

the war. There are very interesting and very valuable writings of scientific, literary, and other nature.

- (3b) I have written here and there my impressions about happenings about the Revolution, about our escape, and impressions from here, but I haven't written anything systematic.
- (3c) Respondent was interviewed on a B interview about the police in Hungary.
- (3d) I don't know their addresses offhand. I will call you and I will tell you about them and their addresses. I know about an architect in whom you might be interested.

- (1a) I think it was a very clever and <sup>a</sup>very useful interview.
- (1b) You will get an entirely truthful picture about the Hungarian and middle European situations and you will be able to find out the way of thinking and the hopes and strivings of the Hungarians, all misunderstandings can be cleared up this way, about the situation after the 2nd World War. It will be variable not only for research purposes but also for Hungary itself because of the clearance of misunderstandings about Hungary. I think that through the material you will receive, you will get a truthful picture concerning Hungary and this will be very important for the small nations which suffered so much. It will be important that it should be judged rightly.
- (1c) There might be people whose responses would be very different from most of the responses. They will try to make milder the regime. They will try to picture the horrible situation in Hungary that it should seem less horrible. You should not believe those people. There is no need for special explanation where 60,000 people were killed in cold blood.
- (1d) As far as I know the sort of people you are interviewing, I think you will get honest answers. I think that the questionnaire was prepared with great care and I don't think that there is possibility of misunderstandings after having asked all the questions from <sup>the</sup> respondent.
- (1e) You didn't ask about the Hungarian sport.
- (2a) I don't plan to go back even not to visit as long as this regime is in power. I want to stay here because my daughter will be an American already. She is now 10 and she will grow up to be an American. After this regime lost power I should like to go back to visit <sup>only</sup> and take my daughter with me.
- (3a) I would urge the project to try to collect the Hungarian literature from before the war because this literature is annihilated in Hungary and it is a great pity. This literature, except for the importance of ~~protecting~~ <sup>the</sup> protecting it from annihilation would also be useful in giving information about Hungary before

- (38i) Their interests conflicted.
- (38j) They conflicted.
- (38k) They conflicted.
- (39) Nobody would fight for the present regime.
- (39a) Everybody would fight against it.

- (35) I think most Hungarians would choose this too that is Socialism and bourgeoisie though some would place Socialism before bourgeoisie and others as I do would place bourgeoisie before Socialism.
- (36a) I have been receiving less.
- (36b) There are lazy people and they certainly received more than they deserve. They don't deserve a thing.
- (36c) They received much less.
- (36d) They received much less.
- (36e) They received less.
- (36f) They received less.
- (36g) The ones who are accepted to schools and universities received what they deserve.
- (36h) They receive more.
- (36i) They receive more.
- (36j) They receive less.
- (36k) There was no such a thing, during the <sup>past</sup> ~~last~~ regime.
- (36l) Received less.
- (37) Groups A, C, D, E, F, J, K, and L were better off. Groups I and H were worse off.
- (38a) <sup>They/</sup> ~~They~~ coincided.
- (38b) They coincide.
- (38c) They are in conflict.
- (38d) They are in conflict.
- (38e) They coincide.
- (38f) They are in conflict.
- (38g) They coincide.
- (38h) It wasn't like this always but it is going to be like this until Hungary is independent.

people were not satisfied with previous situations. Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt sold the Poles after the 2nd World War. They made the same mistakes as were done after the 1st World War. The politicians could not say that they didn't know the Soviet politics. They knew it very well. After the 1st World War the 1st thing of the Soviet Union was to try to take under their power, Turkey. Their intentions were similar to other nations while Stalin and Khrushchev were in power. Churchill and Roosevelt should have known that. There are Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin who are responsible for the crisis of today's world situation. They didn't have any political foresight.

- (32e) It is possible, but it seems to me that there is small possibility. I think that whoever is a Communist <sup>and a</sup> ~~Hungarian~~ Hungarian patriot, must be an idiot.
- (33) Yes, definitely. He was aiming at Titoist Communism. If he would have stayed on after the Revolution he would have been thrown out of power very soon anyhow because he symbolized only the neutrality.
- (34a) I think it is still good because this ~~is~~ stays closest to the bourgeois tendencies.
- (34b) It is bad because it is an exploitation.
- (34c) It is bad because it stands in the way of healthy progress.
- (34d) It is bad. Actually there is no such thing.
- (34e) It is bad because it is exploitation.
- (34f) It is bad, it actually doesn't exist.
- (34g) It is bad because it is exploitation.
- (34h) It is good because everybody has equal rights. There are no class differences. It is democratic and there are no great differences between people. Bourgeois democracy is the best thing I could think of.

the Soviet Communists.

- (31f) The Marxism is as a whole religion.
- (31g) Lenin was a Leninist not a Marxist.
- (31h) Stalin was a Stalinist and not a Marxist. Of course, both of them wanted to appear to be Marxists and they said that they were but in their deeds they were not.
- (31i) There are more Marxists than there are Communists.
- (31j) Yes, I think so.
- (31k) I know that the democracy recognizes and accepts the human freedom rights.
- (31l) Hungary was never a democracy.
- (31m) Tito is a Titoist, he is neither a Marxist nor a democrat.
- (32) I know the term. While Marxism is based upon the slogan "World proletariat level United" Tito transferred this ideology to a national and does not want to internationalize it. He wants to apply the theories to one country and does not want to force his system to other nations.
- (32a) Yes, I am quite sure of that.
- (32b) They wanted to break Hungary away from the Soviet Union. They wanted to make Hungary independent. This would have been quite all right for a starting situation. Gomulka's system is a transitionalist system between Titoism and Communism. We could not have been satisfied after the Revolution with a system similar to Gomulka's system.
- (32c) I think that Gomulka would like to break away from the Soviet Union but for the time being he's bound to the latter by political as well as economic ties. Nevertheless, he leads a different policy than there is to be found in all the other People's Democracies. His form of government is much milder. It is a station of the transition.
- (32d) He is more a Titoist than a Communist. It is undeniable that the Polish

think of a Hungarian-Austrian combination and even of a Polish-Austrian-Hungarian combination. This would be a very successful combination since it would contain <sup>a</sup> Germanic, Slavic nation and one which is entirely different from all the two of them. A Danubian federation <sup>would</sup> ~~would~~ be overpowered by the <sup>even</sup> Slavs, ~~even~~ though the Austrians, Hungarians, and the Rumanians could belong to it. The same would happen to a Balkan federation.

- (30a) Yes, I think there are different Russians.
- (30b) Yes, there are more cultured and less cultured ones. The most cultured Russians are the white Russians and the Ukrainians.
- (30c) No, they are not all Communists.
- (30d) Yes, I have.
- (30e) The Hungarians were very much afraid of them because they were afraid of their barbarism, <sup>this fright justified</sup> ~~which was~~ as soon as they entered Hungary.
- (30f) The same was the feeling towards them in 1944.
- (30g) The same was the feeling in 1956.
- (31) It is utopic system as far as government is concerned. It has many utopian parts.
- (31a) The protection of the workers and the <sup>theory</sup> ~~theory~~ of surplus value appeal to me. Nothing appeals to me which concerns politics in the Marxian theory.
- (31b) The theory of the realization of government and the theory of capital do not make any sense.
- (31c) I studied it in seminars after 1944.
- (31d) Yes, in different seminars of different lengths. Everybody had to go in one's working place to basic seminars. The social theories were taught, especially the Marxian. I couldn't take things really seriously or <sup>lieve</sup> ~~believe~~ in them since the Marxian-Leninian theories were put to practice right before my eyes.
- (31e) Only those changes were made by the Hungarian Communists which were made by

Rumania. They lose their properties there and they are second-rate citizens.

- (28k) Hungarians and Austrians get along fine in both countries.
- (28l) The national strivings of Tito are in opposition to give minorities rights to the Hungarians in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavs, however, are in equal rights with the Hungarians in Hungary. Hungary's treatment of the minority rests upon traditions. There are minority rights laws in the Hungarian constitution. Our surrounding nations, however, do not have traditions; they are new nations.
- (28m) Unfortunately, they get along somehow.
- (28n) No, there are Jews.
- (29) I would greet very happily such a federation.
- (29a) It could stand upon different foundations. It can be organized upon historical grounds or economical grounds. The character of the nations participating should be similar. Hungary, with Poland would create an excellent federation since Hungarians and the Poles were friends since many years.
- (29b) The purpose of the federation could be to divide the sea of ~~Germanic~~ Germanic nations from the sea of the Slavic nations. The two sort of nations would be happy to be divided too. The federation should be organized in a similar way in the United States. Every member nation should be allowed to keep its character but still they should be federative in all the walks of life and all the economic and other aspects. Certain key ministeriums would be common to all the member nations.
- (29c) Hungarians would take part in it just as all the other nations.
- (29d) I could think of a Polish Hungarian combination which has its roots in history too since Hungary and Poland were friends for many years. I could



well-known that the Czechs are the bloody appendices<sup>"</sup> of Europe. They had no right to keep our northern territories. Neither have ~~they~~ Serbs and Horvats southern the /right to keep our ~~southern~~ territories. What they actually should have done was to give us territories from Bessarabia since there were Hungarian<sup>l</sup> inhabited territories. We never claimed territories in Bessarabia, however, because all we claim is our 1,000 years boundaries. We don't claim those extra territories which belong to Hungary during the King Matyas, <sup>rule</sup> /only what belonged to Hungary through 1000 years of her history. This stupid Wilson broke the 1,000 year tradition of Hungary.

- (28f) No, there is no such conflict. Hungary recognizes the right of every other nation. She just wants others to recognize her rights. There are no natural ~~other~~ differences or conflicts between Hungary and other nations. This, in spite of the fact that the Hungarian nation kept its racial characteristics, ~~but~~ <sup>however</sup> it accepted /the Western culture and it adjusted to the western culture in Europe.
- (28h) Yes, there are such conflicts. For example, between the French and the Germans and between the Poles and the Russians.
- (28i) In Hungary they get along very well since the Hungarian recognizes the rights of the minorities. The Slovaks can keep their national character in Hungary and also their religion. They have Slovak language schools. Not so is the fate of the Hungarians in Slovakia and <sup>oppressed</sup> The Hungarians are there and if there are Hungarian schools these are just theoretically there.
- (28j) The same is the situation with the Hungarians and the Rumanians. The Rumanians have all their ~~minorities~~ <sup>minority</sup> rights in Hungary while the Hungarians are oppressed in Rumania. Hungarians cannot have official positions in

a fortress between Germanic and Slavic peoples, any more. A federation of the kind I mentioned before would have been improved by the two kinds of peoples, too.

- (28c) Yes, I definitely think so. Territories inhabited by Hungarians should return to Hungary.
- (28d) Such territories as Transylvania, Délvidék or the southern territory, the Felvidék or northern territory are all pure Hungarian territories; Hungary has a right to claim those territories.
- (28e) The Nazi Germans threatening Hungary's territories, because they wanted to extend as far as the Danube River. The Olchs wanted to come from the east as far as Tisza. The Yugoslavs wanted to come west and take territories up till the Drava, and the Czechs wanted to have a territory extending up till the Danube River and wanted to have a corridor between Austria and Hungary to the Adriatic Sea. The Hungary before the Versailles Treaty, surrounded by the Kárpát Mountains is a geographic unit and as such could fulfill its mission to be a fortress between east and west. In this territory, surrounded by the Kárpáths and extending to the Adriatic there was no more than 5% of minorities. So, as far as demography, geography and history is concerned, we have the right to the territory extending from the Kárpát Mountains to the Adriatic. The American President Wilson did not seem to understand, that, he was influenced by his wife who was a Czech woman. After the Treaty was signed, he himself understood that he was misled. Similar mistakes occurred after the Second World War. If the peace-making leaders would have accepted the democratical report of Teleki and Apponyi then they would not have cut Hungary to pieces. It is

Party that was in power. The churches lost all their properties.

(27)

Yes, definitely .

(27a)

While the Hungarian is honest, keeping his work, faithful to his traditions, nation, guarding and protecting its ~~institutions~~ religious, just, and diligent, ~~even~~ progress/ loving ~~and~~ friendly, respecting the opinions of others, freedom-loving but respectful toward authority-- (to the people of his own choice who received authority), has a good humour, loves folk-art and talented in doing folk-art, the German is violent and brutal, though very intelligent and an excellent organizer, good soldier, good tradesman, and very minute. The Russian is brute, uneducated, easily turning toward mysticism, incalculable, does not keep his word. As many as I could get to know from the Americans, mostly naturalized Americans and not born Americans, I found them money-loving, caring for nothing but money. (The respondent asked me not to record the latter, after he said it he got alarmed that this might make a very bad impression on the analyst.) I heard, however, that the real Americans are friendly and progressive. I never had a chance, however, to meet those.

(27d)

The Hungarian character did not change. As a matter of fact, the Revolution broke out because of the Hungarian character.

(27e)

I don't think that there are any differences in Hungary's social classes as far as national character is concerned.

(28a)

I don't think borderlines are important.

(28b)

I would be very glad to see Middle European Federation. Middle Europe is a geographic unit and as such each country could complete the other. It would be very healthy to have Hungary in such a federation between Germanic and Slav people. Since Hungary became very small after the Trianon Treaty (Versaille Treaty) it cannot fulfill its function as

- (26d) The fate of the peasants under the feudal system was very bad indeed. They were exploited very much. The heritage laws in the feudal system were no good and they stood in the way of progress.
- (26e) Except for the fact that the Communist Party was made illegal the system under the Horthy administration could be said democratic. Except for the Communist Party, every party was represented in the government. There was some mistake, however, in the democratic nature of the voting. There were no secret ballots. There was an upper house and a lower house. The economic system was not good, though not very much progressing. Big factories were allowed to be in private hands. Free speculation was allowed. Agricultural workers were subject even in the moving from place to place to the land owners. The small and middle peasants, however, were quite well off. The small and light industry had excellent prospects for development during the Horthy regime.
- (26f) Yes, there was much inequality.
- (26g) Hungary should have been neutral in the 2nd World War. She should have known that she couldn't have possibly <sup>gained</sup> ~~gained~~ by joining Germany.
- (26h) After 1944 the nation found itself and joined in great masses the Smallholder's Party. There was development in the small and middle landholdings and together with agricultural development the agricultural industry developed too <sup>in 1946.</sup> ~~by about 14%~~ The great landholdings of before 1944 were distributed. The small industry and trade developed. After '47 the Soviet system took power in Hungary and the progress in small and light industry as well as in agriculture stopped and as a matter of fact regression came with the forceful development of heavy industry. While there was free Party organization before '47, after the time the only Party was the Communist

being free to choose ~~that~~ <sup>the</sup> religious lessons to send one's children.

(24a)

No, they should not depend on the state.

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(25)

The contribution of St. Istvan who introduced Christianity to Hungary, and who made Hungary the fortress between the Germanic and the Slavic seas of people were extremely important, from the point of view of world history. Would Hungary not have been between these two races of nations there would have been fighting between the two all the time. A great contribution was also the so-called Army Bulla, of 1222, which served as an example for all the other constitutions, also for the English Constitution. The Hungarian King Saint Laszlo, Kalman, Mathew, Louis the Great were all "fortresses" against the eastern barbaric tribes. So was Hunyadi who fought against the Turks. Cultural contributions were made by great Hungarians like Neumann and Teller in atomic research, Bartok in music, great saints were contributed to the Roman Catholic Church. The first subway was constructed in Budapest. Great travellers and discoverers were contributed by Hungary who travelled and discovered in Asia and Africa. Frater Julian was one of those who travelled during the time of Marco Pole. Great physicists and chemists were ~~Botanaz~~ <sup>Eötvös,</sup> Farkas Bolyai, <sup>Zirinyi,</sup> ~~Zirinyi~~ etc.

(26)

The government of King Mathew or Matyas, of Louis the Great, of King Kalman called ~~Könyves~~ <sup>Könyves</sup> Kalman (Kalman of the books) and the second parts of Franz Joseph's government after 1867 were popular in Hungary.

(26a)

The situation in Hungary was very bad with the Hapsburgs except for the time from 1867.

(26b)

There were no possibilities. People could not earn their living. <sup>Met of Vienna</sup>  
The ~~press~~ <sup>press</sup> oppressed the Hungarians.

(26c)

Yes, she had a feudal society.

- (22g) The ministerium and the managers of free enterprises should be investigated with special attention.
- (22h) The investigation started.
- (23) The system paid a great attention to education, because they saw the security of the system in the education of the youth.
- (23a) It didn't differ much from the system before 1944. The opportunities to study depended before 1944 also on one's origin. The difference was that before 1944 those people were in a better position who were in a worse position in this regime. Before 1944 there was a trend <sup>to</sup> base the education on general moral grounds. During this regime, however, only Communist morality was looked upon as important. Before 1944 children were not told to hate certain things they were told to hate during the Communist regime "the enemy of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie".
- (23b) If someone's social origin was the right one, then there was no difficulty in his going on with studies.
- (23c) This was bad, of course.
- (23d) It was very important.
- (24) One should not have anything to do with the other.
- (24a) Yes, they should be completely independent. The churches, however, should not have huge landholdings.
- (24b) No, this should be the same with all the churches.
- (24c) Yes, they should receive sums. After all, it is very important for the state that there should be religion in the country. Of course, those helps given by the state should not be used for the well-being of the clergy, but for the subsidy of schools, etc.
- (24d) It is part of free religious practices that every parent should be free to send the children to religious courses. As far as I am concerned they should make religious studies compulsory as they did before 1944, with everyone

- (21e) The workers could not get any help from the trade unions. They did not even try to help ~~them~~ the workers, whatever help they asked.
- (21f) Workers councils can supervise the production and the conditions of the workers.
- (21g) They were chosen by the workers. Their task was to supervise the production and to see that the goods produced in the country are used in the country and not taken ~~according to~~ on the basis of secret treaties to the Soviet Union or other satellite countries. They also supervised the pay of the workers.
- . They tried to avoid the exploitation of the workers. Actually, nobody organized them. They organized themselves in the different factories and the workshops. Would the Revolution have succeeded, free, really free, trade unions would have taken the place of the worker's councils. Actually the worker's councils were the trade union organized separately in each factory and workshop. They were ~~not~~ not directed by anyone, only received spiritual aid from the National Councils.
- (21h) In today's system they cannot work. In another free system they would lose their importance, because their organization of free trade unions.
- (21e) The management should consist of experts who would be responsible to the owners and the trade unions.
- (22a) Those Party members whose record is known, and according to this record, it is known that they did wrong with the people, should be investigated.
- (22b) They all should be investigated and brought before a tribunal.
- (22c) They also all should be investigated.
- (22d) They too.
- (22e) The members of the Youth League were not Communists. They proved this during the Revolution. The leaders of the Youth Leagues, however, were actually not young people, and they should be investigated as the leaders of the Party.
- (22f) All these should be investigated, although it was proven during the Revolution that the police <sup>were</sup> not loyal to the regime.

based on corporative principles. There should be absolute communal life, this is the healthiest form of association. Every part of income should be distributed to the members.

- (191) Nobody benefits now from collective farms.
- (20) I would sell the machine tractor stations.
- (20a) No, I would not keep them in government ownership.
- (20b) I would transfer them to communities, keeping them under state control, or administration. <sup>So</sup> ~~and~~ those communities <sup>would</sup> ~~should~~ be able to use these machines until our agricultural machine factories will be able to produce small machines which could be sold to and used by smallholder peasants.
- (20c) I would transfer them to peasant communities.
- (20d) Yes, there were many things wrong. People who managed these stations were not experts but Party members who received their jobs on the grounds of their reliability towards the Party. <sup>They</sup> didn't know how to handle the machines, <sup>under</sup> ~~and~~ much of the machinery was ruined <sup>management.</sup> ~~during~~ their ~~handling~~. Lots of machinery was idle while peasants waited impatiently for machines to be rented to them.
- (20e) Yes, I think this is very important.
- (21) The worker should have just as much to say about what should be done in the workshop or factory as the owners. The worker is just as important for the factory as is the owner. The one gives the investment and the other the expert knowledge and work. This is very important to understand.
- (21a) The labor unions should guard the interest of the workers.
- (21b) They should be absolutely independent from the government.
- (21c) The membership should not be compulsory because this would be against rights of the ~~freedom~~ ~~rights~~.
- (21d) ~~People~~ <sup>People</sup> have to pay membership fees <sup>and</sup> go to meetings. The trade unions <sup>the unions</sup> do not help the workers, because ~~they~~ <sup>they</sup> are in the services of the government.



collectives, however, is a great mistake. The collectives which were formed by force during this regime are all in debt at least 80% of them.

- (19a) Yes, collectives can be allowed, but nobody should be forced into collectives or stay in collectives.
- (19b) The ones which are now in existence should be abolished. Also government owned properties should be distributed between peasants except for a few farms. These farms should serve for experimental purposes.
- (19c) The land should be distributed among the peasants except for certain farms which should be kept by the government and which should be used for experimental purposes. The government should give long-term loans to cooperative farms so that those farms should be able to buy machinery. A body chosen by the people should decide how the collectives and state owned farms should be ~~be~~ distributed <sup>among</sup> ~~between~~ the peasants. This should be done according to the gold crown value of the fields. As to the cattle they should be bought by the members of the collectives. Every member should receive an amount of money according to the property and money which he invested into the collective farms. For the value of this money as well as other property he has, he should be able to buy cattle and other animals from the collective farms.
- (19f) Big landholdings should be distributed among the peasants. Small ~~and middle~~ landholdings (20-25 hold) and middle landholdings (50-60 hold) should be <sup>while</sup> created. In such places where large farms would be much more worth <sup>than</sup> ~~than~~ a small one, for example, in a <sup>rice</sup> ~~rice~~ growing region, the government should own or control the farm with shares distributed to private <sup>shareholders.</sup> ~~people.~~
- (19g) Theoretically it should be restored. Whose land, however, was more than the above mentioned middle holding, 50-60 hold, should receive of a one-time compensation for the remaining land which he does not receive back.
- (19h) Yes, they can be administered for the benefit of their members if they are

the exploitation of the system, the situation changed radically.

- (17e) Clothing depends much on the profession of the people. White collar workers had to dress better than workers, and consequently white collar workers ate much less. The people who dressed best and ate best were the political agents, ~~Artists~~<sup>artists,</sup> scientists, and sportsmen.
- (18) It increased in heavy industry, but not in light industry.
- (18a) Since Hungary's economy is based on light industry and ~~in case~~<sup>since</sup> there was only a regression, one could say there was actually no progress in industry.
- (18b) No, this is no good for Hungary. Hungarian economy used to be based on agriculture and light industry. The heavy industry was created forcefully without enough raw material and trained personnel. The working power was taken away from the well-established light industry and so the latter <sup>80</sup> <sup>100</sup> became neglected.
- (18c) Yes, I think so. They ~~should~~ should not have forced heavy industry on Hungary. Agriculture and light industry should have been developed more. From the <sup>two</sup> latter Hungary used to have export, especially from fine mechanical tools.
- (19) The chance for the solution should be given to the ~~the~~ collectives. <sup>Only</sup> ~~if~~ such collectives should be formed which ~~would be~~<sup>are</sup> formed from the free will of the participants. Such collectives were once formed in certain parts of Hungary upon the suggestion of the Smallholder's Party. They succeeded very well. It is not true that the Hungarian peasant is against association with his other fellow peasants. Even the marriage ~~politics~~<sup>policies</sup> of the peasant <sup>proves</sup> ~~words~~ the latter. A peasant would marry his daughter only to such another peasant, whose field is close, or even right near to his own, so they could work the fields together. In forcing the organization of

- (15c) Yes, it matters. It is important to have more opportunity.
- (15d) ~~Urban~~ Urban people have much more opportunity. In the villages the movies only play twice a week.
- (15e) Yes, people take advantage of it.
- (15f) Movies are available and everybody can afford to go to movies. As to the theatre this is only for urban people and more expensive.
- (16a) No, he does not.
- (16b) He is eating better.
- (16c) No, he eats worse.
- (16d) Urban people ~~have~~ can buy such food products which the village and country people cannot buy. <sup>to</sup> As/basic food products, country people can afford those than urban people. better, ~~much better~~. There was such a time when the government pressed the peasants for forced deliveries to such an extent that the peasants were forced to buy their bread in the city. Now this ~~has~~ changed because the peasants became ~~much better off~~ cleverer.
- (16e) People who have contacts in rural areas are much better off and naturally Party members are the favorites of the regime.
- (17a) No, he does not.
- (17b) Yes, he does.
- (17c) He does not.
- (17d) The year 1940 was still before Hungary entered the war and belonged to the period which was quite well consolidated in Hungary. This was called citizen equilibrium which meant that everyone had some savings and people in general had secure living. In 1946 there was an inflation and the money had no value. The country was destroyed and all ~~the~~ people could afford was food. From '47 to '48 there was economic prosperity in Hungary which lasted even in 1950 so people could dress better. From 1950 on following

- (11) Yes, there are such areas.
- (11a) If the state interferes with everything, then the rights of human freedom are violated.
- (11b) The state should not interfere with free religious practices, freedom of speech, freedom of press, and freedom of choice of profession. In other words, the human right of freedom set up by the United Nations should not be violated.
- (12) a Yes, I do feel so.
- (12b, c, d) Obeying laws and orders which would ~~include~~ <sup>include</sup> paying taxes, military service, etc.
- (12f) This is true only of democratic government.
- (13) No, my opinion did not change.
- (14) Yes, I do feel that it improved.
- (14a) The quality didn't improve; in contrary, it became worse.
- (14b) Yes, there are groups which can better afford today medical care than before.
- (14c) Private physicians are better. A clinic cannot give such a good service as can the private physician. The medical care is done with less care in clinics.
- (14d) This is necessary everywhere. It has great importance.
- (14e) No, no exceptions, every worker or working person should have health insurance. Health insurance in the United States isn't good at all. First of all, <sup>one</sup> ~~what~~ <sub>only</sub> <sup>of</sup> is insured after 6 months ~~at every one's~~ working at a certain place
- The health insurances are made
- separately for the <sup>care</sup> ~~part~~ of physicians, hospitals, operations, etc. In Hungary <sup>includes</sup> the general health insurance <sup>of</sup> everything from the moment one starts to work.
- (15) Yes, he has more opportunity.
- (15a) There are more movies and it is less expensive. I think this is true also in the United States for the past 20 years.
- (15b) I didn't go more to the movies.

production  
cared for the light industry and the agricultural / there just were no consumer goods on the market. In such a situation the workers did not have much initiative and drive to work. In the first years, things went pretty much according to plan, but as time passed always more and more concessions had to be made. Only on paper the plan was fulfilled. The situation was similar in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, it can be said that they were more successful, because they were more experienced than the Hungarians. This doesn't mean, that they ever fulfilled their plans. During the last two 5-Year Plans all sorts of things disturbed the fulfillment of the plan. In their plan they included the production in ~~the~~ the production in People's Democracies ~~the production in~~ and as the plan did not succeed in the latter places, the plan of the Soviet Union could not succeed either.

- (9) I am in favor of it.
- (9a) They are all public services.  
(9b) I would make no difference among the three.  
(9b) No, I would make no exceptions. Even if those services would not be in state ownership at least they should be controlled by the State. This control can be done by having the State own most of the shares of the corporation.
- (10) I am in favor of this.
- (10a) Nobody will have to be afraid of unemployment.
- (10b) I don't know what the dangers could be if you don't think now about the promises made in the ~~people's democracies~~ Peoples' Democracies. There it is promised that everyone will have employment and yet the promise is not fulfilled. Also, people cannot do the work for which they are trained for, or which they like to do, but the work which is available.
- (10c) I would never give up my conscience, that is, I would never do some spy work in order to receive money for my living, but if I would receive an honest job, I would lend to it all my knowledge and effort.

having all the wheat and the corn to supply the whole country with these products. Finally, such plants and power stations which could be menacing to public security such as atomic power stations, for example, should be controlled by the state because the state is a more responsible body than an individual.

- (7b) The reasons for having state monopolies are the ones I just mentioned before.
- (7c) For the government such monopolies are bad which will not yield a profit for the state. In certain productions competition is very healthy. Since any national monopoly will cause the rise of prices in the country to higher prices than the product sells in the work market, too many monopolies would be disadvantageous for the country.
- (8) Planning is only good if it is done in a rational way. For example, the 5-Year Plan (I think he referred to the 1st) was done in such a way that the power production and the training of the personnel for the production of this 5-Year Plan were also planned to happen within this period. This was irrational and certainly did not work. The planning was made for too long a period. All sorts of changes can be made during such a long time. In Hungary, the 5-Year Plan could not work also for this reason: that Hungary did not have enough sources of power. Planning should be flexible, not as it was in Hungary, and it should be done according to the possible conditions.
- (8b) Every plan is worth only as much as can be realized from it.
- (8c) In Hungary the program was huge including economical and cultural developments. The whole economic situation, however, changed during the 5-Year Plan and it was impossible to fulfill the whole program. The possibilities were over-estimated. They planned to have certain number of engineers while the schools and universities could not produce that many. Raw material, which the Hungarians were supposed to receive did not arrive, as well as payments and money help which was supposed to subsidize these productions, did not arrive. Nobody

industries alike are in private hands, and yet the living standard is the highest in the world. It would be interesting to know how the living standard would change, if the government would take over the biggest factories in both sorts of industries.

(6b)

I already spoke about some sort of control, but there is an additional control and state ownership of industries. If the state owns a big factory in heavy industry, then the state might also establish factories in small industry which would use the waste from the factory producing heavy industry products. For example, the railroad car factory of the state produces such vast material which can serve as material for the production of cooking and baking pans.

(6c)

Alternative is private competition.

(7)

Yes, there should be state monopolies.

(7a)

The following are reasons for ~~not~~ having state monopolies: first, state monopolies assure additional income for the state; secondly, certain very important commodities like matches or salt are not in private hands, and therefore are not withdrawn from the market because of private speculation and their price is not too high; thirdly, certain state monopolies allow for the government the subsidizing ~~of~~ of the peasants and to secure food to the whole nation through this subsidy. I am thinking about the times before the war, when the government bought all the wheat and the corn from the peasants on a much higher price than those products were sold on the free market. In doing so, the state prevented the hoarding of these food products by these peasants who would not have wanted to sell them for the low price which they received on the free market. Receiving more from the government, than on the free market, all the peasants sold their produce to the government. The government was in the position

people. ~~It~~ If for some reason such a plant loses its rentability for some time a private owner will send the workers away and will cause unemployment. The government can keep the workers employed even if it loses money and can wait for the time when the plant will have its rentability again. Such important industries like the development of the atomic power~~s~~ should also be state controlled. The United States atomic power is state controlled, because it represents a great force in the hands of the government. When such commodities as gas and electricity, railway, post office, busses should also be controlled by the government because those services are the essential part of the living standard of the nation. Private people would do speculation without concern for the public welfare.

(5b) State ownership could be under private direction while private owned plants could be state controlled; ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> example, a corporation ~~can be~~ <sup>can be</sup> only partly owned by the state yet controlled by the state. This case can happen if the state is the largest shareholder. A protected forest or a national park can not be owned by a private person since those properties do not yield an income. Only the state owns such property.

(5d) Private profit is not bad. I think that private risk is a very important power. This should not be oppressed but as soon as private investment will employ great masses the state should take a part in its control. Here too there should be made differentiations between ~~owners~~ <sup>owners</sup> and ~~owners~~ <sup>owners</sup>. In case such private ownership would serve the public good I would allow it to ~~stay~~ stay in private hands. I would not allow, however, to let private people gain millions from their factories, as they do in the United States.

(6) I think that ~~competition~~ <sup>too</sup> competition in the production of those goods is very healthy. As long as not/great ~~big~~ industries are ~~not~~ privately owned. Two big industries should be controlled by the government. It is hard for me to conceive, how it can be, that here in the United States light and heavy



Except for those Communists who adhere to the Soviet Union. Those Communists who adhere only to Marxist principles, but not to Leninian principles should have all freedom to call meetings.

- (4b) As I said before, the Communists proved that ~~the~~ <sup>their</sup> systems can not survive and is harmful to humanity. The same things were true concerning the Fascist system.
- (4c) I think this is extremely important and belongs to the human fight for freedom.
- (4d) I would except from this freedom the extremists like the fascists and the Communists who adhere to the Soviet Union. The other factions and parties like the Democratic Party or Socialist Party or Christian Democratic Party did not prove yet ~~that they cannot prove~~ that they cannot survive. The Fascist and Communist Parties proved the ~~latter~~ <sup>latter</sup>. Even Franco admitted that his system was no good, and allowed that after his death a monarchy should replace his government. The Soviet Communist system, the People's Democracy should be abolished. Everybody should be informed how horrible this system is. ~~The~~ Communism itself would change. For example, the French changed their <sup>Soviet</sup> minds ~~about~~ about Communism ever since the uprisings in Poznan in Germany and especially after the Hungarian Revolution.
- (4e) Against a government which does not represent the people and which forbids <sup>basic</sup> the ~~basic~~ freedoms of the human rights, an armed uprising is justified. ~~This~~ <sup>the</sup> signs of such an ~~oppression~~ <sup>oppression</sup> are imprisonment without trial, lack of freedom of speech and press, a situation where ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> people can lose nothing, but their chains, ~~like~~ <sup>like</sup> in the Hungarian Revolution.
- (5) Yes, I favor such a control.
- (5a) A great amount of people are employed by heavy industry. It is not right that private owners should do speculations with the existence of small

concerned, however, it is already proved nothing good does come out of it.

It is a vandalism.

(3a) The Communists proved already that they take advantage of freedom and are harmful for humanity. It is proved that the Communist theory cannot be realized ~~it~~ rather that it cannot survive and the Communist systems only exploits the people.

(3b) Nobody should be forbidden to say things that are <sup>detrimental</sup> to the state. It is quite possible that there are things which should be changed in the state.

There are existing governments ~~of~~ which should be criticized really severely as the / government of Franco, the people's democracies, and some governments in Central America. (He meant South ~~and~~ Central America). Freedom of speech and criticism should actually depend on the form of the government. If there is an ideal democratic government then opposition and criticism can be very useful. More people see and know more things. If there is a real democracy only useful things can be accepted and no faction can take hold of the power of the government. Even Communists and neo-Fascists can suggest useful things. If one Party gets to a power then it can forbid other people to criticize and democracy is abolished, as well as progress stopped. I could give examples that even Communists can give useful suggestions. In campaigning for votes for their Party they might suggest the raise of worker's pay. The government, just to silence them, might really raise the worker's pay. Summarizing my answer to your question I think that if the form of government is democratic then freedom of speech should be allowed.

(4-4a) According to the principles expressed as the answer for the two previous questions and in normal circumstances, all people should be free to participate in meetings. If there are some special circumstances as some sort of a crisis, danger of war, then extremists should not have the freedom to call meetings. In any other case everyone should have the ~~the~~ above freedom.

- (1) I would abolish the whole Communist regime and system and would abolish ~~the~~ <sup>all the</sup> ~~functions~~ <sup>functions</sup> ~~of~~ the Communist apparatus. I also would announce the illegality of the Communist Party. At the same time, however, I would give permission for the functioning of other parties. I would put to an end the forceful collectivization. I would dissolve the AVH. Nobody would ~~be~~ <sup>control</sup> forced to deal with politics. I would free from the ~~supervision~~ <sup>control</sup> of the government those industrial and agricultural plants which have no rentability. I would put an end to the iron curtain. I would dissolve all the Communist organs and I would put to an end all the conditions which stand in the way of freedom. Directed art would have to be abolished. The limitations forced upon the churches should be removed. Forceful deliveries, forced labors, should also be abolished. I would put an end to the limitations in choosing one's profession. I would do everything to establish freedom and independence in Hungary.
- (1a) I would keep the sport organization of the regime, the social security, the distribution of the great landholdings, and the nationalization of the mines and big industry plants. I also would keep the uniform system of book-keeping of the banks.
- (2) Yes, everybody should be free to organize political parties. This is one of laws of the rights of human freedom.
- (2a) The right to organize parties is one of the rights of human freedom.
- (2b) More people can see more. More political parties will have more programs and from each program of each political party something will be useful for the government's progress.
- (2c) Only Communists should not be allowed to organize a political party. It is proved by now that Communism is not fit to survive.
- (3) Yes, everybody should be free except for the Communists. The humanistic rights for freedom have to be given to everyone. As far as Communism is

think that they are doing the <sup>what</sup> job ~~that~~ they are supposed to.

I think that the main mission should be the information of foreign governments about Hungarian affairs, the disclosure of the injustices committed against the Hungarians by the Soviet rule, but I don't think that ~~immigrants~~ immigrants have the right to mix actively into Hungarian domestic affairs. They are sitting here waiting for opportunities to go home <sup>and</sup> ~~planning~~ <sup>are</sup> to occupy the leading positions in Hungarian political life. They have no right to do that. They have to realize that they are far away from Hungary's internal affairs and if there will be a change in the government there, then the people who are in Hungary and who fought <sup>a</sup> for change have the right to occupy the leading positions and not the emigrés who are looking on from here. We were very much disillusioned by the roles played by such eminent immigrants as <sup>Kotli</sup> Anna ~~Entli~~. Having been a member of Nagy's government she was indeed in the position to describe the conditions of Hungary and the wishes of the Hungarian people. Instead of doing so, she denied that the Hungarians <sup>hoped</sup> ~~looked~~ for American help and interference and when speaking to Hungarians here she greeted them with the Communist greeting. <sup>Varga,</sup> Bela ~~Varga~~, too, caused ~~this~~ disillusionment.

- (13a) I knew from prisoners who came home from Russia. I also knew that there were forced labor camps in Hungary. I knew about several such camps in Hungary. One in Oresslan, Varpalota, ~~Kasinbancika, Soskut~~ / Kasinbancika, Soskut, Vac. I knew about the colonel of the gendarmes who was two years in a forced labor camp in Vac after he was sent back from Russia and during these two years he could not let his family know that he was in Hungary.
- (13b) I don't think that there was such a thing, but I could imagine that the Soviet Union would use germs in warfare.
- (13c) The Russians must have started it in order to find information about new armament of the West. This war was similar to the Russian-Finnish War.
- (13d) Rajk was guilty as a minister of the Interior. He wasn't guilty, however, in what he was accused of while on trial. This was a so-called window trial.
- (13e) The rearmament of Germany is important from the point of view of the re-establishment of the equilibrium of Europe. It is well-known that the most developed military strategists in Europe are the Germans. The rearmament of the Germans will be very advantageous to the NATO against the Soviet Union. At the same time it is important to be careful in not allowing that German militarism should develop to such an extent as to endanger the independence of other European nations.
- (13f) We thought that West Germany will be helping East Germany in achieving independence. At the time, we thought that this might have been a starting point for a new world war.
- (13g) As far as I see it, the work of the ~~emigrés~~ <sup>emigrés</sup> is not taken seriously by the Americans. The truth is that the ~~emigrés~~ <sup>emigrés</sup> cannot do as good a job because they rival among each other representing different political trends. I don't

- (9c) I had friends who worked in the Ministry of Economy or were high officials in government owned projects and factories and they gave me information. I had a friend who was the chief accountant of a great factory in ~~Ujpest~~ <sup>Ujpest,</sup> and another friend who was chief engineer in a steel factory, another who was the chief agronomer in the Ministry of Agriculture.
- (10a) I didn't believe a thing which I read in Hungarian newspapers. I learned it as everyone else, how to read from behind the words. The newspapers contradicted themselves too, in order to make things even more ridiculous. For example, in the same newspaper, one could find two different articles. I remember reading in the same newspaper an article about the problem whether Hungary should sell to Yugoslavia agricultural machinery in an inexpensive price and in the same newspaper on another page there was an article that Hungary could not even supply itself with agricultural machinery.
- (10b) During the regime of Nagy <sup>it was more reliable.</sup> After the fall of Nagy it re-lapsed ~~again~~ <sup>again,</sup> except for the Szabadsag <sup>If just.</sup> ~~and the Ujsag.~~
- (10c) Most reliable information one received from the BBC and from one's friends.
- (10d) The BBC was considered the most trustworthy, the Hungarian newspaper the least/ <sup>reliable.</sup>
- (10f) No, I haven't read the Iredalmi <sup>Ujsag.</sup> ~~Ujsag.~~
- (11) Yes, I think they tried hard.
- (11a) Everybody tried.
- (11b) There was no such person.
- (12) I ~~didn't~~ received most of my information from friends and through the BBC as well as other foreign stations.
- (12a) This was the most reliable news.
- (12b) I had couriers who brought me news from other cities than ~~God~~ <sup>God</sup> where I was during the Revolution. We also listened to the broadcast of Free Europe.
- (12c) Yes, I knew quite well what was happening in other towns.
- (13) Yes, I knew about those.

sportsman. He knew that as a comrade in sports I would not make trouble for him because he gave out such information.

- (8d) It was from ~~60%~~ 60% to 70% reliable.
- (8e) In general, they were quite accurate news, sometimes it happened that false rumours entered into them. It happened many times that people thought that whatever they heard from ~~these sources~~ these sources were false rumours, but later they turned out to be true. For example, we thought that the rationali-  
bureaucracy  
zation (streamlining of ~~services~~ when many people lost their jobs) was just rumour. It turned out to be true however.
- (8f) I heard rumours that in Western Germany the Hungarian army division called Sgt. Laszlo division and also the Hungarian gendarmes were ready to fight against the Communist regime.
- (8g) I heard those rumours everywhere where I went.
- (8h) People talked about news in private houses and homes.
- (8i) Yes, there were such people, especially sports people who travelled abroad. I was one of them, and I met others in the swimming pool and all sorts of sport competitions.
- (8j) We would discuss it especially in the swimming pool. As a matter of fact, this was our working place.
- (8k) Yes, there were such people.  
illegal
- (8l) Yes, I read ~~these~~ publications, leaflets which arrived in Hungary in balloons from the United States, the information bulletins of the American Embassy were also legal news.
- (9) I didn't have to go anywhere. <sup>(9a)</sup> This news just got around somehow. I listened to the radio or sport people who came home from abroad.
- (9b) I listened to the radio, to the sports news, and read the sport papers. For a long time the sport papers did not write at all about Western sport news and records. Until 1952 no Western sport records appeared in the newspapers.

- (6b) I listened to BBC, Free Europe, Voice of America, Parisian, and Vienna stations.
- (6c) I wanted to hear foreign news.
- (6d) In general, I listened from 7 to 10 in the evening except when there was some particularly interesting event going on like the <sup>Rajk</sup> ~~Szék~~ trials, Mindszenty trials, etc. In the latter cases I used to listen to all the foreign commentaries I could get hold of.
- (6e) I thought that the foreign stations were very well informed (at least I believed it then when I was in Hungary.) Now I have a somewhat different opinion about these broadcasts. I think that they wanted to encourage our opposition against the regime. At the time when I listened to them in Hungary I believed and I hoped that the West is only waiting for an opportunity to intervene and help us against the regime, today I know that this was not true.
- (6f) Many times they were very well informed. They gave commentaries on very recent events. They received their news very fast. It happened that we received Hungarian domestic news faster from foreign broadcasts than through the Hungarian radio. I thought that BBC was the most objective of the foreign stations.
- (7a) No, I didn't go.
- (7a) As a sportsman I didn't have to go to political meetings. At the beginning I went, however, only to see what they were like. They were organized from the beginning, even those things were decided when people had to give an ovation and who should ask and what. Nothing could have been decided in those meetings. Even not about sports.
- (7c) Does not apply.
- (7d) I went only at the very beginning.
- (7e) The meetings were always about current events. When the nationalization <sup>Rajk</sup> ~~Szék~~ started they were about nationalization, and during the ~~Szék~~ trials they



- (4a) I read many classic books and at the beginning of the regime, I read also Communist books in order to get acquainted with whatever they wrote.
- (4b) I read about 30-35 a year.
- (4c) I read the Hungarian Rhapsody by Harsányi, I read from Dumas, Cronin, Upton Sinclair, Somerset Maugham; I also read from ~~Shakespeare~~ <sup>Faglavov,</sup> from Tolstoi, Gorky. Then I read some works <sup>on</sup> of psychoanalysis, astrology, geography, and metaphysics. I ~~did~~ read from Irvin Baktai, from Sigmund Freud, <sup>V</sup>Volgyesi, Weininger, Neslopi, Branton, Ceusé, etc. I also read Swift, Dickens, ~~Warner~~, <sup>Jules Verne,</sup> etc.
- (4d) I was interested in psychology and in sciences especially related to astrology. This was my hobby. Fiction I read for <sup>ent.</sup> amusement. I liked especially travel books, medical fiction, and historical novels.
- (4e) I used to go to antique bookshops and look around for books, <sup>exchange</sup> ~~exchanged~~ my old books. Then as I read one book, ~~especially~~ about any science, I read also the books to which this book referred.
- (4f) Yes, it was quite difficult to get books. The book of Branton and Baktai were very difficult to get hold of. I had to try for months and months. People did not like to lend books, or sell them because books published before 1944 represented free literature and therefore tremendous value.
- (5a) <sup>I</sup> On The Hungarian radio <sup>only</sup> listened to music.
- (5b) We had a ~~1/2/3/4~~ Telefunken 3 plus 2 bulbs.
- (5c) I listened to the Hungarian radio, to the Voice of America, Free Europe station, EBC, Monte Carlo broadcasts, Parisian broadcasts, and Vienna broadcasts.
- (5d) Free Europe, London, Paris.
- (5e) I listened in general from one to  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour a day.
- (5f) I listened at home.
- (5g) I listened particularly to music.
- (6a) Yes, I listened to foreign stations.

reflected those problems even better would the ~~max~~ <sup>wall</sup> papers not have been directed by the Party. They could have created interesting discussions.

- (2k) Yes, I saw foreign publications whenever I travelled abroad and I read mostly the sports news.
- (2l) When I travelled abroad.
- (2m) I thought that they were freer than our publications. They did not have to follow a definite line and direction as our publications have.
- (3a) I went to the movies sometimes even twice or three times a week, depending on how many good foreign films ~~there~~ <sup>were</sup> performed.
- (3b) I preferred to see foreign ~~films~~ <sup>films</sup> or such Soviet films which were not filled with propaganda. For example, I liked very much the Russian film Romeo and Juliet.
- (3c) From among Hungarian or Russian films there were no films where there were political contents. ~~no politics~~ People came home from the workshop and factories and went to the movies and there they saw again the workshops and factories, but ~~this~~ was the social tendency in Hungary.
- (3d) I loved to see good films.
- (3e) Most of the films I went to see were foreign films. French, Italian English, Czech, or Polish.
- (3f) ~~many times~~ I went to see foreign films <sup>all the time,</sup> I particularly liked drama.
- (3g) Yes, I went to see only classic plays.
- (3h) I went to the national theatre (Nemzeti.) and to the opera. I went about three times a month. We had 7 season tickets in my family. We had 3 season tickets to the opera for my wife, my daughter, and myself, and had 2 season tickets in one theatre and two in another for my wife and myself.
- (3i) I don't think that it changed. The regime was very careful in not showing my plays which would have been in opposition of the Party line.

- (1) I listened to the Free Europe broadcasts, the Voice of America and I also got information while I was travelling abroad as a sportsman.
- (1a) Free Europe and the Voice of America, as well as BBC, were the most important.
- (1b) The next most important source of information was news I heard from friends and acquaintances.
- (2a) I read the Austrian and Hungarian sport newspapers. The Austrian sport newspaper was the Sport-Echo. I read those once or twice a week as they appeared. Sometimes I read the English Daily Worker.
- (2b) I read the sport papers once or twice a week as they appeared. The Daily Worker, however, very rarely.
- (2c) I was interested in the sport news as well as sport theories. I read the Daily Worker for western news but since I found it to be entirely ~~pre~~ pre-Soviet, I could not believe its news. From time to time I read the information bulletin of the American Embassy which I suppose contained the same news broadcasted on the Voice of America.
- (2d) In general I read the foreign news as well as the cultural and the sport news.
- (2e) I read the editorials of the sports papers.
- (2f) I liked ~~that~~ <sup>it when</sup> if the newspapers ~~contradicted~~ contradicted or opposed the Soviet system.
- (2g) The most interesting features were for me the proof about Soviet lies.
- (2h) Yes, they were.
- (2i) The ~~new~~ <sup>wall</sup> papers were ~~filled~~ <sup>filled</sup> with mostly local news, but they contained foreign news and domestic political news as well. The latter were taken from newspapers, especially from the Szabad Nep. I thought that the local news was quite valuable because it brought out the local problems, ~~and they~~ <sup>They</sup> could have

the will of the people just as were Hitler and Mussolini. Always those people rise to power who are most wanted by the masses. Hitler did many good things for the Germans, and his big mistake was to think that he could partially extinguish the Jews. He should not have started that, or else he should have eliminated them entirely. A.G.

the industrial gains into military ~~industry~~ production.

(19R) No, no opposition could be organized. Whatever the students wanted to achieve they always tried to achieve it within the framework of the regime. For example, they wanted closer contact with the West, but they never dared or <sup>aimed at</sup> never ~~wanted~~ the downfall of the whole regime.

(191) The ones who were least afraid among the students, started to organize after they saw that the Soviet culture is the least developed in the whole world. <sup>Circle</sup> In the Petofi ~~Circle~~ artists and writers wanted to free the Hungarian artistic spirit from the Soviet influence. For example, writers fought against having to write in every book a great amount of Soviet propaganda. In every fiction the villain had to have Western European sounding names while the heroes had to have Russian sounding names.

Comment: After discussing this chapter the respondent expressed his views on historical development. In connection with the Small holders Party with which he sympathized for a while, he explained that parties and leaders arise as a result of the pressure and will of the masses. This way he explained the rise of Szallasi who, as he explained it, organized his party on the suggestion of the Ministry of the Interior in order to substitute Jewish businessmen with Christian businessmen, and this way to take away the power of the Jews in Hungary. This was a very good and noble patriotic purpose, as far as he was concerned, and it certainly <sup>succeeded,</sup> ~~developed~~ because the great masses in Hungary wanted such a development. If Szallasi would not have gone to the extreme, it would have been a very good party. Hitler too, <sup>so</sup> rose because the masses wanted him, ~~so~~ did Mussolini. When I asked the respondent whether these people were not dictators rather than governing by the will of the masses, he said that would the people have wanted to dispose of them, they certainly could have disposed of them. The respondent explained that the president of the United States too was raised to power by

knew from each other who belonged to the NEM organization.

- (19f) Yes, I heard about oppositions within the Party. I heard that after the death of Stalin there were differences in the Party. Rakosi was opposed then. Under the regime of Nagy some artists writers and students started to organize. When Imre Nagy was disposed of this ceased to exist. This organization, however, again came to being in the spring of 1956. Tibor Dery and Lukacs were in this organization. In August this organization was very strong.
- (19g) The opposition criticized in meetings as well as in writings.
- (19h) There were many political jokes. One of them was "Work or join us." (That meant that if you join the Party you don't have to work for your salary or vice versa. )
- (19i) People burned down factories or grain fields and children hated to study Russian and did not study. The teachers could not fail them for this would have been admittance of failure.
- (19j) Especially after the death of Stalin there were such disagreements. There were people who wanted to execute the Leninian ideology in opposition with the Stalinian ideology. There was also such opposition, ~~that~~ there were people who wanted Marxian and Engelian ideology, and others who wanted Leninian and Stalinian ideology. The difference between the Leninian and the Stalinian ideology was that while Lenin did not mind to have co-existence Stalin was always preparing for a war ~~and a discent~~ <sup>being against co-existence.</sup> Maybe he was just afraid of the capitalist countries. The Marxian and Engelian ideology maintained that ~~this~~ <sup>the</sup> nationalization of the industry, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> standard of living of the workers should rise but the Stalin Leninian ideology instead of raising the standard of living of the workers invested

the Nagy regime people tried to do sabotage. The ~~new~~<sup>"new"</sup> movement (national opposition movement) started at that time too.

(18b) The people who were most hostile to the regime were the peasants and the workers. They were the people who could do something about their opposition. If the worker did not work well and the peasant did not cultivate his ~~land~~<sup>land</sup> this was all harming ~~the~~<sup>to</sup> the regime.

(18c) The least hostile groups were the white-collar workers. They were the people who could be mostly influenced. They didn't have any professions and therefore they didn't have much choice but to do their work as they were told to. They did feel opposition, however, because they were from intellectual families and they understood what the regime meant. I ~~myself~~<sup>myself</sup> ~~tried~~<sup>tried</sup> to cheat the regime wherever I could. When I worked in the conserve factory I made allowances for the peasants and they in their turn gave me fruit or vegetables or even meat from their pork. For example, if a peasant made a contract with the conserve factory to hand in his tomato from a certain ~~amount~~ field and having made the contract did not have to hand in products to the government, I and my colleagues were supposed to see that he really hands in the tomato he was supposed to. If the peasant, however, had an exceptionally good year and very nice tomatoes, which he could sell for a very good price on the market, and he asked me to overlook his contract or at least partly ~~tax~~<sup>tax</sup>, I overlooked it ~~and let him take his tomatoes to the market.~~<sup>tomatoes</sup> I didn't care if after that he bought some very poor quality tomato and instead of the good tomato handed it in to the conserve factory. In turn I received all sorts of products from the peasant and could be sure that whatever happened, or in whatever trouble I got they would help me.

(18d) It increased.

(18e) It was rather a personal matter. No groups were organized, but people

they didn't promise me to publish my book as a textbook with my name as the author.

(17c) Yes, he can do that, if he has good connections.

(17d) There is an equalizing committee (*Egyeztető Bizottság*) which deals with such complaints. In transferring somebody to another city or office there is a law to not to transfer one in a lower position than he has held before. If one feels that one received lower position by being transferred one can ask that his case should be examined. One could bring one's case even as high as Committee Of Reports the ~~committee report~~ of Rakosi. One could go to this committee with all sorts of claims. We called it between ourselves "the informer ministerium." (*Spicli Ministerium*).

(17e) Every worker could go to the equalizing committee. (*Egyeztető Bizottság*). This committee, however, did not transfer a worker even if this worker could have gotten a better job and a better paying job elsewhere, if there was a need for this worker at the place where he worked.

(17f) One couldn't do anything about that. This depended utterly on one's family background.

(18) Only smart people could get ahead, one who could navigate <sup>smartly</sup> ~~in a way~~ among orders and laws. One had to know exactly how to behave in all sorts of different and difficult circumstances.

(19a) Many trained men left their jobs, because they did not want to work for the Communist regime. Only then they returned to work, when they saw that this regime is here to stay, for some time at least. At the beginning, scientists and artists opposed the regime too. After 1948 even the workers and the peasants were in the opposition. The workers made peer work wherever they could and the peasants did not cultivate their land wherever they could. After 1952 there was "work slowly" movement. This was <sup>a</sup> unified passive opposition. It wasn't organized, yet everybody knew that it existed. After



~~the~~ whom one should not trust.

- (16d) One ~~could~~ could talk honestly about mistakes which were made by the West. For example, one could say how stupidly the West behaved in letting Communist China get to such a power as it did. One could talk about juvenile delinquency in the United States. One could not talk, however, about the ~~faults~~ faults and mistakes of the Hungarian or Soviet regime.
- (16e) One could talk more frankly during the Imre Nagy regime. If one criticized one's boss this was a destroying criticism, but if one criticized someone who was lower in rank than himself this was a building criticism. If one has good connections one can disobey laws. Which laws or orders can be disobeyed depends on the times and circumstances. As a matter of fact there were very few laws made in the past 10 years, only orders. Some of those orders which could be disobeyed were: for example, whoever leaves one's job voluntarily cannot be employed otherwise only through the state placement agency. To be employed by the state placement agency meant that one received very odd jobs for very low pay, and even though one had quite an important position before, one could not choose, but accept whatever the placement agency gave him. Employers, however, trying to help employees would rarely put on the paper that they left voluntarily or because of dissatisfaction on the part of the employer. The regime itself did not keep its own law and order, because there was such a law that only those prisoners could be taken to forced labor who were convicted. The regime took anybody even before their trial <sup>to</sup> forced labor. Peasants ~~tried~~ tried and in many cases succeeded not to hand in as much products as they were supposed to.
- (17b) I didn't have to protect my interest, because being a sportsman I had quite a few advantages. Once I did succeed to <sup>protect</sup> my interest when the government wanted to publish my textbook about diving in a series of systematic studies, instead of a textbook. I simply did not hand in my material as long as

other factories, I know that there were Soviet managers, Soviet ~~professionals~~ <sup>experts</sup> ~~managers~~ and also Soviet industrial administrators. This Russian personnel <sup>conduct</sup> tried to ~~convert~~ Hungarian industry after Russian example. These people were well trained, but they imitated very much western Europeans in their dress and clothing.

- (15e) It was mostly pronounced in political and economical spheres. Least it was pronounced in art, even though they gave general direction to art too. <sup>is</sup> It's possible however, that since their own art was not developed or rather they didn't have definite direction for art, they just couldn't eliminate western influence unless it was pronouncedly against their political convictions.
- (15f) Soviet advisers and Soviet personnel were ~~assigned~~ assigned to all the key industries of Hungary: like steel industry, mining industry, oil industry, gas industry, and fine mechanics. In this "big peace camp" the Hungarian uranium and steel all were exploited by the Soviets. So was Hungarian food production and also all sorts of industrial products, which were made to supply other Soviet satellites.
- (16a) No, not at all. According to the Communists everyone who is not a Communist is an enemy. Everybody had to behave as if one was a friend of the Communist Party even though they thought and felt entirely <sup>differently</sup> ~~different~~ from that.
- (16b) When I returned from war prison I didn't go to get my discharge from the army. I didn't want the army to know that I came back from western Europe. They found it out, however, and when I was forced to go and get my discharge I was asked whether I loved the Soviet Union. Naturally, I had to say that I did. This was the time when they made the <sup>"kader"</sup> ~~kader~~ papers for the former officers.
- (16c) One could find it out very easily, with whom one could talk honestly and

easier into trouble than other people. The ones who have the least chances to get into trouble are the Jews.

- (13a) One was most likely to get justice at the police. The police, however, after having completed the investigations of some case has to hand the case over to the courts.
- (13b) The two other institutions hated the AVH. The AVH tried to mix into such things which belonged purely to the ~~police~~ <sup>police,</sup> and whenever the AVH mixed into the business of the police, the report of the AVH was accepted rather than that of the police.
- (13c) I don't know about that.
- (14a) Yes, there were ~~fluctuations~~ fluctuations. In 1948 for example, the terror was very great. It relaxed somewhat after the 5 Years ~~Plan~~ <sup>Plan</sup> ~~did~~ <sup>latter</sup> not succeed. The government wanted to conceal this fact before the population. Then came the premiership of Imre Nagy. At that time and after the death of Stalin as well as after the 20th Congress, the terror relaxed.
- (14b) Yes, there was <sup>country</sup> a flourishing economically and politically.
- (15) The Soviet Union was the ruler of <sup>all</sup> Hungarian affairs.
- (15a) The important and main decisions were made in Moscow and only the details were decided in Hungary.
- (15b) One could see after the 20th Congress. It was known to everyone.
- (15c) I saw this mainly in the economic life of Hungary. The Soviet orders were not given directly, but only in general terms. It was obvious, however, that the Party tried to get rid of every such individual who would oppose, or make difficult the implementation of orders which came from Soviet Russia. It is possible that many orders were made by the Hungarians themselves.
- (15d) Yes, I had contact with Soviet personnel, but only when I was an accountant in the knitting-weaving factory. The director of the factory was ~~a~~ Russian woman who was pretty, but utterly untrained in managing factories. In many

released after 8 months. Then I had a neighbor who used to be a captain in the cavalry who was arrested, because he didn't know or didn't want to give the names and addresses of his former comrades in the army. He was not tried either. He was released after 3 months.

- (11d) The two last cases impressed me most. I don't know too much to tell about them.
- (11e) Yes, I knew about some one who was beaten up many times while he was in prison, but when he left he had to sign a statement that he was never beaten. Naturally he didn't like to talk about it.
- (11f) All sorts of people from all the walks of life were arrested.
- (11g) Yes, they were. For example, in 1946 when the nationalization was started, there were many purges. In 1948 the Social Democrats and other non-Communist Party members were purged. In connection with the <sup>Rajk</sup> trial, in connection with the Mindszenty trial, there were many purges. After the premiership of Imre Nagy there were also purges, but not too many. The biggest purges were the ones in 1946 and the ones in 1948.
- (12) I would tell him to keep quiet. There are no occupations without danger. But scientists, artists, and sportsman ~~could have more privileges.~~ could live more freely than others.
- (12b) Yes, it does.
- (12c) Yes, they can help, depending what one wants to achieve. To receive an important position one has to have good connections.
- (12d) Yes, naturally, good class background helps. It is impossible to conceal one's background or at least it is very difficult.
- (12e) Yes, many things can be bought by money.
- (12f) Yes, one can avoid certain difficulties, but not everything.
- (12g) The middle peasant and the intellectual as well as the clericals get much

(10c)

I don't think they were immune, but I knew that they were ready to ~~serve~~ <sup>sell</sup> their mothers and fathers too, and they did everything they were told to do by the Party. They had lots of privileges. There were many sadists among others. them and people who wanted to show off and be more than ~~others~~.

(10d)

I think that the secret informers were even more dirty as far as morals were concerned. There were some, however, who were compelled to work for the AVH. I knew about a couple where the wife was considered to be a clerical informer's and her husband was compelled to accept an ~~informer's~~ role because he was told that if he would not work for the AVH they would take his wife away. Once a party member in my ~~office~~ office found an English written pamphlet in my briefcase, which I received from a Buddhist society while asking for information about astrology. To have such a pamphlet in one's possession, meant that one was interested either in the Buddhist religion or else had some connections with the West. It certainly wasn't a very clever thing to have such a pamphlet around. I was almost compelled to do informer work because the person who found the pamphlet thought that it would serve for evidence that I was conspiring against the regime. I knew, however, that there was no such evidence in the pamphlet and I was not frightened.

(11)

My wife was arrested, but at the time when she was arrested she was not my wife yet. She was arrested from March 1945 to December 1945.

(11a)

She was considered to be a dangerous person to the developing Hungarian <sup>for</sup> democracy, since she used to work with a German firm, Seaman's.

(11b)

My wife was not tried, she was handled quite liberally and acquitted actually <sup>Berend</sup> for a bottle of whiskey. She served together with the Rabbi of ~~the town~~ who sold the whole Jewish community of this town to the Nazis.

(11c)

In connection with the explosion of the Town Hall two of my friends were arrested because they were suspicious. They were never tried and were

- (8p) Mostly the Hungarian Worker's Party (the Communist Party) was disapproved of. People thought that the Hungarian-Soviet Association was a futile thing. Nobody liked the Russians since every family was injured one way or another through the Soviet Union. Only Jews were members of the Hungarian-Soviet Association, but not Christians.
- (9) The DISZ was never the center of Communism. The only real center and force of the Communism was the AVH and the Soviet Union.
- (9a) The ~~Jews~~<sup>youth</sup> did not believe in anything. It was not difficult to notice how much cheating was involved in education and the writing of textbooks. Sometimes textbooks, written by Western professors, were used in schools and the same books all of a sudden appeared under the authorship of a Russian writer. For example, I found a book on swimming and diving, which I knew and read before the new regime, I knew that it was written by Hans Käfer, yet in the new regime the book was published under the name of Mazurov. When I wrote a textbook about swimming and diving I was forbidden to ~~refer~~<sup>refer</sup> to my Western sources, I was supposed to refer only to Russian sources.
- (10) ~~Adventurers~~<sup>Adventurers</sup> belonged to the AVH.
- (10a) People were recruited who were recommended ~~to be included~~<sup>to</sup> in the AVH by the Party, or else people who according to their papers were good kaders, and reliable.
- (10b) The people who went to the AVH were Jews, ~~who~~<sup>they</sup> joined the AVH even before they gave up their business, ~~as soon as they smelled a danger.~~<sup>actually</sup> Then all other ~~sorts of~~<sup>mostly</sup> people without character belonged to the AVH, ~~and lumper~~<sup>Proletars.</sup>
- (Not serious people who never took any responsibility and who would never work in a job for ~~some~~<sup>a long</sup> time, who belong nowhere.) Some workers and peasants were recruited too.

meant a great help financially too, because once one could go abroad one could buy such goods which were scarce at home and sell them for a good price. <sup>Consequently,</sup> ~~Of course~~ everybody's purpose was to be admitted to the selected group. The leadership tried to diminish this group to the really very best sports people. For example the sports results, which were to be reached by women swimmers to enter the select group, was so high, that in any other country such results would have ~~been~~ <sup>meant</sup> records.

(8k) The chairman and the under-chairman of the organization were good kaders they were placed into their positions by the Party. Their duty was to determine what sort of people should be in the organization. From 1953 on, they tried to place such people on the head of the organizations who finished the ~~the~~ Academy of Physical Education during the new regime. Most of the leaders were Communist people from the ages of 35 to 40.

(8l) Yes, <sup>there secret</sup> ~~they~~ were informers. Every sport association had an information and propaganda department whose job it was to know the political opinions of the members and to do the kader papers of the members. I was thrown out from the ~~association~~ <sup>Dózsa</sup> association because of informers, informing on me.

(8m) No, it didn't.

(8n) Since people belonged to this associations, by compulsion, noone felt very keenly about this belonging. For example, I always was <sup>"Ferenc Varos"</sup> ~~Ferenc Varos~~ fan, even though I belonged to the ~~Bayza~~ <sup>Dózsa</sup> associations. After I was thrown out from the police and therefore, also from the ~~Bayza~~ <sup>Dózsa</sup> I applied to be admitted in the ~~Ferenc Varos~~ <sup>Ferenc Varos</sup>. They admitted me into their sport association and also gave me a job in a conserve factory.

(8o) In general people approved mostly of th sport associations even though they would have liked to have had more freedom <sup>there too.</sup>

- (8f) The members were employees from the Ministry of Interior, that is employees of the police, of the fire department, and civil defense. The organization was very large. It was a national organization. There was a special division which was called the special qualified sport division where the well qualified competing sportsmen were admitted. I belonged to this sports division. The number of the competing sportsmen in this division from Budapest were from 1½ to 2,000 people. All of the other sports associations were about this big too. This regime organized the sport and physical education really excellently, a similar organization I saw only in Germany and in the Soviet sport organizations. Apparently the Soviet Union wanted the Hungarian sport to be distinguished from the sport of the other satellite countries, because Hungary received the most subsidies for sport.
- (8g) Only a member of a sport association could take part in competitions and games.
- (8h) I had to compete. I could use freely <sup>sport</sup> courses, sport equipment, and trainers and after reaching good results in sport I could receive a job.
- (8i) The sport association had to prove the superiority of the Socialist sport and physical education above the sport and physical education of the western countries.
- (8j) People were really good friends in the sport ~~association~~ association, as a matter of fact, this was the only place where one could come together socially without talking or having anything to do with politics. Politics were not important at all. If one was qualified one could enter the group of selected sportsmen and be sent abroad for competitions, and games. This



protected the interests of the government versus the interest of the workers instead of doing the opposite thing. I think that the first thing to do if ~~ix~~ this regime will fall will be to reorganize the trade unions and to throw out all the Social Democrats and the Communists in it.

- (7u) The religious organizations were abolished. (Such things as religious charity organizations, Bible organizations.)
- (8a) I belonged to sport associations.
- (8b) One could compete in sports only if one belonged to a sport association.
- (8c) Other mass organizations I knew about, were the Hungarian Worker's Party (the Communist Party), the different trade unions, the DISZ, the MINDSZ, ~~MEZT~~, (the Hungarian Soviet Corporation) the MSZSZ (the Hungarian Freedom Fighter's Organization) and the many different sport associations. As far as I'm concerned the trade unions as well as the MINDSZ were actually the Party itself thought their members could be people who were not Party members. The MSZSZ (the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Association) attracted its members by offering opportunities to teach them flying, driving. The sport associations offered sport opportunities, but all the organizations I mentioned including the sport organizations were ~~immediately~~ dissolved immediately as soon as the Revolution started. The only organization which did not dissolve was the MSZSZ which went over en bloc to the Revolutionaries.
- (8e) I belonged to the <sup>Dossa</sup> ~~former~~ sport association (previously I belonged to the MAC sport association, but this was before the new regime.) I entered the MAC in 1936, and even at that time it was such an exclusive sport organization that one had to prove one's Christian origin by proving that one's <sup>by</sup> grandparents were Christians too, (in handing in their birth certificates.)

to  
 in the university he had to join the Party. But most of the Party members were careerists and Jews.

- (7o) Some people were affected by entering the Party, others were not. Those ~~people~~ <sup>same circle of friends</sup> who remained in the ~~company~~ they used to be before they were Party members, became more silent/ in this circle. They started to talk in favor of things which they used to criticize before. For example, I knew two Jews who used to work at the agrarian college, where I worked at one time. Before these Jews became Communists they used to be pro-Americans. They used to think that Hungary needs American help. As soon as they became Party members, however, they thought that Hungary does not need American help at all, that it could get along very well by herself with~~out~~ the leadership of the Party.
- (7p) On every level the Party was led by the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union, which gave the directions to the more subordinate Party organizations.
- (7q) It had 100% influence into everything.
- (7r) It didn't influence the police too much. Since the political cases were handled by the AVH the Party gave the orders concerning those cases to the AVH, not to the police.
- (7s) The Party tried to educate the soldier in the Communist spirit. This did not succeed very much, however, because there were quite a few army officers who used to be army officers before the new regime and were not necessarily Communists. The army was not very well armed before the Hungarian Revolution. Only  
 /After the Revolution were only the satellite countries of the Soviet Union armed.
- (7t) The trade unions were dominated altogether by the Party. The trade unions

direction of the production. They could also take part in the political leadership of the country. All those which I just said were theoretical rights of the Party members, but in practice all he could do was to approve enthusiastically and vote for everything he was told to by the leaders of the Party. All the local Party organizations were directed and given orders by the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

- (7d) The member would have to guard watchfully the proletarian power." Other slogans describing the duties of the Party members were "unify for higher productivity," or "We greet the 1st of May by work competition."
- (7e) No, I can't think of anybody. I only knew people who left the Party, not people who joined it.
- (7f) I know of people who wanted to become members after 1948 in order to receive better jobs. Until 1948 ~~was~~ practically everybody could become a member. But once the power of the Communist Party ~~was established and became~~ <sup>was established and became</sup> overwhelming, and the Party did not need additional votes any more, ~~that~~ they started to select the Party members.
- (7g) No, I did not belong, and I could not have belonged either. I was a so-called westerner officer, that is I came home from western war prison, and also I was a son of an officer.
- (7h) I could have joined before 1948.
- (7i) Not much, because I became a sportsman and as such I had many advantages.
- (7j) Idealist Communists joined the Party as well as careerists who had certain plans which they could pursue only if they were Party members. The idealists were however, slowly thrown out of the Party and the ones who remained were people with no good characters. They were people who were compelled to enter the Party. For example, I had an acquaintance who wanted to become a mechanical engineer. In order to be admitted for mechanical engineering

members didn't have the right of decisions.

- (6f) No, I did not belong.
- (6l) I could have joined in 1948, they even tried to persuade me to join, but I said that I was too busy and I cannot take part in the DISZ.
- (6m) No, ~~but~~ only ~~statements~~ that I did not become a Party member.
- (6n) Such people joined who hoped that they would receive some good position or would be accepted to good schools and universities because they were DISZ members.
- (6o) It didn't do a thing.
- (6p) I don't know.
- (6 q) The Party runs it.
- (7) To be a member means to be ousted of society. People were looked upon as if they would have sold themselves to the devil. People who joined the Party were in advantage against those who didn't especially when they were so-called rationalizations. Rationalization was the lessening of the numbers of officials in governmental offices, and therefore, the loss of jobs for many officials. If somebody became a Party member whose company used to be of people who were not Party members he was looked upon by his previous friends or ~~companions~~ as somebody who ~~has~~ <sup>had</sup> leprosy.
- (7a) Whoever is nominated by the "all-mighty" Party to be a Party member has to join the Party. Nobody could argue against that, since one was not allowed to say that one did not agree with the Party.
- (7b) Idealist Communists as well as careerists want to become Party members. From 1949 or 1950 there were only careerists who joined the Party. They did not believe in Party doctrine but for the sake of their career they did everything as they were told to do by the Party.
- (7c) Party members have the right to vote in the Party, to elect the Party organs and Party officials, and they can criticize the Party. They can take part in

more for the meat, but receive it without standing in line. The butchers therefore, used to put aside meat to be sold for people who did not stand in line and who paid a better price. Everybody was ready to make such businesses, and as far as the meat distribution was concerned, it was really good, because at least the beef produced <sup>in</sup> ~~by~~ the country was stolen before it could be shipped out of the country.

- (5f) Only very good leaders went into government service.
- (5g) Only very good leaders went to be army officers and in addition to them some previous army officers who were needed because of their military knowledge. These latter officers however, did never receive a commanding position. They had advantages in receiving apartments wherever they were stationed, they received a very nice salary ever since 1950. That was all as far as I know.
- (6) One could get into good schools easier if one belonged to the DISZ, and also one could be accepted to the universities. It was a very good recommendation everywhere.
- (6a) I don't know.
- (6b) No. And even if some were compelled to enter the DISZ, they did not take it seriously.
- (6c) There were similar organizations which tried to persuade people to join the DISZ, as they were at the Party. To be a DISZ member usually meant only that one's name was on the list of the DISZ but nothing more. In 1948 and 1949 there was some life in the DISZ but after the Party took the DISZ in its hands and took all the initiative in its hands, the members lost all the interest. I didn't have <sup>a</sup> ~~any~~ indirect contact with the DISZ.
- (6d) One couldn't argue against the DISZ. This was too dangerous.
- (6e) The DISZ had no ~~power~~ influence anywhere. The

envelope was empty or not. Therefore, the people who were against voting for the candidates, like myself, put pieces of newspaper into the envelope instead of the list of the candidates. Since after every election the Party won 99% it was obvious that the envelopes which contained only newspapers were utterly disregarded by the Party members who counted them. In 1948 before the Party received the whole power the Communists took groups of Communist voters from one place to the other in order to get as much Communist vote as possible.

(5c) The local government organizations were composed mostly from Communist Party members and therefore they received their orders from the higher Party organizations.

(5d) Yes, there was a great amount of red tape. There were supervisory groups working in each factory and there were supervisory groups in the center of the heavy industry as well. Bureaucracy was tremendous. And as to red tape one bill had to be done in 7 copies. Two copies went to the local records. One copy went to the supervisory department, one copy went to the commercial department, one to the production department, one to the central record room, one to the ~~consumer~~ consumer or the buyer, and one to the bookkeeper.

(5e) Bribery and graft were tremendous. I remember when the ~~king's~~ <sup>royal</sup> palace was reconstructed, to be made a so-called university city. A tremendous amount of old and new building materials were stolen. Everybody cheated, from the director of the factory of the building materials to the last mason. If somebody needed a certain amount of bricks for some building or reconstruction one just went to <sup>a</sup> building contractor. The building contractor asked a much larger amount of bricks for the construction he was doing and sold for a good price the amount which he did not need. People took bribes in meat distribution too. Many people were ready to pay

was established. We knew that every ministry is staffed by Soviet advisers. Our factories had Soviet chief engineers. Our leading politicians were in 90% Soviet ~~citizens~~ citizens like Gero<sup>V</sup>, Rakosi, ~~etc.~~ <sup>Vas</sup> ~~etc.~~

- (4b) In executing orders from the Soviet Union, or at least following Soviet direction, the Hungarian Communist Party was the power within Hungary. No order or decision could be made without the knowledge of the Party. In other words, either it was the Party who initiated certain order or decision, or also the Party had to approve such an ~~initiative~~ initiative from someone else.
- (4d) The Party directed the government. And the government ~~and~~ and the Party directed and gave orders to the police. But since the ~~police's~~ <sup>blue</sup> police's job was in the line of common crimes and not political crimes the blue police was not in really very close contact with the Party. About 90% of previous ~~orders~~ <sup>rules</sup> pursued in the police were maintained during the new regime. The Party tried to mix into the affairs of the police, trying to give different considerations during trials to people from worker's families than to "class strangers."
- (5) The Soviet Union ran the Hungarian government.
- (5a) The role of the Parliament was to ~~approve~~ enthusiastically every suggestion of the Party and to vote for it, unanimously.
- (5b) The role of the elections was equal to zero. Whoever was nominated by the Party was elected. Voting was done in such a way that whoever voted for the nominees had to place their names into an envelope. Whoever did not want to vote for the candidates, did not place their names into the envelope, but handed the <sup>empty</sup> envelope over ~~empty~~ to the people who threw them into the voting urns. It has to be noted that nobody could put one's envelope into the urn but had to hand it over to some official who in turn put <sup>it</sup> ~~them~~ into the urn. Everybody was afraid to hand in one's envelope empty because the people who took them over, to put them into the voting urn, could see whether the

industry, it should remain in government hands. Such huge factories as Manfred Weiss's factory as well as all the mines should remain in government hands. They should be independent from foreign capital, and should not be exploited by foreigners. I don't mean to say that there should be no foreign capital invested in Hungary, foreign capital would bring fresh blood into Hungarian agriculture and industry, but the foreign capital should not exploit Hungary. For example, if we should receive or buy agricultural machinery from the United States we should not allow that all our supply of agricultural machinery should come from America, but we should maintain a certain amount of production of agricultural machinery in Hungarian factories as well.

- (3f) The population did not remain loyal to the regime at all. Between 1945 and 1948 the regime succeeded in uncovering several conspiring organizations. They became more and more severe in their search for opposition in the population and therefore whoever uttered just one word against the regime was immediately arrested. These bloody examples were terrifying and frightening and people tried to avoid trouble with the forces of the AVH and the informers.
- (4) The real power in Hungary was the Soviet Union.
- (4a) Everything was done after Soviet example. While before we used to have Ministry of the Industry; after Soviet example, we had now Ministry of Heavy Industry, Ministry of Middle Industry, and so on. Before the new regime we used to have one ministry for communication and transportation, but now we had ~~industry~~ Ministry of communication, ~~industry~~ Ministry of the post office, etc. This all was done after Soviet example. The two separate police organizations, the blue police and the AVH, were also done after Soviet example. Scout organizations were abolished and in their place the Young Pioneer organization



who did not care about peace bonds were ordered to hold speeches and try to persuade others to give money for peace bonds and to explain to others what a wonderful thing this was.

(3b) My father never belonged to a political party.

(3c) I was always anti-communist, therefore it was quite logical that the closest to me was no. 3, that I was always against the regime. This was not altogether true, however, because I favored the distribution of the great landholding. <sup>The</sup> Smallholder's Party tried the distribution of the land after Danish example in the county of Baranya. I sympathized with the Smallholder's Party until it started to "make" war criminals from guilty and innocent alike. It was quite enough that a Jew should accuse someone of having been a collaborator with the SS, the Smallholder's Party signed the accusation and the accused person was tried as a war criminal. I much <sup>liked</sup> rather would have ~~liked~~ to see the Smallholder's Party to be dissolved than to see it compromising with the new regime. <sup>Concluding</sup> ~~concluding~~ my answer to the question you asked, I should like to say that <sup>up</sup> ~~to~~ 1948 I was against certain things the regime did, but I favored several things <sup>that</sup> ~~it~~ did. After 1948 I was against the regime altogether.

(3d) No, it did <sup>not change.</sup> ~~not~~. (This certainly seems to be contradictory.A.O.)

(3e) I think many people thought the same way as I did. The rule of the aristocracy was disliked by 90% of the people. Since 1945 everybody was judged equally. After similar work, everybody received similar pay, everybody had the same opportunities for advancement. It certainly was a good thing to have distributed the great mammoth landholding. The population <sup>liked</sup> liked this very much. They also ~~like~~ <sup>liked</sup> the nationalization of the big industry, and hoped that the living standard of the workers would rise. I still maintain that the large landholdings should not be in few hands, but distributed to persons who have agricultural training and knowledge. As for the big

Only once I took part, that is, I listened to a speech of Imre Nagy which was made in the Smallholder's Party in Vac. This was in 1946. I liked the speech of Imre Nagy and later on I was sorry that he did not ~~stand~~ <sup>break away</sup> from the Russians, and that he ~~signed~~ <sup>signed</sup> the so-called blood decisions. For a certain extent I like the nationalization of big industry in Hungary. I was hoping that the workers' standard of living would rise. My hopes were not fulfilled however. I disliked very much the Russian occupation of Hungary. I sympathized with everyone who conspired against this regime. ~~Every~~ Everytime a conspiracy was unmasked and the conspirators tried, the faults of the regime always appeared. In 1948 both the Social Democratic ~~and~~ <sup>as</sup> well as the Smallholders Party ~~and~~ were abolished. Only then we realized that the Communist regime had all the power in its hand. Until 1948 they received anyone who was ready to become a member of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact they even paid people that they would become members of the Communist Party. From 1948 ~~onwards~~, however, when the regime did not need additional votes for the establishment of its power any more, they did not receive everybody to become a Party ~~member~~ <sup>members.</sup> Whenever the regime made some sort of a drastic step or mistake, I was <sup>always</sup> hoping that the Western world would intervene. For example, I hoped very much that the Western World would interfere when the trial of ~~the~~ <sup>Mindszenty</sup> started. ~~to blame~~ <sup>Mindszenty</sup> as many others, was simply taken by the party and made a scapegoat. <sup>Mindszenty (the regime)</sup> on his mistakes which the Party made. Through the trial of ~~the~~ <sup>that</sup> also wanted to weaken the Roman Catholic Church. I had a very religious Roman Catholic friend who was compelled to hold a speech against <sup>Mindszenty</sup> <sup>going on.</sup> while the trial of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> was still. He had no choice, if he wanted to keep his position and be able to support his family, but to deliver this speech. This sort of policy was very common during the regime. Whenever peace bonds were issued, such people who were known to oppose peace bonds or

satisfy one's cultural demands only if one took away from another important necessity, for example, if one ate less expensive food or <sup>bought</sup> ~~bought~~ less expensive clothing. For example, when I wanted to buy a nice Persian rug I had to pay 3000 forints for it. (Interviewer's note-Biedermeier furniture and Persian <sup>family.</sup> rugs were once the sign of being from a consolidated middle class.)

- (2a) My most important complaint would be IV, VI, IX, and X.; my least important complaint would be III and VIII.
- (2b) IV, VI, IX, and X.
- (2c) IV, VI, IX,
- (2d) IV
- (2e) X
- (2f) Their main grievances <sup>were</sup> that practice is far from the theory. / IV, IX. Specifically
- (2g) One actually always kept that in mind. Wherever one went one had to watch out before people one didn't know not to say things/which were against the regime. For example, in the morning when I rode on the bus from Göd to Budapest I had to talk to my acquaintances in a very low voice, especially when we talked about our grievances. The same happened in the swimming pool where I took my exercises with my fellow sportsmen.
- (2h) One talked about these things with one's nearest family members and one's nearest friends.
- (2i) One couldn't do anything about them. The supervision was so great that nobody could help these grievances. One had to try to stay within the circle of people one knew really well.
- (2j) I sympathized with the smallholders party; I believe that they were right when they maintained that the land should belong to those who are cultivating it. They advocated the Finnish and Danish agricultural system and they tried to organize such a program in the Hungarian agriculture. I wasn't too much interested in politics, however; therefore I didn't become a member in this party.

- (1) I was only interested in politics from the point of view of a Hungarian Christian. As a Hungarian Christian I wanted to know how to argue against the Communists. I didn't take an interest in politics before this new regime came to power.
- (1a) I was only interested as a Hungarian Christian. I wanted to know politics well enough to be able to argue against the Communists.
- (1b) I was only an onlooker as everybody who was not a Party member. I had to take part in compulsory seminarish meeting as well as political education. Everybody had to take part in those meetings. These compulsory meetings made everybody have politics.
- (1c) Compared with other interests the interest in political development was very small <sup>in</sup> ~~for~~ me. I had to mention thought that one had to think about politics and the terror of this regime wherever one went. Even in places of amusement night clubs one had to think about it since only Russian music was played. The plays in the theater were full of politics. One was really compelled to hate this system.
- (1d) I only participated in the Revolution of 1956.
- (1e) My interest in politics was just about the same as that of <sup>people</sup> ~~my~~ surroundings <sup>me.</sup>!!
- (1f) No, this did not vary.
- (2) The first important group of grievances were those which were connected with the human rights for freedom. People had no freedom of thought, freedom of conscience, freedom of religion. If one was a churchgoer one had always to be afraid to be thrown out of one's job. Religious people had <sup>to</sup> ~~to~~ always work more to receive the same salaries as non-religious people <sup>received.</sup> The second important group of grievances were those which were connected with the economic situation of Hungary, as well as of Hungary's cultural demands. One could

sweat of others.

- (33) The groups who were the best off were the Communists, especially the leading functionaries, the AVH members. Next to them there were well-qualified artists and scientists and physicians were well off. Next came the well-qualified sportsmen, then came the peasants, then the workers, and last, the worst positions were the white collar workers.
- (33a) I belonged to the sportsmen.
- (33b) I liked to belong to the sportsmen.
- (34) I would have told him to be either an artist or a scientist.
- (34a) An artist or a scientist does not have to take part in politics and is affected least by the economic policy of the nation.
- (34b) I would have warned him not to sell himself to the Communists and not to take part in any political activities. I would have warned him not to believe anything of the Communist promises and rely on his own cool judgment.
- (34c) Only people from the working class, that is from worker parents could have gone to the above mentioned professions. They also needed their talent for these professions.

received excellent positions from the government in the management of those properties. Christians whose property was nationalized were not given positions in the nationalized industry; they were regarded as class strangers.

(32a)

This regime meant <sup>memorize,</sup> for them their life. Therefore they started to ~~study~~ without thinking the Communist ideology. They were ready to forsake their relatives who lived in Western countries or in the United States in order to remain faithful to the regime. It seemed that the Jews saw the security of their own might in the Hungarian Communist Regime. The whole machine of the Hungarian Communist regime was Jewish.

(32b)

Since most of the Jews were Party members and most of them were dogmatic Party members they saw a counter <sup>did</sup> Revolution in our Hungarian Revolution and they certainly opposed it. Nevertheless, the first people who left for the West and came to the United States were Jews. These Jews who left early during the Revolution left Hungary, because they were afraid that the Revolution might succeed and they would be made responsible for whatever they <sup>joined</sup> while they were Party functionaries. Some Jews <sup>its</sup> during the Revolution during the latest stages, because they saw that the regime did not leave enough money and fortune in their property. They were afraid of being punished by the Party, because they were very corrupt and committed <sup>against</sup> frauds ~~against~~ the Party, when they ~~filled~~ Party functionary positions.

(32c)

I would give them democratic rights but only if they behaved accordingly. I would watch very carefully whether they are going to sell out our government to Communist regimes. Béla Kun, Horváth, Mária were the most bloodthirsty Jews. For hundreds of years they only worked in business. The Communist regime secured other positions for them. All the Jews in the world belong together. They want to secure world power in order to protect other Jewish groups in other parts of the world. The Jews love to live on the work and

in business. During this regime, when nobody who left the country was allowed to take

any of his goods or money with him, the Jews could take all their movables to Palestine if they wanted to go there. 80% of the AVH are Jewish. 80% of the high officials are Jewish. 80% of the ministers in the government were also Jewish.

- (31f) The persecution was mainly directed toward the leaders of the Catholic Church.
- (31g) No, I couldn't.
- (31h) When I travelled abroad, as a sportsman I went to church every week. In Hungary I attended church during the main ~~holidays~~ holidays. The peasants went to church every week and during every holiday. In the city the youth went less to church than the country people and the elder people. During the main holidays however everybody went to church in spite of the danger that this might ruin one's opportunities ~~and~~ for one's job or position.
- (31j) I think that those priests ~~did~~ <sup>sold</sup> ~~themselves~~ <sup>not</sup> and they were ~~not~~ popular with the people. ~~with~~ <sup>at all.</sup>
- (31k) I know that the Protestants and the Catholics united in their opposition to the regime. I never heard, however, that any of the Jewish rabbis would have been arrested. It was obvious therefore that while the Protestant and Catholic clergy opposed unanimously the regime the Jewish rabbis didn't do anything of the sort. ~~There was~~
- (31l) Religion means today even more to the young people than it meant to their parents. It teaches them to have Christian patience and humility, readiness for ~~sacrifice~~ <sup>fight against</sup> sacrifice, and ~~sacrificed~~ everything that is not humanitarian.
- (32) At the beginning nobody was nearly as well off as the Jews. They received back their lost fortunes and they were compensated for whatever they lost during the Nazi era. In the government, they received the best positions. <sup>in</sup> ~~Ex~~ political, economical, industrial, and educational fields. Later on when industrial properties were nationalized the Jews who owned such properties

- (30a) As I said, my father differed from the rest because he was a Calvinist.
- (30b) As far ~~as far~~ as I am concerned, God is present everywhere, I believe in him as a punishing authority and a loving father.
- (31) People became even more religious during the Communist rule than they were before.
- (31a) One could see how bad the alternatives to religion was. I became more religious  
 (31b) denominations hit.  
 too. In general all the were equally ~~hit~~. All the churches lost their property and their schools. Still it was the Catholic Church which was hit most, then came the Protestant Churches, and least of all, the Jewish religious community since most of the Communist leaders were ~~Jews~~ themselves in general.
- (31b) Church going was made difficult/ Whoever lived in Kispest ~~it~~ went to another nearby suburb to Óbuda to Church, because he didn't want his neighbors to know that he is going to church. People couldn't keep even such a fact a secret as that they send their children for religion lessons. The regime took care of disturbances of services in the churches by employing loudspeakers to announce Communist Party slogans before the Churches. Religious professions were forbidden.
- (31d) They interfered with religious life, because the Christian religion and the Communist doctrines contradicted each other.
- (31e) They could not have stamped out religion from the heart of the Hungarians; they had a better chance in trying to use the religion for their own purposes. The Hungarians are deeply religious people. They couldn't even stamp out religion in the U.S.S.R. The Russians knew that by forbidding religious practices in Hungary they would have evoked the greatest possible hatred from the Hungarians. Hungary is an ~~apostolic~~ apostolic people. There were important religious centers/for the Protestant religions too. Only the Jews were persecuted because they were hated. It is written in the book of the Jews that they have to have some Christian blood in the matzo of Passover. I don't like them either even though this is not very nice for a Christian not to like somebody. Here in the United States they influence everything with their money. They want to achieve world power through money. I never ~~in~~ saw in Hungary a Jewish taxi driver for example. They are all



- (28h) Yes, it changed a lot. There is no child who is illegal. Hungarians still <sup>however.</sup> do not look sympathetically upon unmarried mothers, As far as the children are concerned there are no disadvantages for them, whatsoever, because of the fact that they were Born from unmarried mothers.
- (29) I met my best friend when I was 15 years old. He was a neighbor.
- (29a) He is technical designer.
- (29b) He is 36 and comes from an intellectual family.
- (29c) We used to do sports together.
- (29d) <sup>Yes</sup> ~~The~~ we talked about politics. We talked about the Soviet Union, where he was a prisoner during the war. Once in a newspaper there appeared a picture of a swimming pool in a city in the Soviet Union. He happened to come back from this city and he said that it wasn't true that they had such a swimming pool there. When he was asked by party members, well, what was in the city, he said that there was famine and poverty. First they thought that he was organized in a opposition group, but they found that he wasn't. Because of this incident, <sup>however,</sup> my friend could not get any other employment but in physical work.
- (29e) No, it didn't change.
- (29f) Yes, we are friends.
- (29g) I value most faithfulness and honesty in a friend.
- (29h) There was no possibility that any of my friends become higher officials in the Party, but even if this would have been the case, I could never have believed that they did it from conviction. I am sure that any friend of mine who would have become a Party official would have helped me in whatever his position made this possible. He would have lost much of my confidence, however.
- (30) My father was a Calvinist, my mother was a Roman Catholic, all the children were Roman Catholics.

- (28a) They became freer with each other. At the beginning of the regime the Communists tried to give more opportunity to young people to get together so that they should get used to each other. Actually they encouraged love affairs in order to free students from pressure.
- (28b) Peasants get married earlier. Tradesmen and workers later.
- (28c) Yes, there is not any etiquette any more in courtship. People get married on sexual impulses; there ~~are~~ <sup>is</sup> a tremendous ~~number~~ <sup>amount</sup> of divorces. In the beginning the regime made divorce difficult, but later it became ~~much~~ easier to get a divorce.
- (28d) A marriage should last for a whole life; I think people should take into account other things than sex too. I approve of experiment marriages before one really gets married to the right person.
- (28e) Not officially, but otherwise there was a lot. There were many women around who did not work and yet they had beautiful dresses.
- (28f) They were more severe as far as business like prostitution was concerned, but they were not at all severe against other immoralities. As a matter of fact, in maternity hospitals one could read the sign which said, "It is the responsibility <sup>a</sup> ~~for~~ <sup>woman</sup> ~~to~~ bear children and it is an honor <sup>for</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> unmarried girl<sup>s</sup> since ~~they~~ <sup>she</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>is</sup> to pay for the pregnant mother while she couldn't work, and after she couldn't come back to work, ~~the~~ <sup>to</sup> give her help to take care of her child was too expensive to the government. ~~forbidden later on.~~ <sup>abortion</sup> were not so seriously <sup>As far as I am concerned, birth control has its</sup> advantages and disadvantages. The advantage of a lack of birth control is that it teaches people to be more responsible and to accept the fact that a child is given by God. An advantage of the birth control <sup>is</sup> that in certain cases where women are too frail to bear a child the child can be taken away. But this question of birth control should be decided by every individual according to one's conscience.

- (26b) Our family became ~~weaker~~ because of the pressure of the Communist regime. There were many such families.
- (26c) I loved to do horoscopes, to read books and listen to music.
- (26d) We used to go to the opera to listen to music, to listen to gramophones.
- (26e) WE spent about 5 hours a day together with my family.
- (26f) I would have love to read many more books. I would have loved to have had a film camera, to take moving pictures from sport movements and to study them. I loved world have ~~time~~ to write novels and poems.
- (27) In general they became looser.
- (27a) One of the purposes of the regime was to loosen the family bond between the people, to take away the ~~sanctity~~ sanctity of private property and the security of tomorrow. Since the pay was very low women too had to go to work; the kindergartens children were in day ~~kindergartens~~ and schools, subjected to Communist education, the sometimes/members of the family did not see each other at all. It happened that the wife was in night shift work while the husband was in the day shift and they barely met or not at all.
- (27b) Yes, they could trust each other in general, but there were such cases when their political opinions differed and therefore they separated many times.
- (27c) In general, yes, while the regime tried to separate the families and pull them away from each other people became closer and closer to each other within the family.
- (27d) To a certain extent, yes. Children had very little time together with their parents. In general, however, in families where there was love, the children loved their parents and belonged to the families.
- (27e) Yes, but one ~~was~~ <sup>has</sup> to note that in the country family bonds are always closer.
- (28) Yes, they did.

- (19) We only gave lectures to our little daughter <sup>that</sup> ~~SS~~ she shouldn't talk about politics to ~~anybody~~ and shouldn't talk about things which she heard at home, to anybody. ~~SSSS~~.
- (19a) I used to talk about politics with my wife)
- (19b) We used to criticize the regime and complain about political and economic pressures.
- (19c) Doesnot apply.
- (20) My daughter had an x mark in her records in school which meant that she was not to be allowed to ~~continue~~ <sup>continue</sup> after 4 years of elementary school because her family background was not appropriate. Her teacher, however, was a good person and she ~~taught~~ <sup>thought</sup> that she would try to take into account that I was a worker too and as such my daughter would be eligible to go on after she finished <sup>years of</sup> 4/elementary school.
- (20a) No, we had no trouble with her.
- (20b) I didn't like if she made friends with children who were not behaving well.
- (20c) No, we had no trouble with her concerning politics <sup>either</sup>
- (20d) No, with religion ~~SSSSSS~~
- (20e) No, only she wasn't very orderly.
- (20f) We always told her the truth and it was to be natural that she should ~~SSSSSSSS~~ <sup>trust us.</sup>
- (21) No, I always behaved with the child as if she would be a friend.
- (21a) The religious teacher influenced the child a lot.
- (21b) No outside authorities had any influence on my child because she just didn't take things seriously what she heard in outside. <sup>her home.</sup> She always trusted <sup>that</sup> whatever we told her was the right thing.
- (22) (7/82) I saw my mother and younger sister every day. I couldn't see my older sister because she lived far away. We knew each other's problems and trusted each other.

- (13a) After my father retired he accepted all sorts of small jobs. My elder brother died, and two of my sisters married. One of my sisters married a brick-layer master, who lost his trade license. My other sister's husband was killed by a Russian car. Her husband was a technician in the <sup>MAT</sup>~~XXXX~~ (Hungarian State Railroad System), where my sister received a job after the accident. In addition she has a small pension and she lives together with my mother. My other sister has five children.
- (14a) I just told before.
- (14b) Yes, I lived with my mother.
- (14c) I love my mother very much.
- (15) From the ones with whom I lived, only I worked.
- (15a) No.
- (15b) He wasn't alive.
- (15c) None of my sisters lived with us at that time.
- (16) My social background turned out to be disadvantageous in the past ten years.
- (16a) The worker and peasant families were in a much better position. Intellectuals, tradespeople, and former members of the nobility had no rights at all.
- (17) Yes.
- (17a) My wife finished high school of industrial arts. For awhile she was stage decorator in the opera house.
- (17b) I got married in <sup>1946.</sup>~~1946.~~
- (17c) I have a daughter.  
was nine
- (17d) She is ~~18~~ years old.
- (18) Yes, we talked about all sorts of questions and we always told the truth to the little girl.
- (18a) She was born after 1944.

- (9a) This changed the children. They became less polite, freer in their thinking, losing respect for their parents and for the aged and getting worse and worse in their behavior.
- (9b) No, it did not.
- (9c) No, the young people made fun of it.
- (9d) Some little children were threatening their parents if they didn't want to give them something. For example, I knew about a little elementary school child who lived in our neighborhood and who always threatened his parents that he would report them as non-communist if they are not going to give him whatever he wanted.
- (9e) Children between the ages of 10 and 12 yearsold are apt to believe and accept communist teachings. The Party can control them for 4 to 5 more years. By giving them more freedom than they received at home, etc.
- (9f) ~~(9d)~~ By the age of 17 or 18 none of the children are Communist any more.
- (10) My family belonged to <sup>the</sup> intellectuals. I had, nevertheless, many friends among the workers and other groups since there were all sorts of people in the sports clubs.
- (10a) My mother's family were middle peasants (in the middle of the well-to-do and the poorer peasants.) My father comes from a family where there were many officers and clergymen
- (10b) My wife comes from a family of <sup>trades</sup> great men.
- (11) We belonged to the intellectuals.
- (12) My father was an army officer.
- (12a) No, he was not in active service any more. He was retired.
- (12b) He was retired.
- (12c) He didn't work.
- (12d) My father was a graduate of the Ludovika Military School. ~~My jobs were compulsory~~
- ~~compulsory jobs and he knew it~~
- (12e) My jobs were compulsory jobs and he knew it.
- (13) It was a mediocre life that we had.

- (8c) Since I hated the Russians always, I didn't even ~~try~~ try to study Russian. I took it as a joke.
- (8e) I didn't have any military training after 1944, but I observed that the discipline was not as it used to be. Everyb~~o~~dy was allowed to criticize the orders he got. There were few commanders who had political training as well as military training, and therefore they were afraid to give a command or an order because everybody could criticize this command from a political point of view, and they could make trouble for the commander. The result was that <sup>reserve</sup> squads could not function at all. Former army officers who were in the reserve were not used to this sort of criticism of orders and commands and so after a while the government let the reserves go and did not call them in for exercises. The fact that the officers from the reserve were not called in for training from time to time might have showed that we didn't have any new weapons to teach them. Our whole army stood under close supervision ~~of~~ Soviet army people. Our higher officers were trained in the Soviet Union. Everybody was recruited, but kulaks and former members of the nobility were <sup>taken</sup> ~~sent~~ to working squads instead of the army. The training of the officers was on a low standard ~~much~~ especially compared to the officers from the Ludovika Military School. The officers could not be entrusted with any important command.
- (8f) I was always for ~~much~~ sport. I think that sport is a country's security. Soldiers are only good soldiers if they are healthy and fit. Soldiers should do a lot of sport. They need to be strong and tough. Swimming, bicycl~~e~~ riding, shooting, running, dueling, and riding are all excellent sports.
- (9) Teachers and educators wanted to bring out more from the children than possible. They gave them the material for studies too much concentrated, and of course <sup>this</sup> ~~it~~ didn't work.

from police officers who were Party members. Nobody wanted, however, to give such an evaluation of me, therefore I wasn't admitted to the courses. Finally I received such an evaluation, I still do not know what was written in this evaluation, since the envelope was closed when I received it and I had to hand it over to the University. After handing over this evaluation I was not sent to the courses I asked to be admitted to but to <sup>a</sup> political course in the Academy of Gorki. I ~~suddenly~~ <sup>naturally</sup> didn't want to go there.

- (# 4b) It's quite obvious that I could not be admitted to the studies I wanted to pursue, because my political background was not adequate. As to my background <sup>bad</sup> it was ~~enough~~ that I was an officer in the army, oriented towards the West.
- (4c) I wanted to study foreign languages.
- (4d) I had my higher education but I could not receive a job in my field, that is in economics, ~~economics~~, therefore, I had to change my field to sports.
- (5) If my father would not have forced me to study economics I would have rather studied to be an engineer or a physician. This had however, nothing to do with outside circumstances/ or pressures.
- (6) Sometimes I was a very good student, other times I just barely passed my exams.
- (6a) This depended on my mood and outside circumstances. In the Academy of Physical Education I was a B student.
- (7) <sup>over others</sup> As a qualified sportsman I had certain advantages/ in studying.
- (7a) I had certain advantages in the Academy of Physical Education because of my excellent record in sport competitions as a diver.
- (7b) People who were active in the DISZ had advantages over others.



Vác

- (1) I studied in the Piarist Gymnasium in ~~Új~~ Vác until the age of 14, after that I finished the Business Academy in Budapest from '36 to 1940, and I received there my high school diploma. I went to the University from '42 to '47 and studied economics, from '52 to '55 I went to the Academy of Physical Education.
- (1a) I studied from 1927 to 1955.
- (1b) My two highest diplomas are my University diploma in ~~economics~~ <sup>economics,</sup> and my University diploma in physical education.
- (1c) I studied economics in Budapest in the ~~Central~~ <sup>Eötvös Loránt</sup> University and physical education in the Academy or University of Physical Education.
- (2a) I ~~was~~ attended the University for Political Economy and later I was <sup>a</sup> student in the University of Physical Education, in addition I attended a courses for sports trainers and coaches. I lectured myself, teaching civilian and military swimming which I used for teaching. ~~was~~ teachers. I also wrote a
- (2b) No.
- (2c) No, I attended the University.
- (2d) I was a lecturer in a course for swimming in the army.
- (2e) Everybody was compelled to attend basic political courses. In the police, <sup>to</sup> the political lectures given to us, /the sports squad, were mostly sports political lectures. These lectures were given to show how "ammm wonderful" the Soviet sports people are.
- (2f) I wanted to finish my course in ~~economics~~ <sup>economics</sup> in the University, but once I saw that I would not be able to get a job in my field, I tried to get training to be a sports trainer and therefore I went to the University of Physical Education.
- (3a) Does not apply.
- (4a) In 1953 I wanted to study foreign languages in the University, to be admitted <sup>a</sup> for the mentioned courses I had to receive /so-called political evaluation

Workers have always ~~embarked~~ the least to lose in a fight or uprising.

motivations of the Revolution. Most of the people worked with too little salaries even the artists. Besides there was no freedom in production. Everybody had to do or perform whatever one was told. One's work was not appreciated. And nobody could be sure of one's future.

(12a) People like myself who had some cultural desires could not earn enough money to satisfy those desires. Opera, for example, was very expensive.

(12b) People had no freedom, they were cut off from the world, consequently Hungary was left behind as far as Western culture was concerned by about 200 years, the Hungarians had an inferiority complex. This feeling was mostly common with us who grew up or during the war. The young people who grew up in this regime did not feel that.

(12c) ~~Everybody had a reason to have his~~ <sup>was justified in complaining about these</sup> ~~grievances~~ <sup>themselves</sup> except the ones who sold ~~himself~~ to the regime. The Communist leaders had glorious lives but they were not secure either. In the Soviet stores the AVH people and the Party leaders received the most wonderful food and very inexpensively too. They could buy these imported specialties which ordinary people never saw.

(12d) No, we were afraid of the government. Nobody trusted the other. It was impossible therefore to organize an armed opposition. The Revolution started entirely spontaneously.

(12e) The workers tried to produce as much as possible to make enough money. ~~Corruption~~ <sup>Corruption</sup>, cheating, and theft were common. In the hatred for the regime the workers ruined the machines and many times set fire to the factories. There was sabotage in the railroad transportation too. After 1953 the workers started to talk more and more against the regime. They were the ones who could do it best because they were the most needed.

(12f) The Revolution started with the students. Even if the whole Revolution would have been for the good of the students, the workers would have joined in because it was against the system. There were many worker heroes during the Revolution and there were many efficient working leaders in the Revolution. The workers were the last to cease fighting.

with the cruel working competition. The number of the defective goods produced in this system was immense. Hurried work did not do good to the mines; mining accidents were not uncommon. It happened many times that the government started the building of a plant and abandoned the building because of changes in plan or circumstantial difficulties.

(11a) No, it declined.

(11b-c) In addition to the mentioned I didn't like that government built workers apartments were not distributed to the workers according to their social need, but were distributed to <sup>Stachanovites</sup> and Party members.

(11d) The economic situation before 1944 was much more stabilized. There were all sorts of troubles then too. The worker's salary was less than those of the clerks, while the worker worked 12 hours a day. Still the whole economic system was much better organized than it is now.

(11e) No, it didn't become better. People were mistrustful toward the 5 Year Plan. The purpose of this plan was to make an industrial country from Hungary ~~disregarding~~ its agriculture. We didn't have enough mines and enough energy sources, and by building up our heavy industry they destroyed our small industry. Because of the great amount of defective products our export declined. People thought that this purpose was impossible to reach and they were right. This plan served the Soviet Union and not the well-being of our people.

(11h) Imre Nagy abolished the compulsory joining of the collective farms, he gave a place to private capital, private initiative. People started again to work in light industry and trade. He gave out trade licenses too.

(11i) The Soviet puppets did not care about the people's need for consumer goods. Whoever in the government gave more permission to produce consumer goods was replaced by someone else.

(11j) It became worse and worse.

(12a) Financial and material motivations were in second place after the psychological

start to use gas was very difficult, because first those received gas who already had gas stoves before. In order to ~~always~~ <sup>always</sup> have enough gas at home we bought an extra gas container on the black market so that ~~in-~~ <sup>when</sup> ~~stead~~ <sup>stead</sup> of one container which we could refill/~~if~~ <sup>when</sup> it was empty, that is, ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> there was enough gas and they would refill it for us. ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> had two containers. We had an extra full container for such cases when they did not refill our empty container promptly, but let us wait for the gas for some time.

sportsmen

(9l) As ~~a sportsman~~ we had free medical care. We had very good medical care.

(9m) I had ~~the~~ medical care as a sportsman and paid vacations.

~~(9n)~~ (9a) For cigarettes I paid daily 3 forints. We had two opera season tickets for which we paid about 15 to 20 forints a month. In addition I had the sports newspaper 60 filler a day.

(9e) I am interested in astrology. I bought astrology books and magazines.

(10) Yes, I thought that our income was comparatively good.

(10a) Naturally, even the sports people were exploited.

(10b) Yes.

(10c) ~~The~~ Communist system and the Soviet Union.

(10d) Before this regime every worker had his own little house. In this new system workers could not buy new houses. ~~They~~ <sup>They</sup> had only minimal incomes.

(10e) It was a 10% cut on one's salary. One didn't ever get back as much as ~~one~~ <sup>one</sup> ~~paid~~ <sup>purchasing</sup> because the money lost from its ~~consumption~~ <sup>consumption</sup> value.

(10f) The Soviet Union never gave credit for all the value which was paid for war reparations. ~~And we will~~ <sup>We will</sup> have to pay war reparations as long as this regime was in power. As far as the Soviet economic help to Hungary is concerned, they occasionally gave us back some of our wheat or potatoes ~~from~~ <sup>from</sup> what they took away/ from us.

(10g) Yes, everybody had to take part on those.

(11) Hungary did not progress economically, but declined. As a result of the robber economy, the produced goods were not consumed by Hungary. The

Soviet system ruined our agriculture and industry.

A pair of shoes was about 390 forints, and ready-made suits were about 800 forints. I had some additional income while I was travelling abroad as a sportsman too. I brought home such things which one could sell for a very good price. For example, fine steel goods such as writing and drawing pens, shaving blades leather ware and rubber soles from Yugoslavia, nylon goods for women, and cosmetic goods and medicine. There was a lack of these goods in Hungary, or some of them were not available at all. Since my income grew with the above mentioned two we could spend 1800 to 2000 forints a month for food. One had to stand in line for food from 2 to 3 hours a day. Neighbors helped each other in shopping. They watched each others place in the food line and so in changing shifts one could always go home while waiting for food and do some house work in the meantime.

(9h) While I was in the police I did not have to spend too much for clothing because I wore uniforms. I spent about 200 to 300 forints a month.

(9i) Whatever I could I bought in private stores not in the government stores. Especially in my last job when I was a buyer for the Conserve Factory, I received or bought vegetables, egg, and fruit from the peasants.

(9j) For electricity, I spent 100 to 150 forints, for gas 40 to 45 forints, heating came to about 100 forints a month.

(9k) Yes, to get heating material was a very difficult job. Our coal mines were supposed to supply our heavy industry. The miners were not satisfied with their lot. Therefore they didn't produce much, and in many places they were replaced by prisoners. One had to think about heating material early as ~~early~~ as the summer. <sup>Gas</sup> and electricity was limited by the government. Sometimes they simply closed down the electrical current. The gas supply was sufficient at the beginning. Only lately were there difficulties. To

as an economist. I would have like to have travelled and studied abroad but this became impossible.

(9c) I could buy the most important food necessities, as a matter of fact we ate quite well. We also had enough clothing. Such things, however, as an electrical boiler, a washing machine, two persian rugs, books, and ~~the~~ <sup>completion of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>complete</sup> the essentially important furnishing of our apartment I could do only after ten years of saving. I couldn't buy a tape recorder which I wanted, a scooter, and a phonograph-radio.

(9d-I) My last basic salary was 1300 forints. In addition I received for my sports activities 2000 forints, and my wife earned 1000 forints a month.

(9d-II) My wife had ~~some~~ <sup>made</sup> additional income from ~~some~~ home industry. She had a knitting machine and ~~she~~ knitted goods at home. She also made some money by buying and selling goods which people received from their relatives in parcels from abroad.

(9d-III) From this ~~she~~ <sup>I</sup> paid 10% for government loans and 3% <sup>old tax</sup> for security.

(d-IV) My net income was 2500 forints/ a month.

(9e) (9e) We lived in our own house. My mother-in-law had a house and we extended it. It was very difficult to get hold of building material and the extension of the house took three years.

(9f) In <sup>G<sup>d</sup></sup> there were small family houses. Such people lived there who had fixed salaries. <sup>All</sup> these houses had gardens. The houses were not crowded until the ~~landlords~~ <sup>landlords</sup> started to rent rooms for workers who could not get accommodations in Budapest. Then the place began to become quite crowded. There was electricity in <sup>God</sup>, but on few cases <sup>only</sup> was there running water. I think everybody had essential furnishings. We bought our furniture second hand, we had Biedermeir style furniture.

(9g) The basic foods were very expensive so people generally paid <sup>50%</sup> ~~50~~ to 60% of their income for food. It was very hard to buy other necessities too.

- (8e) Yes, they changed. I wanted to remain a soldier, but not in the democratic army. When I married my wife in 1946 my mother-in-law had a beauty parlor and I wanted to stay with her in business until I could have gone back to being an officer in the army. I had this plan until '52 but I saw that the regime does not change. Then I went to study in the academy for physical education.
- (8f) Not in this regime.
- (8g) Some people want this, others that. There must be people who wouldn't want any of it.
- (8h) I should like to get ahead
- (3i) I would like to occupy myself with scientific research in the field of physical education. I would live in a little cottage near a lake, would collect books and music records, make excursions into nature, do sports read, listen to music, have girls around and in general pleasant company.
- (8j) No, in <sup>the</sup> contrary my plan just crystalized when I came here and I saw how much America needs research in sports and physical education. Since there is no such thing here.
- (8k) No, I wouldn't <sup>have liked</sup> think that. My general circumstance made me become a sportsman. Since I wanted to choose such a field where the regime would deal with me more liberally. I would like my daughter to be either a scientist or an artist, a sportsman has no value once he gets older.
- (9) I had a pretty disturbed time. We had no quiet in our life. My father was an officer and as an officer's son I was not a good kader. My father-in-law was a business man and a tradesman.
- (9a) At the beginning, only I worked in my family. From '52 on my wife started to work too. We needed additional income.
- (9b) I couldn't <sup>work in</sup> my profession freely and I couldn't work according to my training



The policemen tried to get away from them.

(7k) l, m, n, o, p Do not apply

(7q) Yes, one could advance, but he had to advance more than a party member, and received recognition for his work much more slowly than the party member. A non-party member could not become a commander in the police.

(7r) Yes.

(7s) There was no change.

(7t) Yes, all of those <sup>that is informants and AVN people</sup> were in the police. Informants were ~~such~~ people, who were immoral also in their private life. They were careerist people. We were not too much in danger from them, because as sportsmen we had special privileges.

(7u) They couldn't have been successful since they were more leftist than most of the people in Hungary.

(7v) While they lasted they did a good job. They took over the management and leadership of factories and enterprises.

(8) I changed jobs because I heard that German enterprises were taken to the Soviet Union. Secondly, I left my job at the knitting and weaving factory because the manager disregarded the Hungarian laws and blamed me for her misdoings. Next, I had to leave my job because there was so-called rationalization, which meant that many people were thrown out from their jobs, especially who were not trusted politically. I left the police because after I became sick in 1955 the result of my sport competition declined and I could not enjoy the many privileges any more as I did before.

(8a) There was generally not too much opportunity to change jobs.

(8b) One job was worse than the other. I much rather would have been a full time sports trainer and coach or physical education teacher. I finished the academy for physical education.

(8c) I like the above mentioned professions.  
material regards.

(8d) Especially

give account about the bullets.

- (6d) Concerning the protection of the public the police ~~number~~ <sup>worked</sup> well. While I was in the police general criminal cases became less. From the point of view of the security of the public they did not reach the standard of 1838 but they were close to it.
- (6e) I went by train, since I lived in G<sup>od</sup>, not far from Budapest. It took me one hour to <sup>go to</sup> ~~work~~ and one hour back.
- (7a) In the <sup>police</sup> sports squad there were all sorts of people. They had all sorts of background and educations. Since they made more money, being sportsmen, than other people did, they could spend more on self-education. In general people had high school diplomas and they came from peasant <sup>intellectual</sup> ~~intellectual~~ ~~xxx~~ worker<sup>s</sup> or noble families.
- (7b) Within the police the relationship between the policemen<sup>s</sup> ~~and~~ officers and men, was very good; people respected each other, and there was discipline. This changed when AVH people got into the police. The relationship became worse. People could not trust each other. People felt enmity against the AVH people.
- (7c) Yes, I did.
- (7d) People trusted each other very much in the sport squad; ~~they~~ <sup>nevertheless they</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>one another</sup> thought it over what to tell to <sup>one another</sup> ~~people~~, not to mix ~~them~~ <sup>into</sup> trouble.
- (7e) I met the sports squad men in different sports<sup>s</sup> competitions and also in sports<sup>s</sup> trainings.
- (7f) Yes, everybody was talking about politics.
- (7h) Yes, there was a party basic organization in the police, in every police station. They supervised the policemen<sup>s</sup> and observed them from the point of view of their political behavior.
- (7i) Yes, there was made a difference between party members and non-party members. Party members always received more confidential positions.
- (7j) The party members always tried to educate the policemen<sup>s</sup> to be party members.

full time sports trainer or coach received 3000 forints a month.

- (5a) 48 hours a week.
- (5b) I worked 6 days.
- (5c) We didn't work overtime.
- (5d) We didn't work on April ~~6~~<sup>4</sup>, the 1st of May, 7th of November, and Christmas. It happened that we had to work on the second day of Christmas and we received this ~~pay~~<sup>day</sup> before the 1st of May, in order to have more time to prepare for the ~~1953~~ 1st of May demonstrations. By the end I received 28 working days, paid vacation.
- (5e) As an accountant I received 3 weeks.
- (5f) At the beginning one was only shamed before the others. Later one had to pay for being late and finally if someone was late at least 3 times one lost one's job.
- (5g) Yes, there was a ten minute movement.
- (5h) Yes, they punished late comers. Sometimes as seriously as taking their jobs away.
- (5i) We didn't have a norm / <sup>system</sup> at the police.
- (5j) No, and there was no norm system at the police.
- (5k) Not at the police but I knew that otherwise in factories and projects there were working competitions / <sup>and speed up systems.</sup> Whoever found a faster system of producing a certain product was supposed to teach the others. People had to offer to complete more than their norm was until the coming of a certain Communist holiday.
- (5l) We didn't / have piece work.
- (6a) This doesn't apply to the police.
- (6b) The health conditions were very good.
- (6c) Everyone had an automatic gun with <sup>seven piece</sup> 2 8-millimeter bullets. One had to

vs. the buyers, were much more lenient than the government supervisors. I always undervalued the possible crop of a certain field so that the peasants having more crops than he made contract for was able to sell the remaining crop on the free market and was grateful to us, buyers and divided with us his profit.

(3a) In the police I liked that I had as much time for training as I liked, and also <sup>we</sup> ~~with~~ sportsmen had special privileges.

(3b) I didn't like the political lectures.

(3c) My other jobs were fairly good too.

(4a) After the inflation was checked in August 1946 I was chief accountant and I received 400 forints per month. The general income at that time <sup>300</sup> 270 to ~~300~~ forints.

(4b) In 1950 I received 1150 forints per month. The average earning at that time was from 600 to 1000 forints.

(4c) In 1955 I received as a sportsman 2000<sup>00</sup> forints. I was officially no professional sportsman. If I would have been I could not have been a member of the Olympic team; actually, however, I was professional. The <sup>average</sup> ~~general~~ earnings of that year was about 1200 forints.

(4d) ~~2000~~ 1300 forints was my basic salary. I received 400 forints from the ~~Club~~ <sup>Club</sup> sport committee and I received extra 200 forints for being a first class competing sportsman.

(4e) The above mentioned earnings was the <sup>net</sup> ~~gross~~ income. The police paid 33% for health security;

(4f) In 1949 I received a golden medal for sport competition and 1500 forints. I never received any special compensation at the police.

(4g) From 1950 on I was part time a sport coach or trainer and I had 600 forints additional income from this source

(4h) It was good.

(4i) Others in the same profession received the same; as a matter of fact, a

after changing offices many times. When the center was divided into departments and I belonged to the ~~globe~~ <sup>globus</sup> which was the wholesale part of the enterprise, then our offices were already too crowded. ~~For the next~~

For the next job

(2a) Next I worked at the police.

(2b) My main profession was ~~was~~ sportsman actually, and as such I got to the police. At first I didn't have to do anything, only to take part in the training hour together with the other members of the so-called sports in squad and ~~at~~ the other part of the day I was supposed to do sport training. I am a diver. (mángoró)

(2c) As a sportsman I was classified as a first class sportsman, I held the title for diving in Hungary for about 3 years until I became sick. In the police I was a lieutenant.

(2d) I was there until 1955.

(2e) This was the blue uniform police.

(2f) I belonged to the sports squad where all the policemen were first of all, sportsmen. ~~For the next~~

For next job

(2a) Then I worked as a buyer for a conserve factory not far from Budapest.

(2b) I was a buyer. My job was to travel in the nearby villages and make contracts, supervise and buy the products of the peasants.

(2c) I was a buyer.

(2d) I was there until the Revolution broke out.

(2e) Yes, this was a big government-owned factory.

(2f) I was very lenient with the peasants; they really had a tough time. If they made contracts with us then they didn't have to hand their products in to the government. They preferred to make contracts with us because

taken over by the state from its private proprietors.

(2b) I was the chief accountant.

(2c) Chief accountant.

(2d) I was there for about 6 or 7 months. It became dangerous for me to stay there since the Russian director of the factory, a woman, tried to blame on me the corruption for which she was responsible.

(2e) This was a large factory with 40 to 50 workers.

(2f) The factory had overused old machinery. Its previous proprietor, a Jew, stole from it raw material as well as its machinery. My task was to take the factory over from its previous proprietor and I saw that the chief accountant of the Jewish proprietor wanted to give me phony bills to cover up his black business. When the Jews came back from Germany they received back all their belongings. They were the privileged class. Now that the factory was taken over by the government the Jew was in great distress not being able to furnish all the bills and checks asked from him. In order not to get into trouble he wanted to make a deal with me, giving me some money in return for my accepting his phony bills. I was afraid myself to make such a black deal, but finally I decided to accept the money. Now I thought that I would be able to give a blow to a Jew. After accepting the money from the Jewish proprietor I reported his black business to the new governmental manager.

Next Job

(2a) I worked at the center of heavy industry.

(2b-c) I was a bill controller. Soon I became the head of a group and later I became the head of a department.

(2d) I was there until '51.

(2e) This was a big enterprise.

(2f) The job was very good. The building and offices were modern and nice, clean still from the previous regime. Only the furnishing became used and broken

- (1a) According to my professional education I am an economist. I worked in this field until 1951. I used to be an accountant. Later on I became a sportsman. Until 1946 I was an officer in the army.
- ~~(2a)~~ Before sent to the front lines I was working in the Ministry of Defense ~~SS\*G\*~~ in the army organization section. Once taken to the front lines I became a company commandant until I was taken as a prisoner of war. I was a prisoner of war for 11 months, first in the hands of the  
of  
Americans and then ~~in~~ France.
- (1b) My father used to be an active army officer. MAV,
- (2a) From March 1946 to August 1946 I was a day worker at the ~~MMV~~, the Hungarian state railroad. I couldn't receive a better job since I came home from the West and was therefore considered politically unreliable.
- (2b) I had to carry all sorts of iron parts, I had to clear iron from rust and to saw iron.
- (2c) I worked and helped out wherever it was needed. I was just a day worker.
- (2d) I was there only for three months.
- (2e) It was a very big ~~company~~ organization. It belonged ~~only~~ to the state. The workshop where I worked was not especially efficient. People tried to make all sorts of tools for themselves while they were working in the workshop, they could exchange those tools for food. In this shop we were supposed to repair railroad cars. In the shop in which I worked there were from 5 to 6,000 workers in the different departments. This was mainly a locksmith shop, but other repair work was done there too, and there was a section which made all sorts of tools.
- (2a) For the next job  
After that I finally received a much better job. I became the chief accountant of a knitting and weaving factory. This factory was just

- (14h) In the first group would be the students, the workers, and the small officials and clerks. In the second group the intellectuals and the soldiers. In the third group, the peasants, <sup>and</sup> the higher officials.
- (14i) ~~Yes~~ No, I did not.
- (14j) No, I didn't <sup>expect</sup> /this either.
- (14k) The role of the Petöfi Club was to awaken the nation from its spiritual depression, and to take a stand against the Russification of our culture. I was truly surprised how strong a stand the club took. I was surprised, because previously, writers and poets were punished for advocating Western Culture and those writers and poets bowed <sup>before</sup> ~~to~~ the regime. Therefore some of them still cannot be trusted like Tibor Déry, Tamás Aczél.
- (14l) The peasants did not take their part in the Revolution. One would have expected much more cooperation than they really showed. They were not entirely passive, but they were not active either. They only took part in the Revolution as far as the food supply was concerned. Naturally, it was also hard to organize them, hard to keep them together. Actually they too took part because of their work in the food supply, they only did not take part in the fighting. There ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> some exceptions <sup>there</sup> in the main concentration points of other Revolutionaries/they too took part.



to join us, as well as the Hungarians from Transylvania while liberating them from the Rumanians. We should have been fighting for our rights for the territories which are occupied by Hungarians and under foreign domination. The Czechs did not have the right to receive the <sup>(Felvidék;</sup> they only received it because the wife of President Wilson was a Czech. There was no anti-Russian movement in Czechoslovakia at all.

(14d) Only East Germany and Hungary was good for trying to organize a Revolution there. The Germans too hate the Russians deeply. The other people under whom the Russian domination are Slavs ~~xxxxxx~~ Russians did not treat ~~them~~ so cruelly as they did the Hungarians and the Germans. The hate of these two latter nations is the most understandable. The Bulgarians came after the Hungarians and the Germans in their hatred for the Russians. Hungary's internal conditions too contributed to the many causes of the uprising. Finally it has to be noted that it is not in accordance with the Hungarian temperament to be oppressed.

(14e) Imre Nagy was the personification of the compromise policy. He didn't see into the future at all. All he did was to imitate the Soviet School. When he was called upon to execute the demands of the Revolutionaries he couldn't do a thing. Finally even the ~~masses~~ masses turned away from him <sup>(elvtársak)</sup> when he started his speech by saying "Comrades" ~~(xxxxxx)~~ and expressed his only wish that the Hungarian workers should return to their jobs. Once he finally really took the side of the Revolution it was too late.

(14f) Béla Kovács had an important role. He should have been instead of Imre Nagy. Kovács was no Party member, however. Other important outstanding personalities of the Revolution were Maléter, Béla Király, Tibor Deri.

Tildy could not be trusted. He signed the law concerned the people's trials.

(14g) The real heroes of the Revolution were the students and the workers.

peasants to lend my family and me from their clothes and utensils and just as ordinary peasant workers who work on the fields we could have crossed the border. This didn't work, however, and we had to cross further to the north and had to walk much more than I imagined.

- (13d) I imagined that as an eminent Hungarian sportsman I will be able to find some work. I didn't know at that time that I would be coming here.
- (13e) For a while I thought I could hide with some peasants but I was afraid for my family, and besides I didn't want to mix up the peasants in my troubles.
- (14) Yes, I think about it a great deal.
- (14a) Yes, I think it was very <sup>useful,</sup> ~~important~~ not only from a Hungarian point of view but also from a world historical point of view. The Communists will not be able to cheat the Hungarians, make them believe things which are not true, and will not be able to chain the world again. Besides Hungary will feel the need of those who left it. For example a whole forest school from Sopron left Hungary and came here to America and Canada.
- (14b) Yes, it could have been successful if the English and French had waited at least one month in attacking Suez. In this case there would have been much less probability that the Russians will fight Hungary. If the English and the French would not have created a different precedent the Russians had to respect the UN decision.
- (14c) If I would have known the consequences I would have stood against a futile bloodshed. I would have not listened to not seriously meant promises from the West. I would not have let free the Communist leaders waiting for a trial for which we really didn't have the time. I would have kept every position under watch. I would have tried to close all the Eastern boundaries. We should have asked the <sup>Felvidék</sup>

- (12f) If it is true that they were the Russians who prepared the whole Revolution then it was certainly true that the Hungarians were the ones who were the most suitable for such a plan. I think that if the English and the French would not have started war with the Egyptians then the line would have been to have let Hungary out of the grip of the Soviet Union.
- (12g) Every ministry was supervised by a Russian delegate, before October 23rd. During the Revolution they had no influence at all. After November 4th, I don't know.
- (12h) To have a system one needs people, masses. But this system did not have people to trust. Only the higher commanders of the AVO people were people to trust. The first and important mistake that the regime made was that they allowed the demonstration.
- (13) I decided it on the 19th of November at 11 in the evening.
- (13a) On the 18th of November the Revolutionary Committee members of Vác were arrested. I belonged to this unit and I was known there as a commander of my village of the ~~national guard~~ National Guard. I was therefore on the blacklist of the God population. The members of the township council of God returned to their previous positions and they too blacklisted me. I actually heard that my name was on the blacklist. At the same time I also heard that Mongolian foot soldier troops, armed with automatic weapons did cleaning work with the help of the AVO. I decided that I had to leave the country the following day.
- (13b) I tried to go to Budapest, but previously I talked everything over with my neighbor who had a good ~~map~~ map of the border city Sopron.
- (13c) Yes, I had such plans. My plan was to go to a border village and ask the

take the power.

- (11i) There was also a spiritual liberalization. People went to the ~~churches~~ <sup>churches</sup>.
- (11j) The Party collapsed. So did the Soviet-Hungarian Association, so did the trade unions, Madsz, the Disz, and organized sport. The organizations which partly remained and partly were organized during the Revolution were the Blue Police, the army, the national guard, which was a new organization. The ministeriums did not work except for the ministerium of war and the parliament. Some factories and workshops kept on working especially the ones which produced food and which were connected with these services like electricity, gas, telephone.
- (11k) The Revolutionaries used the Student Association, the new ~~Ministry~~ <sup>Ministry</sup>, the Writer's Association, and the army.
- (11l) The new organizations which were organized during the Revolution were the National Guard, the ~~Ministry~~ <sup>Ministry</sup> (this was newly reorganized), the Blue Police, and the Social Sport Association; <sup>they</sup> kept the martial law order of the Revolutionaries. The governmental food stores ceased to function as they used before and they were taken over by the Revolutionaries.
- (11m) These were organized in the factories and their purpose was the whole reorganization of the factories and their temporary management. They also ~~took~~ <sup>took</sup> care of the political leadership of the workers. The councils were under the orders of the ~~National~~ <sup>National</sup> Revolutionary Committee. The worker's councils also took care of <sup>and safety</sup> the carrying out of security/ measures within the factories.
- (11n) From the Revolution an anti-communist, neutral and politically independent governmental system could have developed.
- (12) They were threatened.  
I saw that
- (12a) /They were afraid.
- (12b) The Russians were cruel and our people tried to behave in a human way.
- (12c) I didn't think about it then, but it was quite obvious that it should be like this. The Hungarian people were at home while the Russians were abroad <sup>not</sup> and did not fight for their own country; it was logical that they should be as brave as the Hungarians.
- (12d) I don't know about them

never a trusted organ of the regime. The police officers were kept from the previous regime, since there were not enough trained people to replace them. The government tried to replace them with trusted people but they couldn't replace everybody. So most of the police were anti-communist and against the regime. The first minute they had a chance they deserted the regime.

- (11e) The same happened to the militia.
- (11c) This was the only organization which remained organized, at least a big part of the officers and second officers. They were people who had regular military training. They could not very well find an excuse and join the Revolutionaries. They knew that if their past would be known and in the hands of the Revolutionaries they would have to answer to what they had done. Some of them fought with the counter-Revolutionaries. Others were in hiding in all parts of the country.
- (11d) The Revolutionary courts were organized. These courts brought verdicts against crimes done against the Revolution. Judges who were in the service of the Communist regime and who conducted the so-called window trials (pirakat per) were arrested. I know that Rakosi was demanded to stand before this Revolutionary court.
- (11f) Their role changed. They used to be all party members and did not protect the interests of the workers but on the contrary of the regime. The old leaders of the trade unions were replaced in order to change the trade union to an organization truly representing the interests of the workers. For the moment however during the Revolution nobody cared much about trade unions. But I know that a reorganization of the trade unions started.
- (11g) Everywhere the people assembled and elected new officials and national revolutionary committee members. People who hated the previous regime and who were politically trusted by the Revolutionaries were elected. Good ~~old~~ people who filled administrative posts were trained for administering these posts came back, people who were also during the World War. Not only professionals however, but other people were chosen too. They all did an excellent job.
- (11h) There was no government, at least nobody cared about it until Nagy would not

to Radio Free Europe. We received information about the happenings in Budapest through Free Europe. Radio Free Europe spread enthusiasm. Since I am in the United States I heard all sorts of bad things about Radio Free Europe. For example, that it was Radio Free Europe who persuaded the Hungarians to an armed revolt. But whatever I thought about Radio Free Europe before and during the Revolution was very good. Nobody even thought about that the Russians would fight back, but only that they will leave Hungary.

(10e) I received the first news about the breaking out of the Revolution of Budapest through telephone and I received news from the townships and villages around Budapest also through telephone. I also received news through telephone about the military movements around the villages and townships near Budapest. It was remarkable that the telephone worked so well. The Communists did not have a chance for a counter-organization and cut off ~~it~~ or taped the telephone. Not only the telephone service, but the electricity service and gas too were excellent during the Revolution. As a matter of fact, better than before the Revolution.

(10f) This depended on the news itself. I trusted most the RBE station. Before the Revolution if I would have been by Radio Free Europe to do something I would have done it. The most authentic source of information was Radio Free Europe. We couldn't entirely trust the Budapest station. As far as the telephone was concerned before the Revolution everybody watched carefully what one said over the telephone. During the Revolution however one could trust the telephone service and ~~did~~ not have to be afraid.

(10g) Whatever happened in my own township, everybody knew, because this was a small place.

(11) Everything and everybody disappeared as if nothing ever existed before.

(11a) The party organization destroyed itself. Everybody through away one's party emblem. The leaders disappeared, nobody called meeting of party members. As far as I knew the party could not take any action during the Revolutions.

(11b) The blue police joined the Revolution ~~as~~ bloc. Besides the blue police was

## West Point

- (8a) ~~(8a)~~ The Korvinkor (this is the ~~best~~ of Hungary) was most respected and the university students were greatly respected for their brave behavior.
- (8b) No. They werenot. ~~There were~~ were perhaps smaller limited quarrels, but very seldom. Everything that was good for the people was to be accepted, ~~and~~ and everybody did only what was good for the people. And there was very much to do. Nobody thought of ideology only to do or organize things for the good of the people.
- (8c) They were in the best of friendship. The workers loved the initiative of the students and the students loved the readiness and full sacrifice of the workers as well as their knowledge and service. Besides the students were mostly from workers and peasant families. They worked very close to the workers.
- (8d) We were only connected with the Revolutionary Committee.
- (9) I received news through Free Europe radio broadcasts, the Voice of America, then the Revolutionary Committee of Ujpest, from people who travelled to Budapest and back.
- (10a) During the Revolution some new newspapers appeared and spread enthusiasm into the people. New papers were Igazsag, the Kisujtas, etc. There were no different opinions about the newspapers. Everybody read them with pleasure. Even the Communist newspapers indulged in self-criticism, and people read this also with pleasure.
- (10b) I heard about what happened in Budapest as the Revolution started from people who came from Budapest and who fought at the beginning of the Revolution. Some of those just came home and went back to Budapest. We received information from other units. This way I heard about Dudás, Szabó Bácsi (these two were heroes of the Revolution) and about Maletar.
- (10c) Yes, I listened to the radio, first to the Budapest radio, then to Free Europe and the Voice of America stations. The latter two were full of promises but nothing happened. Once we heard what happened to Budapest we kept on listening

by my fellow veteran comrades.

- (8h) The best people for leadership during the <sup>army</sup> Revolution were people who were ~~soldiers~~ veterans, hated the Communists, and were sober.
- (8i) We received orders from Vas every day. If there was something which we could not receive orders for then discussed the matter with the district commanders and if there was no time for discussion then every commander had to decide for himself. As a matter of fact, even if we did receive orders from Vas, we had to translate those orders to our local conditions. A good example showing how much we had to rely on our own judgment could be that while our orders were to let the tanks from Budapest leave in peace because the Russians were about to leave the country, we saw that they actually <sup>went</sup> to Vas only to take gasoline back to Budapest and therefore we had to decide to disturb them. I know what I heard from Free Europe and what I heard from food car drivers, etc.
- (8j) Our neighbors, from neighboring villages and townships, came over sometimes to ~~get~~ God, then I could talk on the telephone from the post office with some of our neighbors and the cars which brought the food supplies brought also the news. It is interesting to note how we got cars. The Russians sent a transport of cars to Poland. The transport was stopped in Ujpest, the workers (melosok) of Ujpest took the cars and distributed throughout the neighboring villages. With the help of those cars the <sup>food</sup> ~~food~~ supply to the villages and townships was organized and worked very well. I had a courier on scooter and he carried my orders to the district commanders. This was so well organized that I received recognition for it from the commander of the ~~country~~ country. We let the population know the important news through a loudspeaker. For example, this way we told them to go into the houses, to stop distributing food because the Russians are coming. Otherwise the Voice of America and the Free Europe stations were always on the loudspeaker. We exchanged news also through our <sup>tour</sup> guards since our guards and the guards of the neighboring villages met at their duty.
- (8m) Immediate plans and decision only within the group.



their full salaries from the ~~National Guard~~. We waited for help from the West and since it didn't come the workers slowly had to return to their jobs. The explosives which we had left we threw into the lake so the Russians couldn't get at them.

(8e) We had 54 guns which came ~~partly~~ <sup>National Guard</sup> from the ~~National Guard~~ from Ujpest, and partly as spoils taken in V/c. Then we had 12 sub-machine guns, 3 machine guns (golyosozori) and 1 machine canon. We also had some explosive material.

(8f) There was one commander, two guard commanders, (ofparancsnok), 5 district commander officers, 30 people in active duty and 50 people who were part-time on guard duty and changed shifts. ~~The district~~ I had no trouble at all with the veteran soldiers but it ~~was~~ was a bit hard to discipline the young people.

(8g) I was <sup>the</sup> commander. Before my taking command I worked as a buyer for the Conserve Factory. I am an intellectual; I did not belong to any party, as a sportsman I enjoyed many privileges. I was ~~szagatos~~ <sup>nyugatos,</sup> that is someone who came home from Western Europe being a prisoner there. I was first in English and then in French prisons during the war. I became a prisoner after I was wounded. I only returned home in 1946. I was unemployed for quite a time because the new regime didn't want to employ people who came from the West and did not go through the Communist education done in the first years of the regime and in Russia to the war prisoners there. In 1940 I became an active soldier (at that time I was not recruited yet and Hungary was not in the war yet). In '43 I was a lieutenant (szasadparancsnok). I had a foot soldier training. From 1940 to 1945, March 21st, I was in American prisons. I came home from France in 1946. I was unemployed for quite a while when finally I received a job. Once I became a first class sportsman I had special advantages. I was chosen to the command during the Revolution

other military veterans, as well as the young armed people who came from Budapest, to join. Every group organized ~~it~~ according to the district they belonged to in the village, chose their own commanding officer. I had ~~several~~ couriers who took my orders to the different commanding officers by scooter. I organized the different duties to guard the village. They were full-time and part-time guards. There was a group of people ready all the time in the fire department station. We kept here the most serious armaments we had.

(8c) If somebody wanted to join he just came into my office. Everybody knew in the village that I was the commander and that we were organized. Once someone wanted to join I sent him to the district commander who in turn gave him his duties. We had quite a large territory to guard, even though the population was not much. God used to be a resort place. Altogether I had in my unit about 80 or 90 people. Some of our young people went to help a village on the other side of the Danube. My boys and the villagers succeeded in the fight and I heard that they had many Russian prisoners. Once they heard that the cause of the Revolution was lost many ~~of~~ escaped to Austria together with ~~the~~ Russian prisoners. As far as the food supply was concerned we had it organized very well. With the help of the trucks taken away from the AVH in Budapest and distributed to villages too we brought enough food to all the population. Railroad officials helped us too. We were very proud of our well-organized and very clean Revolution and we hoped that the West would be impressed and would send help to us.

(8b) These 32 young people who went to help the neighboring village escaped to Austria. The others were on strike. The strike was general except for the workers who worked in supplying food. They threatened to stop working if other people started to work. We continued our fight with the strike. As long as the workers or employees belonged to the national guard they received

were soldiers. The Hungarians were about 14 to 15 and had 10 machine guns and 5 small machine guns and altogether 72 bullets. The Russians came in two armored cars and had 2 tankers with them. There were about 15 of them and all had a machine gun (small machine guns) together). They were all young soldiers. We started to disturb them as they passed the road. They jumped out from the car and dispersed to take up fighting positions. We were divided into two groups. Only 7 people attacked and fought with the Russians. The 2nd part were hiding in a barn. As long as the Russians saw that we were less than they were they seemed to be very brave. We could hold them very well even though we were 7, but I was afraid that more Russian troops might pass through the road and join the fighting unit. I wanted to finish them off fast and therefore I ordered the 8 people in the barn to join us. The Russians still did not realize that we were not more than their number and got scared, jumped into their cars and drove away. I knew beforehand that they were not too brave; that's why I dared to attack them with a small force. The Germans were much braver.

- (7b) No, I did not see such things.
- (7c) No, I did not see it, but I almost did. Some young people in my village were told of an AVO person and wanted to kill him, but I succeeded in preventing them. This was already after the Revolution was victorious. I know that there were some cases when such things happened in Budapest, but in general I don't think that ever there was such a clean Revolution.
- (7d) What I just said before.
- (8) I was the commandant of a national guard unit which belonged to the national committee in Vac.
- (8b) I was chosen to be the commandant by vote. After that I called upon the

arms too. We got hold of arms when young Revolutionaries from Budapest came to our village and also we took some from military camps from Újpest. We received excellent information through the radio, through the Free Europe broadcasts and Voice of America. We couldn't believe the Hungarian broadcasts any more except for the <sup>Rákóczi</sup> Rakosi broadcasting station. Not everybody had a radio in God, but we had a loudspeaker and those mentioned stations were always connected with the loudspeaker. Because of those valuable information received through the mentioned radio broadcasts it was possible to organize the Revolution. We are very much indebted to Radio Free Europe. Only here I heard bad things about the Radio Free Europe. I heard between other things that many Jews were in this organization. I didn't know this in Hungary. I only knew that they gave very valuable orders for us to pursue. They even told us how to handle <sup>wounded</sup> the ~~wounded~~ Revolutionaries.

- (6d) I didn't hope for any decorations for taking part in the Revolution. My main motives were hatred, anger, and longing for freedom. We couldn't think much; we didn't have the time. I only hoped and wished that it was going to be better. This was the main purpose of everybody.
- (6e) I didn't even think about that.
- (6f) I was a national guard commandant in God. My unit had to take care of the security and protection of the village against the Russians and later against the revenge of the AVH. I had to prevent peoples trials and private revenges. Besides I was responsible for disturbing and occasionally attacking smaller ~~Soviet~~ Soviet units passing on our road.
- (7a) I saw and took part in an attack of <sup>R A</sup> Russian unit between Vác and Mariaudvar. The Hungarians of whom I was the commander were civilians and the Russians

The Russian ambassador told the government that Russia will order home the Soviet troops from Hungary. The Revolutionary bodies started to organize. From about the 30th of October until the 4th of November there was a waiting period. The Russians <sup>caused minor</sup> only ~~caused~~ disturbances. After the 4th of November the Russians started to use larger automatic weapons too. On the 29th of October we found <sup>an</sup> anti-aircraft units between Dunakeszi and Söd. This unit was commanded by a Hungarian officer whom we succeeded in persuading to join the Revolution. Through him we received several canons. We kept one of them and distributed the others in the surrounding villages. We could use this canon ~~against~~ against small units on the road. Once the young people from my village put a Russian <sup>tanker</sup> ~~power~~ out of order between Gód and Dunakeszi. The Russians thought that ~~that~~ the people from Dunakeszi did it and they surrounded Dunakeszi by Russian tanks. We were about to go and try to help the people of Dunakeszi <sup>when</sup> ~~but~~ in the meantime the Russians were ~~ordered~~ ordered to Budapest and left the place.

(5b) I did so because I am a Christian and I am a Hungarian and therefore I have in me the respect for humanity, freedom, and my country. At home I received an anti-communist education. I signed up with the army during the war in 1940 with special permission, because I was too young. To be a soldier then meant to fight against Communism. I was a member of the Szent Istvan Club in Budapest which was anti-Communist Club. I wanted to become a soldier also, because I was anti-Communist. Later as a sportsman I was sent abroad and I saw the difference between the living standard in the Western countries, and in our country.

(6c) I received the first news about the Revolution from the <sup>postmaster of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>in which</sup> the village / I was working as a buyer for the Conserve Factory. <sup>had</sup> Once I heard that the Revolutionaries ~~of~~ arms in Budapest I wanted to have

have been done. I never let my people kill prisoners. We tried to disturb the transportation of oil on the highway which came from Vac to the anti-Revolutionary forces.

- (6a) By the 30th of October we were told that the Russians were leaving the country and that we should not attack the Russian tanks which came from Budapest, but let them leave the country in peace. We would not believe this however, because we saw that the tanks were armed and that the machine guns were directed toward the villages. If their intention was to leave the country they did not have to be ready for attack. Even though we knew now that they did not want to leave Hungary we could not attack the Russian tanks because our forces were little and we would have endangered the security of the village. ~~Nevertheless, from~~ From the 30th of October we were in no real danger since the Revolution seemed to get hold of the power. We didn't have to guard our village day and night with ready-armed men. As the commander of the village I had to be aware of what was happening in the village especially what counter-revolutionary action or plot could develop. My men and I watched carefully every suspicious sign. If a strange car stopped before a house some people entered and after a while returned and drove away we made ~~enquiries~~ inquiries about the strange visit and as tactfully as possible searched the house. We were waiting for help from the West. We were disillusioned and actually shocked by Eisenhower's speech of non-intervention. After that we could hope only ~~on~~ for the help of the United Nations. If just the English and the French would not have started the fight in Suez the Russians would not have interfered or at least would have delayed with their interference. The English and the French created a precedent ~~or~~ by interfering with foreign nations and if they were allowed to do so why could the Russians not have been allowed to do so? If England and France would have waited just as long as the West could have recognized Imre Nagy, the Revolution would have achieved more. Once Bela Kivaly was brought to Budapest the Revolution won

left it. I arrived in <sup>"</sup>God on the 27th of October. We saw a great number of people standing on the highway waiting to hear about happenings. We heard cannon firing in Budapest. Other veterans and myself held a meeting and decided that a new town council had to be chosen. We called a meeting of the inhabitants of the town (this was a village in American concept~~ion~~), but the Communists took hold of the situation and assembled ~~their~~ <sup>the</sup> names for nominees to the council. The people almost voted on the made list, <sup>Then</sup> because nobody dared to speak up. ~~When~~ somebody shouted that the people themselves wanted to make up the list and not vote on a ready-made list. Finally a voting committee was selected. ~~They~~ <sup>Then</sup> This freely chosen voting committee started to assemble a new list of nominees, and while they were in the meeting the assembled people outside the council hall, celebrated the free elections. The new list was accepted with enthusiasm. The list was headed by the local parish priest who was a famous truth teller. We didn't do anything to the Communist Party Secretary of <sup>"</sup>God since he was an idealist-Communist, a good man. I became the Commandant of the defense organized under marshall law. I was chosen to this position because I used to be an army officer and an officer in the police. My first job was to discipline the armed young people who came from Budapest; <sup>they</sup> ~~and~~ thought <sup>they</sup> they could do anything <sup>because</sup> they had arms. I organized the defense of the village against the Russians. All the veterans joined the defense forces. There was military discipline. We didn't keep any list of the members of the defense forces. Every district commandant memorized the names and addresses of the members of his command and I memorized all the names and addresses of the district commandants. I organized their duties. We stopped all the goods and foods that passed through our highway and the town committee decided what should be done with them. In the meantime we heard that ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> AVH was ~~defeated~~ and the punishment of the AVH was done not nearly as cleanly as it should

were too much to give for so little improvement as the Polish achieved. Poland is not independent.

- (4n) Nobody had private interests before the 30th of October. After the 30th of October certain position hunting started. An opposition developed between Béla Kiraly and Malster. Kiraly represented the ~~ERS~~ old Hungarian government while Malster was much more leftist, but not a Communist.
- (5a) Yes, I participated in the ~~dispute~~ <sup>defense</sup> between V<sup>A</sup>c and Budapest, in the ~~dispute~~ <sup>defense</sup> of ~~Gy. Géd.~~
- (6) The 23rd of October I was in a village between V<sup>A</sup>c and Budapest, where I was supposed to buy up the products of the local peasants for the Conserve Factory. The chief of the post office at this place was a good friend of mine and he told me that on this day all of a sudden there was no telephone service. His last orders ~~to~~ <sup>were</sup> to remove from all the walls of the post office all the Communist emblems. We couldn't get hold of any other radio than Budapest radio. We heard Gerö giving his speech through the radio; he was impertinent and insulting toward the Hungarians. He gave <sup>the</sup> spark to the R<sub>e</sub>volution. W<sup>e</sup> wanted very much to listen at that time to the Free Europe broadcast, but we couldn't get the broadcast until the 24th of October. Then we heard through Free E<sub>u</sub>rope that the R<sub>e</sub>volution broke out. We also heard that all the blue uniformed police joined the Revolution. At the next day we went with my colleagues to the nearby collective farm to discuss business and the Communist leader of the farm was terrified, because he thought we were revolutionaries from Budapest. I saw many young people going to Budapest on the highway. I wanted to go home to my family who lived in G<sup>od</sup> to see how things were, but I could not go until the 26th. Finally we saw that this was a real R<sub>e</sub>volution and we just didn't care any more about the Conserve F<sub>A</sub>ctory. We started to go home on our motorcycle. In another village we saw a Hungarian tank put out of order. They said that the driver of the tank was from the same village and he didn't want that the tank should be used against the Revolutionaries, therefore, he put it out of order and



- (4g) People wanted the freedom of thought.
- (4g) Freedom, fraternity, equality.
- (4h) They meant an independent assembly, elections, and an independent government.
- (4i) At the beginning the R<sub>e</sub>volution was not anti-communist. Communists too participated who were anti-Russians or anti-Stalinists. Anyhow, the R<sub>e</sub>volution was not directed against communists who were communists from conviction. Party members too participated in the R<sub>e</sub>volution. The majority of the revolutionaries fought also against ~~the~~ the Communist. The Hungarians saw that Communism cannot be good since the regime of Bela Kun was not suited for the Hungarian point of view either.
- (4k) Those Communists who fought with the R<sub>e</sub>volutionaries fought against this form of Communist government which was in the Soviet Union and imposed on Hungary. Such people were very few however.
- (4l) If the Soviet troops would not have interfered then Hungary would ~~have~~ have become <sup>a</sup> Paradise, full of milk and honey. The peasants promised that within two years they would restore Hungarian agriculture to the state it was in 1938. They promised this without having the advantage of agricultural machines. In order to give them agricultural machines all the machine factories would have changed to produce agricultural machines, this would have taken too much time and the peasants promised that with hard work, without machines they would do this in order to restore the country. The workers too were willing and ready to give as much work to the restoration of the country's economy as possible. They all said that they are ready to work hard and live under difficult conditions if they are working for their own country. I am sure that the West would have helped us with machines. They could have done it much more easily than the Soviet does it because the West is more advanced than the Soviet Union.
- (4m) No. I would not have been satisfied. The bloodshed and the deportations

uprising. Why should it have been an armed uprising with the Home Secretary <sup>to</sup> agreeing ~~with~~ the demonstration?

(4a-b) Do not apply.

(4c) The Revolutionaries had one main purpose and this was to make Hungary independent politically, economically, and culturaly from the Russians and to throw the Russians out of Hungary. In the details of the purposes of the Revolutionaries there were differences; this was seen after the 30th.

(4d) They had the same purpose.

(4e) The people rebelled against the Communist system, against Soviet domination against economic exploitation, against the low standard of living, the animal fate—in one word, against Communist dictatorship.

(4f) They longed for freedom, for human right, free speech, free press, free religious practices, political, economical, and cultural independence. These were the most important purposes of the Revolution. Within those there were individual purposes of individual groups. For examples the peasants wanted to have their fields back and wanted to sell their products freely. The workers wanted to have pay equal to their amount of work. They also wanted to have the freedom to choose their jobs. The latter was impossible under the regime. There was a working power office which made the placement of the workers. If somebody left one's job by one's own will this person was not allowed to be employed only through the mentioned office. In order to have free work the government made use of prisoners. Not only those prisons worked who were condemned to forced labor but other prisoners too. People wanted free trade unions, free from the government, the party, freedom for organization, in general. Intellectuals wanted to have the freedom to choose their profession. People whose <sup>"kader"</sup> ~~rank~~ was not appropriate could not go to the university. During Imre Nagy's premiership the above mentioned grievances were less severe.

movie houses. Some old Russian pictures were very good like Romeo and Juliet and The Brave ~~Man~~ <sup>Men</sup> which was about Texas. The Hungarians did not believe in propaganda pictures any more. Another important factor was the way justice was done in Hungary. The regime never blamed the system for economic failure or deficit in production but always found some individual to blame. The peasants had very grave grievances of their own. The peasant who had more than 15 hold of ~~land~~ <sup>land</sup> could not send his son to regular military training but when his son's time for military service came the boy was recruited for working service. As far as jobs were concerned, people received according to the <sup>EX R</sup> "kader" papers which usually was based on their origin and not according to the knowledge or training. No religion was taught in the schools. Children learned entirely different things than the parents believed in. People became bitter because of the above causes and certain opposition movements started which were called "Work Slowly Movement" and "Nem" Movement (~~NEH~~ stood for Nemzeti Ellenallas Mozgalom which meant National Resistance Movement.) This was not a movement which was organized and had a working plan. This slogan went from mouth to mouth and everybody knew about them.

- (3c) The Hungarian leaders were at this time in Belgrade visiting Tito. Tito hated the Stalinists people and probably preached a lesson to the Hungarian leaders. Tito was for the abolition of Stalinism in Hungary and this was very encouraging to the Hungarians.
- (4) Nobody really started the Revolution. It started in an absolutely unorganized fashion. The leaders of the students who demonstrated did not think of Revolution and their demands were not identical with the demands of the Revolutionaries. The Revolutionaries started to get organized no earlier than about the 25th or 26th of October and organized much better from the 28th to the 30th. Nobody from among the demonstrators imagined an armed

the W<sup>st</sup>. They demanded that economic contracts with the Soviet Union should be publicized. Between others that the uranium contracts should be publicized. They threatened to demonstrate if they ~~are~~ were not going to receive an answer for their demands. This happened about a week before the outbreak of the Revolution. It was very gratifying to see that the youth which was educated under and by the Soviet regime, demanded those things. The above mentioned demands appeared in the Szabai Lapok newspaper as well as in the Irodalom. I couldn't read this latter since I wasn't in Budapest. I worked at that time as a buyer for a Conserve Factory. The university students from Budapest started to demonstrate and students from all the universities of the country joined them in demonstrations. Between others the university students asked for more self-government. They wanted to have the right of being allowed to talk in the University about anything without being punished for it. They announced that they are going for a great demonstration on the 23rd. László Piros, major in the AVH, did not permit the demonstration cleared. Why he finally later permitted it is not known but I think he asked Moscow about it and he got order to permit the demonstration. The students recruited the demonstrators by saying "If you are a Hungarian you are at the Kossuth Square." The whole town was decorated by flags.

(3a) The most important to lead to the Revolution were the economic exploitation of Hungary which can be shown that for example in Eastern Germany the Hungarian butter was less expensive than it was in Hungary. The Hungarian products were given to other satellite countries. Another example would be that Soviet iron ore was produced in Hungary for pennies and returned to the Soviet Union. Another important factor to bring about the Revolution were the cultural conditions of Hungary. The Hungarians liked Western films. For example, French films were visited so much that people stood in line to receive tickets while Soviet propaganda films ran empty

a pity that the West did not take the chance to interfere in the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe ~~and~~ after Stalin's death ~~and~~ the disorder that followed it. The West would not have needed much power either since the Soviet Union was something artificially put together without soul. In 1949 I met Soviet sportsmen who told me how people lived in the Soviet Union. He said that it wouldn't have been bad to live there if one had an American uncle. Soviet disunity can be shown by the Georgian events. In my opinion one army would have been enough to break the Russians after Stalin's death. I am sure that we don't know <sup>about</sup> ~~many~~ many of the uprisings that happened after Stalin's death in the Soviet Union. I know this from the Don district that it was not an unusual thing <sup>was</sup> ~~and~~ something that occurred every day that trains exploded.

(2j) The Ugrans hated the Soviets. Many Western statesmen and politicians seemed very stupid to us. Dulles' speech after the Korean War promised help to the oppressed by the Soviet Union. This gave force and hope to Hungary.

(21) Yes, I had this feeling. One could see that a great change was taking place from the new voices of the intelligentsia. <sup>Fiber</sup> ~~Other~~ Deri for example and other writers discussed the regime. One newspaper was in discussion with other newspapers. Literary newspapers discussed the situation. The university students started to ask all sorts of demands from the government. When Gero and <sup>Hegedus</sup> ~~Hegedus~~ were visiting Tito some hopes arose. The university students asked to change their curriculum. They wanted to study less ideology of Marx and Lenin and more about their major subjects. I ~~was~~ served at the police from 40 hours of studies; we studied 12 hours politics. The university students demanded less Russian classes and better cultural relations with

policies<sup>a</sup> 45 degree turn. In Hungary this was manifested in greater freedom to the peasants and more contact with Western arts.

(2f) The Russian behaviour in Poznan was outrageous and cruel. We were glad that the Germans dared to oppose the Russians. We hoped that Western Germany and the Atlantic Alliance would come to the help of the Poznanians. The Communist papers tried to spread the news that the whole Poznan uprising was done by imperialist agents, nobody believed this however.

(2g) The position of Rakosi<sup>7</sup> was also an event connected with the 20th Congress. Since Rakosi was a Stalinist, a new man had to take his role. Actually not much changed since Rakosi remained Party secretary while Imre Nagy took over the premiership. Nagy was much more popular than his predecessor and yet he was supported by Moscow too. Following his liberal policies concerning the peasants and the tradesman there was an economic prosperity in Hungary. People really began to hope. Imre Nagy was deposed as soon as Malenkov lost power and Molotov and Voroschilov returned. Imre Nagy, however, remained popular even after he was deposed of the premiership and there were demonstrations in his favor. He symbolized the regime's first step toward the West, and good relations with Western Europe was a tradition in Hungary  
/ever since the reign of Hungary's first King.

(2h) Such a moment came about two weeks before the Revolution broke out. The process started after Stalin's death. There was a fight for leadership in the U.S.S.R. and this was an excellent chance for the West to interfere. We were very much disillusioned to see that the West didn't take this chance. Of course if the West would have interfered a serious clash between the West and the Soviet Union would have been inevitable. But I wonder, wasn't the West ready for a clash? ~~There has to be a~~ <sup>There has to be a</sup> forceful clash or what the West is preaching does not mean a thing. Even ~~the~~ <sup>after the</sup> execution of Beria and the leadership of the GPU, the Soviet did not change its policy. Its really

This too helped the workers to prepare for the Revolution at least in their thoughts.

(2b) Stalin meant stronghand politics. As soon as Stalin was so strongly criticized and it was seen that Malenkov was not so lacking the power to compromise and that Russian politics toward the West changed, the Hungarians started to feel more free to criticize.

(2c) Yes, it too as I mentioned before played an important part in it.

(2d) This showed that Moscow changed its mind, that Moscow politics was fluctuating. It showed that the stability of the Party too, was fluctuating. All of a sudden Tito was on the horse though previously he was ousted from ~~Moscow's~~ <sup>Moscow's</sup> friendship. This seemed to be a suggestion to Hungary. The Hungarians sympathized ~~with~~ with Tito, especially because Tito dared to oppose the "Russian Bear". On the one hand the Hungarians sympathized with him, on the other they were also afraid of his revenge because of the ~~Hungarian killing~~ <sup>massacre</sup> of the Serbs by the Hungarians in 1838 when part of the Southern part of Hungary returned. Hungarians were impressed with Tito also, because Tito had a Western appearance and they hoped that eventually he might be the liberator of the Russian occupied countries. The Hungarians thought that Tito was the most intelligent politician of middle Europe. If there would be a Danubian Federation then certainly Tito would be its leader. When Bulganin and Khrushchev visited ~~Russia~~ <sup>Yugoslavia</sup> and asked for Tito's forgiveness then in his conditions Tito had certain demands ~~concerning~~ <sup>in Hungary.</sup> concerning Hungary. These demands were: to dispose of the Stalinists there. The Russians promised to fulfill his demands. The Hungarians were encouraged by that.

(2e) At the 20th Party Congress Khrushchev announced the degrading of Stalin, gave permission of the regime. and criticisms! The Russian leaders changed the direction of the <sup>ir</sup>

between different/ workers in speed of production. Stachanovite workers also did such "offerings" that they offered to complete so and so much work until a certain holiday. This offering was a much greater amount of work than this worker according to the norm was supposed to do until that time. For overtime one didn't get paid until about '48. Nevertheless people had to do this overtime work. The party trustees and trade union trustees who worked among the workers saw to that that people should work a lot and overtime too. It has to be mentioned at this ~~point~~ point (bisottmanyitagok) that not all the trade union trustees/were communists. Later when there was extra pay for overtime or extra work above the norm the workers tried to cheat as much as they could because they couldn't live on their usual salaries. Actually everybody was cheating. The heads of the planning departments, ~~these~~ were cheating to show that there was overproduction in their groups. So did the workers to get extra pay. The plans were fulfilled only on paper but not in reality. The economic situation of Hungary naturally became catastrophic. People did not work conscientiously and only wanted to show quantity. This way it happened that when a new oil well was found and they started to produce oil ~~they~~ <sup>the government</sup> want to produce as much oil as possible <sup>gas</sup> and were not careful with the well. This way the <sup>come</sup> pressure which helped under the ~~the~~ earth the oil to ~~come~~ up, escaped and in the long run they got much less oil from the well than they would have would they ~~have~~ <sup>have</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>escape</sup> ~~let~~ <sup>caused</sup> the gasses/ which ~~caused~~ the pressure- ~~escape~~. Because the above mentioned causes the workers were motivated against the Party. There was an educational pressure too. There were compulsory seminars. People had to study from brochures. At the beginning it was quite all right but after the death of Stalin and his criticism people could not believe any more in the discussed things and the seriousness of these meetings was broken.



farms. Only the ones who entered the collective later were peasants who really tried hard. They just couldn't cope with the immense demands of the government. Naturally the latter peasants who entered the collectives had no initiative and did not feel like working in the collectives either. I knew about an excellent grape growing field near Vac, and since it was not cultivated properly by the collective farm workers it was ruined and was good later only for pastures. The peasants were the passive opposition to the regime. They also prepared for the Revolution, not received ~~the~~ unconsciously. From among the workers only the Stachanovites, ~~the~~ more pay than they did before; the others were badly paid. These workers, Stachanovites the , tried to work more than they were supposed to after fulfilling the norm. In that case they received more money. If somebody was successful in overfulfilling the norm he had to teach others how to do it; this was called exchange of experiences, and handing over work action. If almost everybody with hard work could reach this higher Stachanovite norm which the worker reached then the standard was raised, and Stachanovite the norm was higher. The regime used the workers to work required from the workers. raise the rate of ~~the working week~~. They used these workers in such a that way ~~that~~ for example/they checked the time in which one of these workers completed one product of what he was doing and according to his achievement on this one product the other workers in the other factories had to try to achieve his speed. This was very unjust because it certainly was much easier for a Stachanovite worker to do one product very speedily than for the other workers to do this product always as speedily as he did for making products one all day long ~~they did many products~~ after the other at the same speed. The Stachanovite himself couldn't have done more than several at this unusual speed because he would have been tired but this was not taken into consideration. To arrive at a competing spirit between workers and to increase the speed of production this way there were competitions

quality only to its quantify. And since the government distributed the lowest quality land to the peasants than it retained to itself the peasants had real trouble to produce as much as they were supposed to. This way they were compelled to enter the collective farms since they could not all the time buy products on the market in order to hand them in to the government. In making the plan for a certain peasant the planner did not take into consideration the possible hazards in the weather. I know quite well how those things were with the peasants since for a while I worked as the buyer of the <sup>factory</sup> Conserve of Dunakeszi. If a peasant made a contract with the Conserve factory he didn't have to hand in his products to the government since the factory itself was government owned. Since the peasants knew that we, the buyers of the factory, were liberal they preferred to make the <sup>rather</sup> contract with us than to hand in the products to the government. If a peasant made a contract with us we, the buyers, had to go down to the fields and evaluate the possible ~~year~~ yield of the fields. We knew that the peasants were pressed by the government anyhow and therefore we were very liberal in our evaluation. We took in account much less products, vegetables than we know the peasants would grow. In this way the peasant could sell more on the free market or keep for himself and we had <sup>from bargain.</sup> our part taken this ~~evaluation~~. The peasants were very badly off. The best they had was two sets of clothing, one set for work and one for the church. But the ones who entered the collective really had nothing. They just worked as agricultural workers. Most of the peasants who entered the collectives were actually only farmhands. They entered collectives because they didn't have anything to lose anyhow. They were <sup>or</sup> farmhands only either, because they were no good for anything/else. ~~or~~ because they were too lazy to work so much that they should be able to buy a farm. It can be imagined how those people worked in the collective

in Hungary which was not easy to stop. Even the coming back of B<sup>l</sup> kosi did not stop this movement. The writers and artists took part in this spiritual uprising, free discussions and criticism of the regime was heard in the "Fezsek" and Petöfi Club. In these clubs we met with Western culture. Students among which Tibor Deri was outstanding as a writer, then Communists, but not Soviet lover professors gave free lectures and discussed the thoughts of the regime. In those clubs students voiced their wish to get in touch with the West, to establish cultural relations with the West. They wanted to send some of our young physicians and engineers to look around in the West and in turn to invite from abroad from the West, young professionals to our country. This is a very big change in comparison to the older times, when to speak about such things was not even thought about. As time went on fewer and fewer people were opposing this mentioned group. It is very important to know that these young criticizing people in these clubs, were all educated during this system and by this system of the Communist regime in Hungary. It was obvious however that their experiences did not coincide with their studies. After the Stalin worship the strong criticism of Stalin shook the faith of these young people in the regime. Workers and peasants too met and discussed their grievances which were that they didn't have enough food or clothing. The peasants had to hand in to the government too much of their products and many time they just didn't have as much agricultural products as they were supposed to hand in and were compelled to buy the products on the market and hand them in to the government. While evaluating the yield of a certain farm the government evaluated the land without consideration of the land's

- (1) One has to learn that the purpose of the Soviet Union is to oppress the small nations and achieve world hegemony in this way. The ones who do not live in the Soviet satellites have difficulties in understanding what happened there. The happenings in Hungary awakened the people to the Revolution. The French people changed their attitude toward Soviet Russia already in 1954 but much more after the Hungarian Revolution. Again France and Hungary came together against terror, as they did already in 1848. In Hungary even the ones who trusted the regime in the beginning and who believed in the Communist idea, together with those who were just opportunistic and ~~opportunistic~~ <sup>careeristic</sup> and as such joined the Party, saw that going with the regime was not worth while. The Hungarian nation wanted to free himself and felt its power to do so. There was no organization in the Revolution. The want of freedom was enough to give ~~bravery~~ <sup>courage</sup> and heroism to the people. Even the peasants, though they took the smallest part in the Revolt, at least sympathized with the Revolution and helped them with food supplies.
- (2) The whole thing started on the 23rd of November at 8:00 in the evening.
- (2a) The first opinion would be that <sup>the</sup> Imre Nagy government <sup>after</sup> ~~of the~~ Rákosi's downfall was the first important step. It should be noted however that giving out trade permission, allowing for some private capital, and for some private projects was not Nagy's idea; it came from Moscow. The relaxation of the strong regime started in Moscow after criticism was allowed after the death of Stalin. Of course only building criticism was allowed. At that time there was a joke going around in Hungary "Who is reactionary? The one who reads the Szabad Nép of the past year." This relaxation of the strong hand of the regime started a movement within