngest did not care at all, many workers became apathetic.
- (12) From the radio.
- (12 a) Because I seldom read the papers.
- (12 b) During the Revolt, I got most information through our group at the university.
- (12 e) Not very well, although Radio Szabad Győr gave reliable news about the Western part of the country.
- (13) Yes, I knew about the forced labor camps in Russia.
- (13 a) Prisoners and Russian soldiers confirmed what I heard about them from different sources. My informations were rather superficial: some stories about inhuman conditions.
- (13 b) I don't know anything reliable about germ warfare in Korea.
- (13 e) I don't know who started the Korean War, ~~yes~~ but I am sure it was a contest between the United States and Russia, Korea in itself would be insignificant.
- (13 e) ~~Yes~~ Rajk was guilty of many crimes, but certainly not of those for which he was convicted.

- (13 e) I know that has been overemphasized by the Russian propaganda. I think it is quite natural that Germany should have an army, especially when the international situation is full of tension.
- (13 f) I heard detailed radio reports about the Berlin riots. We were following the news with much excitement.
- (13 g) I don't know much about emigre activities. The situation seems to be rather confused.

- (I) Were the present regime removed, first of all the economic system should be changed radically. Industrial production should be rationalized with strict considerations of the country's natural resources and primary needs. I mean that it should make better use of available raw material, and production for export should be somewhat restricted. Agriculture should undergo a similar re-organization: it should produce crops which are most suitable to the soil and primarily satisfy everyday necessities, production of industrial raw material should be second to these primary needs. Animal husbandry should be promoted by every possible means, because its decline took already catastrophic dimensions (shortage in meat supplies as well as in working animals). The present regime did not pay much attention to animal husbandry and whatever they started did more damage than good. For instance, the import of foreign breeding animals was forbidden, there were experimentations to produce new breeds of inland stock, but these experiments ended always in degeneration.
- (1 a) I think the major industries should remain nationalized, though new and really expert management should replace the present one, the working population should have its just share in the profits. Similarly, the state farms could be kept in their present status, provided the present corrupt and inexperienced management is replaced by an expert and honest management. The disastrous ills of the present system are exclusively dependent on the present leadership, ~~above all on the dependence on Moscow and their~~

~~Standard~~

leadership, above all on the dependence on Moscow and their subservient attitude to satisfy Moscow's demands. Were the Russian interference eliminated, the system could for itself work properly for the benefit of the population.

- (2) In a free, independent country, all people should be free to organize political parties if none of the parties could advocate violence against the lawful government or other parties of classes of the population.
- (2 a) That is inherent in the idea of democratic freedom.
- (2 b) The more political parties, the more assurance is against dictatorship or corruption.
- (2 c) Yes, I would not permit a Communist Party, because communism is ab ovo against democratic freedom. And besides, communism might be an attractive theory, though when it comes to realization of the theory, it invariably turns out to be wholly and intrinsically impracticable.
- (3) Everybody should be free to say whatever he wants.
- (3 a) Because that is one of the basic preconditions of democratic freedoms.
- (3 b) No, criticism in every form should be entirely free.
- (4) Naturally, all people should be free to participate in meetings.
- (4 a) Yes, even if their purpose is to attack the government.
- (4 b) If the government has the confidence of the majority, such attacks ~~cannot~~ would not do any harm, on the contrary, it would prove

the government's stability. On the other hand, people have opportunity to express their view even if that is contrary to prevailing opinions.

- (4 c) This is also one of the basic principles of real democracy.
- (4 d) One should, of course, prevent developments which might lead to the overthrow of the government by force in the interest of minority groups.
- (4 e) If the government serves alien interests, if it does not respect the constitutional laws, ~~etc.~~^{c. g.}, by introducing unjustified dictatorial measures; if the population is exploited by that government and forced into slavery, or the primary necessities are not secured by the government's economic policy, an armed uprising against the government is justified.
- (5) Considering the Hungarian economic situation, I would be in ~~the~~ favor of the nationalization of heavy industry, if managed by good experts, and the benefits would be shared by the population.
- (5 a) In case of private ownership, there are constant difficulties about the import of certain raw materials which are not available from inland sources. The government is in better position to ensure continuous supplies of such raw materials. Similarly, the government has better chances to secure foreign markets for the products.
- (5 b) I don't think there is any essential difference between state guidance and state ownership.

- (5 c) Not applicable.
- (5 d) By no means (is private profit bad). Only in certain cases, e.g., in the case of heavy industry in small countries like Hungary, it might lead to monopolies which might dominate the whole economic life of the country, and that has to be avoided.
- (6) To a certain degree I am for it (i.e., state control of light industry), to a certain degree against it.
- (6 a) In theory, the planning of production, the distribution of goods as well as export might be better organized if the state controls the industry; on the other hand, my practical experiences in Hungary suggest that inadequate administration might have disastrous results. For instance, the Goldberger factory had a good international reputation when it was in private ownership, while now, under state management, it lost its established reputation. Beyond that, the present regime used its powers to exploit the workers.
- (6 c) Not applicable.
- (7) In a country with limited resources, certain state monopolies are unavoidable.
- (7 a) That provides necessary public funds.
- (7 b) Luxury items like tobacco, liquor; among other things the banking system might be a useful state monopoly (in case of proper administration).
- (7 c) It is definitely bad, for instance if retail trade is a state monopoly.

- (8) Planned economy is a necessity in countries with limited resources, if it is done by good experts and based on realistic principles. Plans with utopistic goals do more harm than good, especially to the quality of production. Overcentralized planning is always unhealthy in agriculture.
- (8 a) By good planning the maximum benefits can be extracted of the given resources; duplications, unnecessary luxuries, other waste can be better eliminated, quality of export products can be raised and ~~XXXX~~ foreign marketing better organized, etc.
- (8 b) Overcentralized planning usually cannot satisfy local demands, and fails totally in agriculture.
- (8 c) The situation was ~~in~~ parallel, maybe the failure was greater in Hungary; I think only 60 to 70 percent of the original plans were completed, although the administration reported always great successes and the total fulfilment of the planned production. (That was made possible by successive revisions of the planned quantities).
- (8 d) First of all, inadequate planning and inefficient administration might cause a general decline in production, overcentralized planning will always fail on local levels.
- (8 e) Short-term planning, observing local conditions, which is sufficiently flexible, might be very successful if carried out by good experts, not by politicians.
- (9) I am in favor of state ownership of transportation and communication facilities.

- (9 a) Coordination is better, security measures are observed and enforced more consistently. Besides, it prevents the formation of dangerous private monopolies.
- (9 b) There is no difference between the three services.
- (9 c) No, I would not make any exceptions.
- (10) I am in favor of government guarantee of work for everyone.
- (10 a) Such guarantee eliminates the problem of the jobless workers.
- (10 b) ~~Yes~~ Yes, there are some dangers, e.g., certain limitations in choice of jobs and occupations, difficulties in changing jobs, and, above all, people might be forced by the government to work in unsuitable jobs.
- (10 c) Any price, except individual freedom.
- (11) Yes, there are areas of human life ^{with} ~~in~~ which the government should not interfere.
- (11 a) Such interference prepares the way to slavery.
- (11 b) Family life, religion, and every manifestation of cultural life should be free of government interference.
- (12) Certainly I feel that a citizen has certain duties toward his state.
- (12 a) Not applicable.
- (12 b) Obeying the laws and orders (if decreed and enacted by constitutional means), paying of taxes, participation in national defense.
- (12 c - 12 e) Yes (see 12 b).
- (12 f) This is true of any freely-elected constitutional government.
- (13) No, my opinion has not changed since I left Hungary.

- (13 a) Not applicable.
- (14) Medical care has definitely declined in the last 20 years.
- (14 a) The quality of care has been gradually decreased. Although physicians are generally well trained, they are less conscientious than they used to be. Patients who can afford to pay physicians above the compensation given by the insurance system, receive particular attention and better care, the rest is neglected. (Most physicians refuse to see such patients at night even in case of emergency).
- (14 b) Through the insurance system, wide§ shifts of the lower classes can get medical examinations and routine treatments. In serious cases one had to have a private surgeon or specialist if one wanted to have proper treatment.
- (14 c) The clinics were better equipped, but personal physicians were more conscientious.
- (14 d) Health insurance was overburdened by administration. It took ^{an} always/unreasonably long time to get anything out of it.
- (14 e) That was the overall situation.
- (14 f) See 14 a.
- (14 g) No, I had not much personal experience, since I received medical care from a relative of mine as well as from the physician of the soccer team I played with, consequently I had never used the facilities of the health insurance.
- (15) There were somewhat more opportunities to go to the movies or theaters, though the quality of the plays was less satisfactory

than it used to be.

- (15 a) There were mostly Russian and Hungarian films on the program, which were filled with propoganda, and therefore nobody was interested in them. X The popular French and Italian films were rarely shown and for short periods only.
- (15 b) I went to the movies relatively seldom, when I could catch a French or Italian film.
- (15 c) It is the quality of production which matters, the opportunity in itself does not mean much.
- (15 d) People who did not care much about quality went more often than the more pretentious ones.
- (15 e) Young people took advantage of the opportunity, the older generations preferred a good rest at home.
- (15 f) Physicians, party officials could afford more than any other categories, but unmarried ~~young~~ young people could afford a great deal, married couples very little, families with children almost nothing.
- (16 a - c) No. Food is worse now than it used to be any time before, except the winter of 1944-45.
- (16 d) There are great differences among the different groups of population in food supplies, according to salaries and social status. High officials of party and government have special stores where practically everything is available, including imported luxury items,

and every item is of good quality. Employees of the ministries also had special stores, the so-called "Közért," which supplied the usual consumer goods, but of somewhat better quality than the food available for the rest of the population. Quality and luxury items were available for other people through the black market if they could afford the prices. Few people could, although the black market was flourishing all the time.

- (16 a) People who worked in the special stores, good restaurants, could get the best things and they supplied the black market too. The food situation was worse for all the working people, because when they could get to the stores, almost everything was sold out.
- (17 a) In 1940, people had still good clothes, although the effect of the war was felt in the stores.
- (17 b) Many things were available in the stores, though few people could afford to buy anything.
- (17 c) Things were available, but prices were going upward again, less and less people could buy anything.
- (17 d - e) Missing in the Hungarian questionnaire.
- (18) Industrial production has definitely increased since 1945.
- (18 a) Industrialization was one of the primary objectives of the government, the increase of the output was promoted by every available means.
- (18 b) Industrialization in itself would be beneficial to the Hungarian economy, if it would make use of the available raw materials. Unfortunately, that was not the case in the present system. The

government built up heavy industry for which Hungary had no sufficient raw materials. For the sake of forced industrialization, agriculture was neglected, and that caused more damage than were the benefits of the raised industrial production.

- (18 c) Many things should have been done differently. Instead of building Stalinvilles, for which we had no iron ore, they should have improved and expanded our agricultural industry. While the heavy industry worked at full capacity, the agricultural industry was struggling with shortages in labor, in fuel, in skilled personnel.
- (19 a) I think the land should be returned to the original owners up to a certain limit, e.g., one hundred acres. That alone would result in a great deal of improvement. The Hungarian peasant has a strong independent spirit. He works better if he works for himself.
- (19 b) Yes, all collectives should be abolished. State farms could be kept as they are now, but under expert management.
- (19 c) As I said, the land should be distributed to the peasants (except maybe the state farms) by the freely elected government in cooperation with agricultural organizations.
- (19 d) Cattle and inventory should be distributed proportionately among the peasants.
- (19 e) (Missing in the Hungarian questionnaire).
- (19 f) Former landowners should also get land up to one hundred acres.
- (19 g) Yes, land should be restored to kulaks who lost their property,

again up to the hundred-acre limit.

- (19 h) Theoretically, collective farms could be administered to the benefit of all members, only the present inadequate administration should be replaced by experts, and administrative personnel should be reduced to a reasonable minimum.
- (19 i) Nowadays nobody can benefit of the collective farms. The inefficient administration absorbed the little profit the soil gave, in spite of all the mismanagement.
- (20) I would retain the machine tractor stations, they might be transformed into a very practical organization if managed properly.
- (20 a) No, it should be owned by small communities, according to administrative or economic units.
- (20 b) No, I don't think individual farmers (who own 100 acres only) could afford more expensive machinery or could maintain it properly, therefore I think it would be better to maintain the machine tractor stations.
- (20 c) Not applicable.
- (20 d) Personnel was inadequate, often women were employed at the stations, who had no idea of proper maintenance or repairs. Political favorites were given excessive privileges, other people could hardly get any machinery if they needed some. Major repairs were done by factories through official channels with much delay and the usual administrative red tape.

I don't think there was any central leadership, the central workers' council was formed later, most likely from the representatives of the independent councils which could get in touch with each other. I have, however, no first-hand information about that.

- (21 h) Had the uprising been successful, these councils could have replaced the trade unions in defending the interests of the workers.
- (21 i) I think management should be responsible to the respective ministries if these are led by experts. The management should cooperate with the workers' council.
- (22 a) No, each party member should be considered individually. About 70 percent of party members joined the party for their own security, they were not really active members. I think the co-workers could judge fairly well who is the convinced Communist and who is not.
- (22 b) Party leaders should have the same fate as those people who were sentenced to forced labor by the Communist regime. Beyond that, criminal activities should be treated and tried individually.
- (22 c) Petty officials, if they fall in the group of convinced Communists, should go to forced labor.
- (22 d) Rank-and-file members should lose their privileges, promotions, and other advantages ~~in~~ won under the party's protection, I don't think any further punishment would be justified.
- (22 e) Leaders of the youth league should follow other party leaders to labor camps, the rest should stay on their jobs.
- (22 f) Police and AVH should be considered separately. Police might be treated like the rank-and-file party members. In the AVH, one

has to distinguish the political department and the secret informers from the others, who did mainly guard duties. The two former groups should be subjected to the hardest labor and confinement in complete isolation. Central leadership would be tried in special ~~XXXX~~ processes before people's tribunals.

- (22 g) Members of the borderguard who excelled by their cruelty should also be tried by the people's tribunals. The rest deserves commendation rather than punishment.
- (22 h) During the uprising, there were no general rules about the treatment of the above ~~X~~ groups. In the confusion of the first days, there were cases of popular revenge, especially where the individual was much feared or hated. Some of them, who tried to resist, were shot on the spot, a few hanged. Later, party leaders were collected in prisons, officials replaced by known Communists, but not always.
- (23) The indoctrination of the new generation was one of the most important problems of the regime. That was the field in which the regime had the greatest difficulties, since the experienced educators could not be replaced by new Communist personnel. Consequently they tried to control education ~~XXXX~~ by great pressure on the teachers. For the dissemination of Communist ideology, the regime introduced several extra-curricular activities for the study and practice of marxist ideas, like the Pioneer movement in elementary schools, and from the high-school on the DISZ.

Children had to learn Stalin-songs, had to listen to stories about "our father Stalin" and about the life and virtues of the glorious Soviet people, and other propaganda material. Religion, naturally, was banished from schools, and children were assembled for extra-curricular activities on Sundays to interfere with attendance of religious services. All that had no significant influence upon the children, because the influence of family traditions counterbalanced successfully the weak impression made by empty propaganda. I assume that the teachers were also un-enthusiastic supporters of these innovations. They followed the letter, though not the spirit of the new regulations.

- (23 a) The main difference was in the spirit of education. In pre-war times the different subjects, in elementary and secondary schools, were only means to form character, improve behavior and morals, to implant the feeling and awareness of personal responsibility. Now, the official trend was directed to destroy such formalisms of the tradition, the material ~~is~~ learning of the different subjects was enforced for the sake of knowledge, consequently children learned more in certain subjects, e.g., in mathematics, in natural history; much less in the humanities; and history was completely rewritten, according to Communist ideas.
- (23 b) The slogan of free education was but an empty promise. Admission to graduate studies was a privilege of the working classes, and even those were subjected ^{to} severe examinations, which were passed only

by 30 percent of the candidates; it was especially difficult for candidates for the Faculty of Medicine and Engineering.

- (23 c) The principle of free education for everybody is, of course, very commendable, but the above practice is against this principle.
- (23 d) Education is important for the individual to get ahead on the social ladder, it is important for the community because the greater is the number of educated individuals, the higher are the standards in every respect.
- (24 a) Church and state should be independent of each other.
- (24 b) No, there should be no difference among the various denominations.
- (24 c) To a certain degree, churches should receive support from the state (churches should be maintained or subsidized by the state if they have artistic or special cultural values).
- (24 d) Yes, the moral education is based on religion, that should be promoted by the churches.
- (25) Hungary's contributions to Western culture are not very impressive, for a sad reason: i.e., that the country was often victim of devastating invasions from the East and the South. In these wars, Hungary had always defended Western civilization, and made every effort to keep in touch with and keep on the level of Western civilization. When a relatively balanced situation was created, i.e., from the end of the 16th Century, Hungarian culture developed rapidly, and since then we can quote a few valuable contributions. Our musical culture is widely known and appreciated. Our ~~business~~

mathematicians, physicists, chemists and technicians have good international reputation, a few physicians also reached international fame. The best paintings of Mihály Munkácsy are in museums and private collections in the United States. And I heard that several atomic scientists in the U.S. also came from Hungary.

- (26) There were no generally popular governments in Hungary.
- (26 a) Under the Hapsburgs, Hungary was exploited by Austria, which was stronger economically. The aristocracy lived well, the rest of the population was impoverished.
- (26 b) Because the lower classes were oppressed, many people did not have the primary necessities.
- (26 c) To a certain degree, there were some remains of feudalism in Hungary before 1945.
- (26 d) The lower classes lived in poverty and they had little chance to improve their situation. That created the danger of social discord.
- (26 e) I have no personal experiences about the situation under the Horthy-regime, but I heard many people claiming that it was much better than any time after 1945. I remember a new smallholder who got his land from the present regime saying that he was much better off as an agricultural worker during the Horthy-regime than he is now as a landowner.
- (26 f) There were great differences among the various social classes,

but none of them was oppressed the way everybody, except party officials, was oppressed by the present system.

(26g) Of course, Hungary should have remained neutral in World War II, but that was impossible, considering our geographical situation. One of the great powers would sooner or later break our neutrality, if not the Germans, then the Russians. I am sure that the Germans kept the country only by sheer force on their side. The death of Count Teleki is one of the most eloquent proofs of our resistance to German pressure.

(26 h) The 'liberation', then the following liquidation of former leaders, the disastrous consequences of war devastation were so horrible that one does not like to recall those experiences. Then the first election brought a hopeful period of relative stabilization, when work and production was resumed. Our hopes were soon ~~SHAKEN~~ deceived by the gradual elimination of political freedoms through the attacks upon the non-Communist and non-collaborating parties and individuals. Everybody saw the frauds and deceptions by which the Communists took over the power, but nobody could do anything against it. The economic exploitation finished the work of political oppression.

(27) Yes, Hungarians have very well marked national traits. It is easy to discover, more difficult to formulate in a definition. I think Hungarians are basically peaceful and cheerful people, full of good temper and ephemeral enthusiasm, friendly and

extremely hospitable. In adversity, they break down easily, then face the situation anew with unparalleled endurance and perseverance. That is the famous passive resistance which kept the nation alive after many a disaster which could have annihilated people with less firmness.

- (27 a) The German is more arrogant, commanding in manners, he has ability for leadership, although he usually prefers teamwork (while Hungarians are typical individualists in enterprise). Hungarians have nothing of the German conceit (Herrenrasse), imperialistic tendencies, nor their patient, systematic steadiness in everyday work.
- (27 b) In culture, the Russians cannot be compared to Hungarians. The Russians ~~WHEN~~ we knew in Hungary had no culture beyond their marxist slogans. They knew nothing of Western civilization. When they saw it, they were so attracted by it that they did not want to return home. As human beings they are absolutely unreliable: for a glass of liquor they are ready to kill their own father. As soldiers they are courageous in great masses only, or when heated by drinks.
- (27 c) The comparison is difficult, almost impossible, our life and circumstances are so much different. What I noticed up to now is that Americans are much more interested in material well-being, in comfort, than we are, on the other hand, they have little talent to make their life cheerful and pleasant as they always

would like to do.

- (27 d) Not a bit.
- (27 e) (Missing in the Hungarian questionnaire.)
- (27 f) There are no important differences in character among social classes, except that the present leading class became more astute and often double-dealing.
- (28) I don't think borderlines are important.
- (28 a) Not applicable.
- (28 b) As far as the progress of humanity is concerned, it is more important to further cooperation than to stress separations.
- (28 c) The Communists taught us not to be chauvinistic. I still think that Hungary had rightful claims to territories where Hungarians live in homogenous blocks beyond the present borders.
- (28 d) First of all in Transylvania, in parts of Slovakia, where Hungarians live in larger blocks. These territories belonged to Hungary for centuries, I don't see why Hungarians should be subjected to foreign countries right in the neighborhood of the mother country.
- (28 e) Yes, Russia is threatening Hungary's present territory (maybe on account of the uranium).
- (28 f) There are some people who are in natural conflict with Hungarians.
- (28 g) The Czechs, on account of opposing territorial claims.
- (28 h) Not applicable.
- (28 i) In Hungary, they got along very well, not so in Slovakia. The Hungarians resent the Slovak oppression.

- (28 j) In Rumania, Hungarians are oppressed by the Rumanians economically. In Hungary, the Rumanian population is insignificant.
- (28 k) Since the uprising, Austrians and Hungarians get along very well, the warmth of reception and their help can never be forgotten. Before that, individuals got along very well, but between the two nations there were still rivalries stemming from the times of Hapsburg domination.
- (28 l) I don't know much about the Yugoslavs; there were some tensions between the two nations.
- (28 m) Now, especially since the uprising, Jews and Hungarians get along very well, there is, however, great hatred against the Communist officials with Jewish background.
- (28 n) Yes, Jews are Hungarians. According to my experience, Hungarian Jews are better patriots than the Polish and Russian Jews. They were fighting with us in the uprising.
- (29) I don't think a regional federation would solve the problems of the Danubian valley. There were constant rivalries for leadership and it would impose limitations on our independence.
- (29 a-d) Not applicable.
- (30) The Russian people have to be pitied because they are misled and deceived by their Communist leaders, they are stripped of their traditional culture, at the same time they know very little, almost nothing, of the outside world and they think their life is superior

to any other country. Those who saw the West were amazed and started to think differently.

- (30 a) Yes, there are different nations and different types among them.
- (30 b) I think so.
- (30 c) No, few of them are Communists only.
- (30 d) I had a friend who spoke Hungarian and came along to the soccer games. He was exceptionally well-educated, probably of aristocratic origin, he knew ~~nothing~~ much about Hungarian aristocracy, too. He was educated in Germany, he was captured and drafted for the Russian army in one of the Baltic states. In many respects he was still more German than Russian.
- (30 e) It is better not to speak about our first experiences with the Russians. Terrific fear seized the whole population by their inhuman cruelty, especially their treatment of women, when they raped in the presence of shattered husbands, fathers, or children. Many women and their husbands committed suicide after such humiliating attacks.
- (30 f) There was little change because the excesses were continued by drunken soldiers.
- (30 g) Anything, except what actually happened. Their attack was in such a striking contrast to their constant peace propaganda that nobody expected their cruel, cold-blooded intervention.
- (31) ~~Nothing~~ Marxism appears to be beautiful in theory, it is unbearable in practice.

- (31 a) Nothing in practice.
- (31 b) The whole system as it is in practical reality.
- (31 c) I studied at the university.
- (31 d) Yes, for three years.
- (31 e) Nothing.
- (31 f) (Respondent is unconditionally against marxism.)
- (31 g) Lenin was a real marxist, how good I can't judge.
- (31 h) Stalin was not a good marxist.
- (31 i) Yes, Social Democrats are better marxists than the Communists.
- (31 j) Not in practice, only according to their theory.
- (31 k) To follow the people's (i.e., the majority's) will in politics, to serve the benefits of the public.
- (31 l) Hungary was never a democracy in my lifetime. I am not sure about previous governments.
- (31 m) Tito^{is} a peculiar mixture of national and international Communist.
- (32) Communism, which is primarily following national interests.
- (32 a) There were some national Communists in the Revolt.
- (32 b) They hoped to achieve national independence under Communist⁺ government. Their main objective was substantial raise in our living standards.
- (32 c) I approve Gomulka's policy as far as he tries to achieve national independence, although lately he seems to be more lenient to Russia.
- (32 d) National Communist.
- (32 e) I think only among the show Communists are honest Hungarian patriots.

- (33) I think Imre Nagy would have improved the situation. He is more an expert in economics than a party politician, and he proved already that he is able to reorganize and revitalize our economic life.
- (33a) Politically, I could not say; his ideas were directed to practical economic problems like the reorganization of agriculture, based on individual farmers instead of collectives, etc.
- (34 a) Socialism: might be good or bad, according to what type of Socialism is meant.
- (34 b) Colonialism: bad.
- (34 c: In an independent country, class struggle might create a better society, free of corruption.
- (34 d) If power is equally distributed among the different groups, national (popular) front might be beneficial, if there is a chance to open criticism.
- (34 e) Imperialism: bad.
- (34 f) If it is not a camouflage of military preparations, peace movement is ~~not~~^{very} commendable.
- (34 g) If the workers' interests are properly defended, capitalism is beneficial, because it raises production.
- (34 h) Bourgeoisie: is bad, it turns always toward the more promising party.
- (35) In the moment, most of them would be hesitating about the question of private or state ownership.

- (36 a) Workers got less than they deserve.
- (36 b) Collective farmers: sometimes more (because they did not work properly).
- (36 c) Practically, smallholders did not get anything.
- (36 d) Kulaks got only punishments.
- (36 e) ~~A~~ Government employees got what they deserved.
- (36 f) Professionals got less, except some physicians and lawyers.
- (36 g) Students received less than they deserved (if they were working).
If they had scholarships, they were better off.
- (36 h) Actors received more than they deserve, especially the favorites or members of the party.
- (36 i) The informers received more, rank-an-file members got what they deserved.
- (36 j) ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Priests got less, peace priests more.
- (36 k) Tradesmen had what they deserved.
- (36 l) Artisans got what they deserved.
- (37) According to general opinion, everybody was better off before 1944, except party officials and a few unskilled workers.
- (38 a) The interests of workers and peasants coincide now, each group needs the other.
- (38 b) There is always some conflict between workers and intellectuals.
- (36 c) There is a sharp conflict between toilers and bureaucracy.
- (38 d) There is conflict between party and non-party people.
- (38 e) No conflict, maybe some frictions between government employees

and others.

- (38 f) There is conflict between peasants and peace priests.
- (38 g) There are some frictions between city folk and country people, though no real conflict.
- (38 h) There might be changes in these relations.
- (38 i) Prior to 1946, there was some conflict between intellectuals and aristocracy.
- (38 j) There was a sharp conflict between workers and aristocracy prior to 1946.
- (38 k) There were some frictions when a smallholder wanted to expand his property, otherwise there was no real conflict.
- (39) If there was a chance of choice, only the AVH and some new leaders whose status is dependent on the regime, would fight for the regime.
- (39 a) If circumstances make a free choice possible, everybody except the above groups would fight against the present regime.

- (1) I have no questions to ask.
- (1 a) I can only say I was very happy to see that the people who organized this project are so much interested in the fate of the Hungarian people. The questions proved that most of the problems are already well known to the scholars who formulated them.
- (1 b) Certainly you will be able to collect a great deal of valuable information.
- (1 c) I could not think of anything.
- (1 d) I think everyone of us is glad to talk freely and sincerely.
- (1 e) There were so many questions, I don't think I could add anything else.
- (2 a) Never, if the present circumstances prevail.
- (3) For the moment, I have no suggestions.
- (3 a) I have a few photographs, nothing else. (Interviewer's note: the photographs show some demolished buildings in Budapest, nothing else.)
- (3 b) I don't think so.
- (3 c) (Not recommended for "B" interview.)
- (3 b) People I know I think were already asked for interview.

Interviewer's remarks about respondent's personality:

Respondent is a student of mechanical engineering who worked as a technician in different textile factories. He is 30 years

old, though he looks younger and, as far as one can judge from the interview, considerably less mature than one would expect at his age, especially after the experiences he went through. He has still the attitude of a young college boy who is enthusiastic about sports and eager to learn, but still timid to express himself or form his own judgment.

He comes from a good middle-class family and his cultural, ethical, and, to a certain degree, social ideas were formed by this middle-class tradition, although, ^{he} apparently had no chance to live up to these ideals. In his social and economic views, he showed an unbalanced mixture of tradition and the new realities.

His most surprising trait is that he is disinterested in politics, which is a rare case among Hungarians. That also might be a subconscious rejection of the political realities he was forced to face. In general, he seems to distrust theories, ideologies, and tries to consider only the facts he had personally experienced, therefore a broader view is always lacking in his answers. On the other hand, he seems to be still timid to tell his experiences in the fights in which he participated; he usually likes to escape into generalities and non-committal statements.