

How did we finance our activities? We were a very large group (the largest in Hungary), numbering 600,000 members. Members paid a nominal due. During the inflation this was one kilogram of wheat per person. Later it was one forint per month per person. Other incomes we did not have. The agricultural courses did not bring us any money.

We did receive assistance from the Independent Smallholders' Party. This assistance consisted of the party placing at our disposal our headquarters building and providing us with administrative help.

The Independent Youth had its own weekly, edited by András Hamza. In 1945, this weekly served as the forum of the populist writers; such people as László Németh, Kodolányi, Sinka, Lőrinc Szabó, Illyés, and Áron Tamási, unwilling to write for Communist publications, contributed a great deal to our paper.

The Independent Youth had a lively organizational life. We had various cultural groups, populist (népi), singing and dancing groups, we organized amateur dramatic groups and we had many clubs.

Politically we stood united against the Communists. Leading figures of our youth organization were attacked as ~~NÁKSI~~ early as 1946. These attacks were directed by the ~~MADISZ KISEK~~ first and later by the Hungarian Communist Party. It was because of these incessant attacks that the Communists succeeded within the short time of two years to bring about the Dobogókői "Agreement." After Dobogókői, the Independent Youth ceased^B functioning and its members no longer participate in the Hungarian youth movement.

The unity of the Independent Youth was not the apparent unity of the Smallholders' Party of 1945. Ours was a real unity. This explains the events of XMAS 1956. These young men, silenced between 1947-1956, reappear again before the Revolution. During the short time of the Independent Youth's existence, these young people participated in countless seminars, discussed diligently many political questions and developed a unitary (egységes) view and stand. There were no factions. To be sure, there were differences of opinion, but we all agreed on basic principles and proceeded from the same premises. This is how that unitary (egységes) stand and view developed which gave the Revolution its unity.

Equally important, the various youth leaders, Social Democratic, Kalot, Peasant Party and others, spent a long time in jails together; we had ample opportunity to get to know one another fairly well. We respected our differences and we continued to respect one another even though our differences continued.

Recsk, for instance, gave us an opportunity to prepare and analyze the balance sheet for 1945-47. We had ample time to discuss our mistakes, our aims -- what we would do, what our stand would be and how we would act if we ever had the opportunity again to freely operate in the body politic. This is why, though there were many political parties during the Revolution, the revolutionary questions for all of us were identical.

The work of the Independent Youth Movement, the methodological

manner of thinking and acting (modszereesség) -- a procedure also evident elsewhere -- these were the forces of re-education which produced an entirely different Hungary; in the political life of Hungary a generational problem appeared. Those among the populist writers and politicians who accepted the validity of modern and up-to-date political currents ~~and~~ were accepted by and became integral parts of the young generation. This new outlook did not as yet exist in 1945. But the young generation matured and developed and gradually invaded the political arena. This generation developed its program and this program became the program of the Revolution.

Young people within the Independent Youth Movement concerned themselves with a variety of problems. And the preoccupation with these problems brought up the question in the minds of many of giving up their traditional ways and becoming intellectuals. Most of them did not go past the fourth or maybe the sixth grade of elementary school. A great many of these peasant boys were extremely intelligent. Some of them completed secondary schools, others ~~and~~ ~~and~~ were university students.

The collegiate movement (kollégiumi mozgalom) had precisely this aim; to assist peasant boys to go to the universities. We in the Independent Youth Movement brought into being the Hungarian Collegiate Association (Magyar Kollégiumi Egyesület). Our aim was to establish, with the assistance of the general public and of the state, as many of these colleges and scholarships for deserving

~~many~~ boys as possible. Between 1945-1947, there were about 40-45 such colleges.

These colleges were student hostels (közös diákszállások), where the students lead a fully autonomous life, elected their own directors and provided their own discipline. A college of this kind was a closed community (zárt közösség), having its own cultural program and life, which was both extremely intensive and productive.

The Communists, too, established their own colleges. These were the NÉKOSZ colleges. Rajk was the chairman of this national organization. After 1947, the NÉKOSZ organization swallowed up and absorbed the independent colleges. In 1949, Rakosi disbanded the NÉKOSZ ~~organization~~ in turn, accusing them of Rajkism (the Rajkists vehemently denied the charge that they were national communists. They were, in their opinion, the true Communists and it was Rákosi who deviated).

The important thing to remember is that the leadership and the members of the staff (törzsgárda) of the Petőfi Circle all came from the Hungarian Collegiate Association and from the NÉKOSZ.

The great political opponent~~s~~ and adversary of the Independent Youth Movement was the MADISZ (Communist) organization. The Independent Youth Movement gained in significance from the large number of its members and from the remarkable unity among the members regarding the diagnosis and cure of the fundamental maladies affecting Hungary. The MADISZ was supported by the presence of

the Russians and by the power of the Communist Party. The essential difference between them and us was money; the MADISZ had plenty of it available, but our group was the more productive. The difference in principle between us was even more pronounced; the Independent Youth Movement was not a leftist, but an anti-Communist youth organization. We, too, approved of social reforms, but refused to call ourselves Socialist because the MADISZ ~~had~~ had already appropriated that term for itself.

The SZIM (Social Democratic Youth Movement) operated strictly within the framework of the Social Democratic Party. The SZIM abided fully by both party directives and party discipline. Its role was that of a mediator between the Independent Youth Movement and the MADISZ, a role which was not too successful, I must say. By 1947, the SZIM, losing both independence and stature, actually came to serve as assistant of the MADISZ. Even before 1947, Communist influence within the SZIM was everywhere observable. A large number of Communists who found asylum in Social Democratic ranks before the second World War remained within the Social Democratic Party even after 1945 and did their job for the cause there. (The Social Democrats made it their policy before the war to permit members of the outlawed Communist Party to submerge in their ranks and to operate within the Party and in the labor unions as a Communist faction). As a result, the Communists had an inside view of everything and were very effective in interfering in the Social

Democrats' affairs.

The Peasant Party youth was insignificant both in number ~~and~~ in every other respect. The duties and functions which it proposed to fulfil were already taken care of by the Independent Youth Movement. Because of this parallelism, the peasant Party youths were unable to organize in many localities. All in all, there was a fine cooperation between them and us, we sponsored many joint actions, we divided our roles in the MKKT and we worked against the Communists.

The KALOT, the KIE, and the scout association worked in close harmony with us. They retained their separate identities, but in many localities they actually functioned within the framework of the Independent Youth Movement.

The scouts were the first group to be disbanded, at the end of 1946. The KALOT met its end in the beginning of 1947, and the KIE shortly thereafter. In the place of the scout movement, the Úttörő (Pioneer) group was organized in the first part of 1947. The ~~szé~~ úttörők embraced children between 6-14 years of age.

(2 a) I already told you of my position as a Member of Parliament and of my experiences in the Hungarian Youth Movement. Let me relate now the job I had after my release from Reesk.

I worked in a brick factory. I was hired as an unskilled laborer, later I became a loader. We loaded bricks into waggons in the freight yard. I was later transferred to the kiln. My job was to carry the clay into the kiln.

We produced bricks (6x10 centimeters in size) with the help of machines. The clay was let to dry in the sun. When hard, the clay was brought to the kiln and I placed them into the kiln. The quality of the finished product depended on how I placed the clay into the kiln. The kilns were large furnaces with fire burning in them from spring to fall. Their temperature was 70-80 degrees of Celsius. I was later made a foreman of the kiln-shift consisting of 11 men.

- (2 c) I worked in this factory from 1953 to 1956.
- (2 d) Yes. See above, Question 2 a.
- (2 e) The plant was an old concern, a ~~private~~ private undertaking, its kilns were small, the plant's equipment was primitive, with some modernization. The original kilns were enlarged, we had a modern press and the plant was electrified. The undertaking was well over 12 years old (it started operating before 1945). We had an abundant supply of high-quality clay, it could well have been used for ceramics also. We produced bricks of high solidity. The plant was owned by one man. The plant's yearly capacity was 60 million bricks. Approximately 50 people were employed. There was a plant director and a production leader, one office worker and one stenographer. A large part of the administrative work was done by the leaders of the various work groups. There was only one general shift, those carrying the clay into the kiln worked in two shifts, and the burning in the kilns was done in three shifts.

- (2 f) The association of brick factories of Pest County was a large organization, but our factory, an integral part of this groups, was one of the small members of the association. It was an efficient organization, due largely to the plant manager who was both an able organizer and an expert, a man who, because of his family background, could not aspire to higher positions.
- (3) I did not like this job at all. I did it because I was forced to do it. I was a political prisoner at Rees until 1953. When released, I continued to live under a strict police supervision and I was forbidden to engage in any kind of work but physical labor. I had the choice of working on a state farm or in this factory. Of these two I chose the factory because this was closer to my dwelling and because I made more money this way.
- (3 a) Not applicable.
- (3 b) This was not my profession. For a man who, even in a job like that, is obliged to keep quiet, the job obviously cannot be too pleasant.
- (3 c) I think you can draw your own conclusions.
- (3 d) Our work was seasonal in nature. During the winter months, we engaged in maintenance work. Working conditions were primitive. It was a hard physical labor. There were, it is true, some attempts at mechanizing certain phases of the production, but this transformation was neither perfect nor completed. Even after mechanization, there still remained a great many tasks where actual menial labor was indispensable (the mining of clay, where they did not

always use explosives, the loading of the lorries was done by hand, and the miners were pushing these trucks by hand to the elevator.) While the actual production of bricks for the most part was done by machines, the actual moving of the bricks (15 kilograms each) was done by hand.

The technical niveau of the plant was deficient and with all the good will and effort of the manager it remained rather simple and primitive.

We received work clothes. The miners were supplied with rubber boots and raincoats. Those working at the press were given shirts, overalls, and leather aprons. Those working at the kiln received underwear, work clothes and $1\frac{1}{2}$ liters of salty mineral water daily, or 15 dekagrams of sour bonbons. Workers engaged in transportation were also given work clothes and protective overcoats.

There were locker rooms, one each for men and women, and showers were also available with free soap for those who worked at the kilns.

The place was very crowded. It was a small undertaking with a disproportionately high production plan (60 million bricks a year). Machines were everywhere, with little working room left to move around. Because of the immediate proximity of the clay mines, expansion was not possible.

The quality of the bricks varied. We could have produced superior quality bricks, we had excellent quality clay at our

disposal, but the production plan was too high. We had monthly and daily production targets, both of which were beyond our capacity. The ideal technology of production, nicely worked out on paper, was never kept. In the mines the clay should have been cut to small pieces, so as to permit efficient and thorough grinding. This was never adhered to. Most of the machines were obsolete, spare parts did not arrive in time because of the centralized system of distribution. Because of the complicated administrative procedures involved, our orders were sometimes delayed for months. The grinders' throwers were worn. Another problem was the mixing, in a certain ratio, of coal dust with clay, an important prerequisite of good quality brick. One man would have been needed for this operation, but the factory plans did not permit this. As a result, the bricks deformed and lost much of their value. Also, we should have used brown coal in our kilns, which we only seldom received. The result was that the bricks either were not baked well enough, or else the bricks stuck to one another.

- (3 e) I lived close to the factory. It took me about 20 minutes walking either way.
- (3 f) When at the kilns, I worked 8 hours, in ~~summer~~ summer 10-10 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours, on Saturdays till 12 noon.
- (3 g) I worked six days a week. If I worked 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day, then I only worked till noon on Saturday.
- (3 h) Yes, I did work overtime. For the first two hours we received 25 percent more, for the next two hours 50 percent more, beyond

that and for work on Sunday we received 100 percent more of our base pay.

- (3 i) Yes, there were four legal and paid holidays (May 1, April 4, August 20, December 25).
- (3 j) During the first two years of work, one got 7 days paid vacations. For each two years thereafter, one additional day was given. In no case did the total number of days go beyond 14-16 days. Those who worked at the kilns, received an additional four days for health purposes.
- (3 k) The basic administrative order provided for 7 days for the beginners. Thus you had 7 plus, or 7 plus 4 plus. Youths (under 18) received 14 days plus. Women received 6 weeks if they gave birth to a child. The management wanted that we all take our vacations during the winter.
- (3 l) Yes, an intensive campaign was waged against both lateness and absenteeism. ~~WORKERS~~ Violators were fined, the sum in each case being determined by the plant leadership. This practice was no longer adhered to in 1953. Instead of being punished, offenders were "educated"; their names were brought up during union meetings or production conferences and the persons themselves were derided and ridiculed. "You must improve your relationship to work" was a standard admonition. If someone was late, his relationship to work was bad. He was neglectful, he violated factory rules; he was politically unreliable. Almost anything could be fitted under

the heading of "bad relationship to work." People were afraid of ~~scadres~~^{scadres}. this, because this was connected with the system of ~~scadres~~^{scadres}. Both the party secretary and the factory leader were entitled to enter their observations ~~in~~ on a person's cadre sheet. And the cadre sheet had a very great significance in a person's life.

(3 m)

I can speak only of the period after 1953, the norms we had at Reesk were not normal. They were very tight and ^hinman.

Generally speaking, the norms were based on empirical knowledge, on observations of the time-study people. Processes in part were measured in terms of time and the question of what separate motions constituted the entire work process was thoroughly analyzed. This was perfectly all right. But in the final analysis the norms were not based on experience so gained, but were ~~g~~ brought about by dictates coming from above. Planners have seen, for instance, that a certain process is either too expensive, or that people were making too much money. Either of these called for immediate re-evaluation. The norm-man was sent out.

His was a confidential work, extremely unpopular. The norm-man was a good party member, not a good and conscientious expert. He received an order, and carried that order out, disregarding every technical or human consideration.

There was usually a conspiracy among the workers when the norm-man appeared on the scene; workers performed their task slowly and in a complicated way. This, of course, did not help

them in any way. The norm-man had an order to reduce the time-element, say, by 20 percent. He carried his order ^{out} irrespective of what the workers did or did not do.

An integral part of the norm system was the system of work competition. Workers competed with one another to produce more and more on the principle that who produces more makes more money. The norm represented 100 percent. He who produces more receives more pay according to a progressive scale.

This same principle was employed also on the collective farms; there was an initial norm at the start. People were anxious to overproduce in order to earn more money. When this ~~x~~ overproduction became pretty general, i.e., most workers overproduced, the norm-man appeared on the scene and tightened the norm. This increased output became the new basis (100 percent) and for this increased output people received the original pay or even less than that.

There was the system of progressive incentives, known as premium. The premium represented a certain percentage of the base pay. In our factory, for instance, for 101-110 percent of production there was a 25 percent premium. For 110-120 percent of production there was 50 percent of premium. ~~For~~ For 120-~~14~~150 percent of production there was 75 percent of premium. ^{OVER} For ~~1~~150 percent of production there was 90 percent ~~n~~ of premium.

In practice this meant that if I had to load 400 bricks per hour (100 percent) and I loaded 600 instead, for the 400 I received sixteen forints, for the 600 twenty-four forints.

The minimum living standard for menial laborers was fixed at 800-1,000 forints. People earned 1,400-1,600 and even more forints. The truth was that 1,000 forints were not sufficient for subsistence. As a result everyone strained himself and over produced, to be able to satisfy his real minimum requirements. ~~The~~ Subtle slogans were used to bring all this about; produce more, you live better (Termelj többet, jobban élsz), Overproduction is a patriotic duty (Tobbtermelés hazafiúi kötelesség), etc.

They were using a slightly modified Bedeaux system in Hungary. This ^ysystem is usually applied to highly mechanized industry only. In Hungary it found application everywhere. In the brick factory, for instance, only two-three people worked who were paid by the hour. The gist of the Bedeaux system - Produce more, earn more, produce ~~less~~ less, earn less - was essentially adhered to in Hungary; 80 percent production was paid in full. Those who produced less than 80 percent were gotten rid of at the first ~~opportunity~~ opportunity. Those who produced between 80-100 percent received proportionately less pay than the stated normal.

The norm system reacted to the changing political atmosphere. In 1953, when Nagy came to power, the norms were not slackened. The easing up came about by the fact that the norms were not interfered with (i.e., there was no tightening) and workers were permitted to simplify the work process. They were allowed, for instance, to lift six, instead of three, bricks at a time,

even though a great many bricks broke in the process. After 1953, the planned leadership did not pay any attention to these things.

In 1954, 1955, in politics there was a return to Stalinism. Production costs were everywhere on the increase. As a result, there took place a national norm reorganization, involving a tightening of 10-15-20 percent.

There were two types of norms: national norms and local norms. In every branch of industry uniform production procedures were compiled. Every step of ^{brick} big manufacturing, for example, was strictly prescribed. ^{The} Time studies were based on this production manual; the processes involved were known, the time required to do them was measured and the national norms were fixed. Every undertaking was free, on the other hand, to utilize its own local norms. These local norms were tighter than the national norms (this or that object may be closer in a given plant and thus a given production step may require less time and/or effort than somewhere else.)

After 1953, the local norms are generally not used. National norms at this time are relatively bearable. At the end of 1954, and during 1955, the national norm is tightened 15-20 percent, there is a return to the local norms and the technical procedure as prescribed by the production manual is strictly observed; there is a tightening of the work ~~at~~ discipline.

(3n) Speed-ups were carried out by such devices as work competitions, to the accompaniment of political slogans. Social production -

so read the slogan - is very important. He who disapproves of this is a traitor, a Fascist, an American imperialist spy, a reactionary. He/^{who}is branded any one of these evil geniuses is a lost man. This was one of the tactics of those in control of production; political ~~xxx~~ means were used to enforce accelerated production tempo.

~~Many~~ Various meetings and conferences served the same purpose. So every week there was a union meeting and production conferences were held every other week. On these meetings people were forced to ^{take}/a stand, to declare themselves in favor of Socialist production. Those who do not express their opinion are not with us - reasoned the Communists, and those who are not with us are against us. Negative reactions were thus registered on the Kader sheets. The practice^{al} result; just as the Lama of Tibet keeps on turning the prayer-wheel - these people, like parrots automatically memorized and repeated Communist slogans.

(31)^o The SzTK law provided that the SzTK contributions are fully paid by the employer. There was no deduction from one's pay for this purpose. Employers were required to report all employees for this purpose including part-time help. Anyone who worked ~~xxx~~ was assured free medical care. The medical sector too, was nationalized and, with the exception of a few outstanding specialists, all Hungarian physicians were employees of the SzTK. These physicians were permitted to maintain a private practice, but only after they satisfied their SzTK obligations.

If a person required hospitalization, from 25-75 percent of

his pay was withheld for medical purposes. While he was ill he did not receive pay, but assistance. This assistance was paid by the SzTK. The amount withheld depended on a person's ~~marital~~ marital status, number of children and how long he worked continuously. Otherwise medical and surgical care as well as medicine was free. When purchasing medicine one only paid for the handling and administrative costs, the drugs themselves were free of charge.

As a general rule, a person on sick leave received 50 percent of his pay if he worked less than two years continuously prior to his becoming sick. If he worked longer than two years, he lost only 25 percent of his *basic* pay. In practice it worked out as follows: a man who worked more than two years and who earned 1,000 forints prior to his illness, now received 750 forints as assistance from the SzTK. From this pay 50 percent, that is 350 forints was withheld for hospital purposes. He received then 300 forints per month while in the hospital.

SzTK was a social and good system in principle. It shows that people were taken care of in times of distress. Its disadvantage was that the medical care became mechanized. The SzTK physicians were not only taking care of the hospitalized sick but also went out visiting the out-patients (those who were at home), and there were a great many out-patients. Besides, he was burdened with administrative work, such as reporting of the diagnosis, keeping the patient's personal record, etc. In practice the

doctor had no time, his work became a routine. There were many false ^{diagnoses} ~~diagnosis~~, the true nature of the illness was often not recognized, the wrong medicine was prescribed, etc. There was also the psychological point of view; sick people are more sensitive and in need of greater patience. The doctors did not have time for this. They were cold and rigid in their relations, mechanical in their actions. Complaints were many and the anti-pathology growing.

A hospitalized or sick person received his assistance money for a full year merely on the recommendation of his physician. If the illness continued for more than a year, the person was subjected to a re-examination, his status was reevaluated and he may have lost a certain percentage of his support money. There was a nightwatchman in our factory whose leg was amputated. He was ~~is~~ very ill for a long time. From time to time he had to come in and work for six weeks and then he continued on sick leave again.

Let us consider the vacations; the question of workers' "resorts" was handled by the SzTK. There were factory resorts also, maintained by factory funds, but these, too, were under SzTK supervision. The cost to vacationers of these facilities was a mere trifle. There were vacations which were completely free of charge. Others ran from one to ~~is~~ eight forints per day covering all expenses. If the whole family was vacationing, then usually the father only had to pay, say, eight forints. The other members went free.

Vacations, too, went according to the Plan. The Plan laid down the number of people to be sent to resorts. The factory management decided who of these people would be. The emphasis was on good workers. The unions, the plant management and the Party made these decisions.

There were resorts reserved for the sick. The SzTK district physician was empowered to make recommendations in this respect. As a rule, this was a rather difficult question and very few people succeeded in obtaining such accommodations.

People usually went to resorts which were situated in Hungary. Some went to Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania or the Soviet Union. All this was decided from above, people being selected for this or that resort.

The ^{principle} ~~principle~~ of the SzTK and the workers' resorts is laudable, but in reality there were many abuses. Those who were in the Party or otherwise associated with the regime were the ones who reaped the benefits.

Free tickets; in consequence of the SzTK membership a person or family received once a year a 50 percent discount on the nation's railroads. This could be used on any occasion, and for whatever distance, within Hungary.

(4a) Those ^{were} ~~were~~ primitive ~~and~~ (simple people.) Most of them were young, and middle-aged, not older than fifty. Their educational level was four-six grades of elementary school, the younger ones usually had six years of schooling. From '53-'56, a number of ~~foreign~~ ^{former (earlier)}

exist^eances (Lecsuszott existenciak) joined us (a former officer of the police, a former civil servant, a former teacher and others), people who could not get employment elsewhere. They~~were~~ were about five-six of these.

This was a provincial brick factory. Its labor force came from the village and from the adjoining villages. All workers were of peasant stock, about fifty percent of them single. There were many young girls 18-20 years of age. During the summer a large number of students, 17-19 years of age, joined us too. About 35 percent of the labor force^s were women. They were assigned lighter duties, such as feeding the machines, etc.

(4b)

Everyone was comrade or colleague to everybody else. (Elvtárs vagy szaktárs). This sort of address assumes equality, but the assumption is fallacious. We did not have the great degree of dependence (függőség) so characteristic of France, but the inequalities were there, nevertheless, in disguised form; the Party secretary did not have to use abuses^{ive} or vituperative language when speaking to his "equals" in order to show his absolute superiority. If you work as you do now - he would say - you are hindering production. It seems to me that you intend to sabotage here. A "friendly" remark like this was extremely consequential.

(4c)

Yes, I met a few people. My situation was a special one. Everybody knew me in the village. I was a member of Parliament after 1945. I knew many people and even more people knew me. Besides,

in a small village, everyone seems to know everything about everyone else. They knew of my stay at Reš^{CS}ek and that I was under police surveillance. I was released in 1953, at a time when criticism became open and people loudly denounced and cursed the regime. In the village life was not as complicated as in intellectual circles. There a worker, even though a member of the Party, did not ~~xxxx~~ hesitate to speak his mind.

People always wondered what my opinion was. This is why I got my relatively good assignment at the factory. They placed me to the kiln because the workers demanded that I ~~be~~ be put there. The past ten years taught this people many things; they learned to read newspapers regularly and to read in between the lines and to find out instantly that the paper is not telling the truth. They came to me and asked me to confirm their doubts and suspicions. At first I was afraid to answer them, later I answered them with a yes or no, but we got to know each other well and we did discuss things at length.

During the Revolution I spent all my time in Budapest. These people elected me chairman of the workers' council even though I was not there.

(4d) ~~xxxx~~ During 1953, I refrained from discussing politics, but later on we did have intensive discussions with a small group. I discussed a great many questions with some of the older workers, with the plant mechanic and with the kiln loader.

From 1953 to 1956, our factory was a normal place. The Party

secreatry was an old man, and an honorable man. He always ~~used~~ ^{used} to ask my advice. I had no ~~am~~ ^{and} difficulty with him at all. We were not friends, to be sure, he asked questions of me and I answered them. It was mostly younger people that I had to be careful with.

(4e) Of course. The best jobs were in the hands ~~of~~ ^{of} Party members. Jobs which paid less were assigned to non-Party people. This was one of the incentives which was used as a means of recruiting new members. At the kiln, "the best paid job", I was the only one who was not a Party member.

People did not enter the Party because they believed in it. Joining to them became a question of bread. Some people just out of universities had to make up their minds when entering one of the industrial enterprises. Their chances of advancement were entirely different if they were Party members. If they refused to join up, be they engineers or soldiers or what have you, they were given a subordinate assignment irrespective of talent or learning. Party members had advantages also in receiving preferential treatment when it came to vacations, using other SzTK facilities, finding an apartment or sending their children to the university.

(4f) Our trade union was very ^{weak.} big. Brick manufacture is a seasonal enterprise with a great fluctuation and turnover in its personnel. Because there was no great stability in this respect, they did not pay much attention to the union. Union membership did not

have any practical significance, no advantage came from it, save in the question of vacations. It was the union which recommended people to be sent to cheap vacation resorts.

Otherwise it would have been the job of the union to concern itself with questions of production. But there was no possibility to do that. The union did work in the cultural sphere; it conducted seminars where political questions and, occasionally, questions of productions were ~~introduced~~ ^{introduced} and discussed. Outside of the Party it was here, in the union, that an attempt was made to get hold of non-Party members, and to saturate them with Communist ideol^og^y.

Between 1948-53, all people who worked, save for some employed as factory ~~†~~ sweepers, necessarily belonged to the union. After 1953, this changed somewhat; many people did not pay their dues and did not regularly attend union meetings. ~~These~~ ^{These} meetings were held bi-weekly, revolving around a program worked out by the union leadership; there were several cultural groups, sports, library, the union organized celebrations on May 1, August ~~and~~ 20, there was dancing and drinking.

The union was conducted by the chairman - secretary and the culture and sport referees. These were not paid positions, and were considered to be voluntar^y contributions for the development of society. The offic^es of the unions were elected (they were not real elections, however).

(4g)

In 1945, the unions were in the hands of the Social Democrats. But even then there was a large number of Communists in the

Social Democratic ranks, people who were accepted by the Social Democrats during the Horthy regime where Communists and Communist activity were illegal. These people remained even after 1945, and gradually took^k over the direction. In 1948, the two parties merged and were known as the Hungarian Workers' Party.

One of the reasons why the workers' council movement was originated was the widespread recognition of the great influence Stalinists and Rákosiⁱsts played in the life of the labor union. One of the chief^h aims of the movement was to cleanse the unions of these elements, and to bring in new people and new spirit in the labor movement. The labor unions represented a tremendous network. In larger factories union leaders were among the best paid men in the industry.

(4h) There were no mediation committees in our factory.

(4i) Yes, there was a shop triangle. It consisted of the plant director, party secretary and the chairman of the labor union. Outwardly, the triangle did not perform any function at all. It did not have a legal basis, ~~it was not a co-cooperation with rights and duties.~~ The triangle was a creature of the Party. In practice, however, the triangle represented the supreme leadership of the factory. All three members worked in the plant, they were in close contact with each other and represented the inner cabinet of the plant. They saw to it that technical directives were kept, they determined who worked where and what. They were the masters of hiring and firing. They decided whether a given

offender would be prosecuted and to what extent. In a word they kept their own ~~in~~ affairs well coordinated and while you could not feel their direct influence - they never acted in the open as members of the triangle - everyone knew that the three men were absolute masters of life and death.

(4j) It all depend^{ed}/on what kind of relationship the specialists had with the shop triangle. Generally speaking he could not go ahead if he was not reliable politically. The basic consideration in determining whether a man was suitable or not to perform a ~~confidential~~^{task} confidential/continued to be his kader sheet. ~~There~~ There were, of course, small and limited possibilities within a factory, if the individual was on friendly terms with the triangle.

(4k) This was a very general and widespread phenomenon in Hungary, especially under the rule of the Communists. Jobs were not tied to ~~former~~^{FORMAL} qualifications. "From everyone according to his ability" is a well known Communist slogan. In reality the good kaders were given absolute preference. Workers became factory directors. This widespread dil^tatantism very often had the gravest consequences. Factory directors accepted and pledged the performance of tasks which were far beyond the factory's capacity. Being ignorant of both production capacity and procedure, they not only pledged the performance of tasks which were hopelessly beyond their capabilities, but they refused to subsequently recognize their error and ~~exacted~~^{extorted through} in blood and sweat the execution of their exorbitant plans. This meant, of course,

a reduction of the workers' real wages, because premium payments were largely eliminated. Another important result of this was the inferior quality of the finished product.

- (41) In the shop triangle, the Party secretary was one of the members. This meant in practice that he supervised the factory's work. Production ceased to be an economic *task* alone. It became permeated with ^o politics. Whatever we did we did so for political reasons. We worked hard because of Stalin's birthday, we raised quotas and production targets because of lesser ~~or~~ or bigger political considerations.

Since production sabotage fell within the immediate competence of the AVH, the role of the political supervisor took an enormous significance. The Party secretary never handed down direct instructions, he limited himself to making comments and observations. Such comments and observations never failed to have the force of a direct command, and their execution did not always tend to make the task of an individual worker or of a whole factory an easier one, or more rational.

To remonstrate against the Party secretary was extremely difficult indeed. If somebody did object to his proposal, such person was usually depicted as an enemy of the Peoples' Democracy, as a ~~mad~~ saboteur. Once a person was thus branded, the accusations did not fail to have a devastating ^{to} effect on him. The accused was ruined for all practical purposes for, just as if you accused somebody here of homosexuality, he is

considered as a moral outcast in his community, without having a chance or possibility of defending himself.

(4m) There was a change after 1953, in this respect. One could object, with a fair degree of immunity, to obviously wrong procedures. After the effect of the Twentieth Congress became felt in Hungary, a greater freedom of speech was permitted within the framework of legality. Party secretaries became more cautious and reserved. If differences of opinion did develop, the AVH was not called in automatically. This was a tremendous change. It was this development which resulted in the widespread discussion among the workers of the grave injustices perpetrated against them. The basic fallacy of the regime's industrial policy, the norm system, and many other grievances became the common objects of discussion. The very fact that people were allowed to talk about these things represented a tremendous change.

The various daily and periodical publications also discussed these questions, a circumstance which contributed a great deal to freer discussion among the people. The question of professional competence was one of the many topics considered. The very broaching of this question tended to cut the Party secretaries down to their true size. They were admonished to ~~not~~ meddle only in those things and to talk only when they knew what they were talking about.

(4n) This is a difficult question. I am not familiar with the Communist principles on which the classification was based.

There was the category of peasant or worker origin. But here, too, were sub-categories; there were the poor peasants and the rich peasants. The kulaks were not good kaders. Regarding intellectuals, the criterion^o was the parents' relationship to, and the view of, the Communist Party. A person's relationship to his work in the Party, in the labor union, was another consideration.

Regarding peasants three categories were recognized: a) poor peasants. This meant agricultural laborers and people of this category, who as a result of the land reform, received some land, usually five holds. b) Middle or working peasants; these were people who held land, about ten-twenty holds, either as a result of the land reform or otherwise, who cultivated their own land and did not employ any agricultural day-laborers. c) Kulaks were people who held twenty-twenty-five or more holds of land, employed outsiders on their land and perhaps were engaged in other activities also.

(4o) See above, question 4(n).
sections

(4p) There were no secret sessions, at my place of work. It was a very small establishment. These people were usually found in larger enterprises. The personnel-section head of the association of brick factories, for instance, was an AVH informer.

The personnel section employed a number of agents (these did not strictly belong to the AVH). These were well paid, comfortable positions. The agents' task was to make mood

and tendency reports, to describe how a meeting was conducted, what the reactions were. They were to observe the behavior of people in key positions, to report on the way they handled and treated men, etc. These reports did not go to the Plant leadership but, through the personnel section were forwarded directly to the AVH.

Informers we had in our plant also. The chairman of the operating committee (üzemi bizottság) was one of them.

(The operating committee was responsible for the promotion of production, for drawing in of workers into the direction of the plant. This committee was charged with the organization of production as well as with the promotion of productivity. The committee was to make certain that the best qualified experts occupied the key positions. It was this committee which negotiated the collective contracts with ~~the~~ the factory. The contract in turn defined the work within the economic plan as well as the production goals. The committee further determined the type and amount of raw materials needed and what new machines etc., would have to be ~~is~~ acquired. The operating committee, on the other hand, pledged in the name of the workers that the norms would be satisfied and reached to such and such (in percentages) a degree, that such and such innovations (újítások) would be carried out, that the quality of the finished products would be raised, etc. The committee also concerned itself - in general terms only - with the question of wages, insofar as the given norm system permitted this. The operating

committee was an elected body and cooperated closely with the factory leadership and the labor union.) In our factory the chairman of the operating committee and the secretary of the labor union was one and the same person.

Everyone knew that the chairman was an informer. He ^{was} rather an unpopular figure and one had to behave himself correctly (vonalasan kellet viselkedni) if in the chairman's proximity. ^The chairman, on his part, was trying to prove to everybody that this is the correct way, rather than the other, because the Party wants it this way.

This man reported on everyone. He was the strongest man in the factory after the Party secretary. Everybody was afraid of him. The chairman's role was probably greater than that of the Party secretary; the Party secretary acted through the chairman of the operating committee and his views, personal and official, were known in advance. The views of the chairman, ~~z~~ on the other hand, became known only after the AVH arrived on the scene. I, of course, began working after ~~1952~~ 1953, at a time when even the AVH's power was somewhat limited.

- (5) Labor laws, passed in 1949 and 1950, rendered the workers' possibilities of changing jobs more and more difficult. Before a worker could change jobs he had to secure the consent of the factory leadership. A worker did not have the right to terminate his employment, to quit the job, under any circumstance. If he did quit, his action was considered arbitrary (önkényesen) in

which case he could secure employment with the aid of employment agencies only. These employment agencies invariably sent him to a mine or to some other hard physical labor.

Each factory had a Committee on Discipline (fegyelmi bizottság). This Committee was empowered to institute disciplinary action against any worker on the recommendation of ~~it~~ either the labor union ^{OR} of the Operating Committee. Such action took the form of a verbal or written rebuke, of a transfer within the factory to a lower paying job, or a dishonorable discharge (fegyelmi elbocsájtás). This latter carried with it all the consequences of arbitrary quitting, as explained above. Whatever form the punishment took, it was duly recorded into the worker's workbook as well as in his kader sheet.

The punished worker had the right to appeal to the labor union's Committee on Conciliation (Szakszervezeti egyeztető bizottság) but the act of appeal did not invalidate the disciplinary Committee's action (eş nem volt halasztó hatályú). As a decision of this appellate body could be further appealed to the industry's Committee on Conciliation (iparági egyeztető bizottság). The decision of this authority was final.

(5a) I did not have any possibility at all to change my job. As I have explained previously, I was living under police supervision. I was restricted to this village and there was no other place available.

Other people, not so restricted, changed, or would have changed, their jobs to better themselves economically. Also,

people whose political past was compromised and who, as a result, lost their jobs and now worked as unskilled laborers, tried to better themselves by attempting to become skilled laborers. Such people wanted to change jobs in order to be near a school where they could take courses. Still others had tried to get back to the ^{ir}old fields, even if they had to work in a subordinate position.

(5b) Under such circumstances I would have gone back to my own field. This is natural and self-explanatory. Why? Because of monetary considerations and considerations of comfort and convenience.

(5c) I think I would have had a chance in Hungary. This, of course, ^{is} rather hypothetical. I was assuming that the trend ~~of~~ originated by Imre Nagy would have continued. With him the process of rehabilitation got under way. Communists were rehabilitated first but other groups too, we hoped, would have been considered later. I got into my predicament unjustly, I sat in prison for five years without ever being tried in court, imprisoned simply on the strength of a Party decision. I assume that I might have gotten a chance to be rehabilitated later. The police supervision would have been lifted and I probably would have returned to the type of work and existence that would have be^{en} suitable and satisfactory. These, of course, are but hypotheses. If the Revolution had succeeded, I certainly would have had a variety of personal contacts and my future prospects

would have been favorable.

- (5d) The question, I am afraid, is ambiguous. It all depends on what you mean by succeeding and getting ahead. If your meaning is making as much money as possible, then my answer is yes. If, on the other hand, success is to be equated with seeking governmental and/or social recognition, then I must answer in the negative. Indeed many people rejected the prestige and acclaim - which was theirs just for the asking - just in order to preserve their moral convictions. People did try very hard to secure themselves a more or less comfortable living, but they definitely did not seek or desire recognition.

There were writers who donated the proceeds of their Kossuth Prize - they were not allowed to refuse the acceptance of the distinction itself - to people who were less fortunate than themselves in order to thereby declare that they are in no way in agreement with the government.

The young generation, too, attempted to gravitate towards such fields, and to ~~take~~ ^{work their way} themselves into (beasni) such positions where they hoped this to be realizable without becoming Party members. This, of course, was a hard task. For leading positions Party membership, and the type of Party work one performed, was certainly not the least factor considered. Professional competence, while a factor, was only of secondary importance.

Scientists and artists ~~изключались~~ ^{excepted,} - these formed a separate category - the leading positions everywhere were occupied not

by the most able and most competent, but by the better kaders, by those whose fidelity to both Party and ideology left nothing to be desired.

- (5e) I can only give you a hypothetical answer; books have been always one of my great passions. I spent a large amount of money on them. I enjoyed collecting books of exquisite types and binding. Money is of no moment if I get hold of a book of good typography. I also enjoy going to the theater, or to travel in a leisurely fashion, - something again which requires money. I would travel, if I could afford it, would inspect in every little detail everything from the great masterpieces of art to the way people lived and acted.
- (5f) I did not have any ideas about the above; I had neither time nor opportunity to concern myself with thoughts of this nature. It certainly was not my most important problem.
- (5g) Naturally not. That is rather self-explanatory. Every man, I think, has within him the innate desire of creating for himself and for his offspring better opportunities. The work I did was neither pleasant nor good.
- (6) It was fairly hard. My father was a poor peasant, possessing only a few holds of land. We lived not far away from Budapest. We were ~~frk~~ fruit growers, specializing in peaches. We sold a significant amount of peaches for export before the war and the inland marketing possibilities were equally very good. After the war the possibility both of exporting and of local marketing

dropped markedly until, as a result of forced collectivization it vanished completely. Our income suffered a drastic reduction.

Between 1945 and 1947, we were not badly off. After my arrest my family lived under extremely reduced material circumstances and there was no improvement after I got out in 1953, and began working in the brick factory either. I was living with my wife after 1953, and we had not enough money for clothing, let alone for satisfying our cultural needs.

(6a) See answer to question (6).

(6b) We could afford to buy food, primary necessities, to pay for rent, and to get the minimum amount of clothing. Whatever went beyond this was beyond our reach. Before we could buy a book, or a theater ticket, we had to hold a family consultation and juggle our budget around, giving up something else.

(6c) According to Hungarian standards my income was not a bad one.

(6d) I was definitely exploited. I worked, for five years, against my will in a hard labor camp, without any compensation. Even after I was set free, I was obliged to spend my days in a factory, as a menial laborer, when I could have performed other jobs, at much higher pay and with far greater satisfaction. So I definitely think that I was exploited.

The state was the exploiter. Under the cover of socialist phraseology and slogans a state capitalism developed, a capitalism which pocketed unheard of sums as profit. The state

reaped this profit not as a reward for risking its capital, but as a consequence of a deliberate state and social policy. The state justified this tremendous exploitation by its desire to ~~make~~ develop a significant heavy industry. To bring about this heavy industry enormous investments were necessary. To solve the problem of financing these investments, a systematic lowering of the living standard was instituted and "peace loans" were forced upon us (10% of our gross income) to further rob us of our incomes.

Exploitation is ~~bad~~ ^{had} when a worker does not receive compensation for his work. By compensation I mean value of his product less the necessary production costs.

- (7a) I 800 forints per month; II - no income; III - 1400-1500 forints per month.
- (7b) My income (of 1955) corresponded to that of an average skilled laborer. I was not a skilled laborer, but with my work at the kiln and the additional bonus I ~~next~~ received as a compensation for the heat there, my income did amount to that much.
- (7c) I had the highest pay in the trade.
- (7d) My wife was working also. She worked at a statistical concern (gépstatistikai vállalatnál) making circa 1,000 forints per month. My father-in-law, we were living with him, received a pension of 400 forints.

My wife was working because my income alone did not suffice to keep us going. The employment of women was consciously

fostered by the regime. Workers' wages were so ~~xx~~ calculated to be sufficient for the ^{maintenance} ~~maintenances~~ of one person only. If a household had several members, then as many members of the household as were capable had to go to work since one man's pay in no way covered the whole family's expenses.

- (8) Respondent was given the form.
- (9) This was the greatest problem of them all. There were innumerable joint tenants (*társbérlo*); one apartment was shared by two or more families. Dwelling needs of individuals and families were strictly regulated. A married couple was allowed a room and a kitchen. If they had children, they could aspire to two rooms and a kitchen. In the case of a physician, a university professor, or a creative artist an additional room was assigned.

All apartments were rented out through the intermediary of the Housing Bureau (*lakáshivatal*). Recently married couples very often continued to live separately, others did not marry because of the severe housing problem. The Housing Bureau, when assigning available space, took into consideration the applicant's political reliability. Good *kaders* were given a preference.

From the point of view of plumbing and appliances, Budapest was a much better place than the provinces. Many of the apartment houses had central heating systems, and were equipped with bathrooms. In the provinces such things as running hot and cold water and bathing facilities were rather a rarity.

The best furnished places were the old apartments. Furni-

ture was very expensive. One room furniture, ^{mass-produced}~~custom-made~~ (typusbutor) was 8,000 to 10,000 forints and up. People were saving for many years to buy one room of furniture, or else were paying their debt month after month for years.

- (9a) Consumer goods of the everyday variety were occasionally difficult to get. Such items as sugar, salt, flour, etc. A shipment would arrive to the local store and people would immediately swarm the place. The period 1953-1956, was relatively better. Up until 1953, the distribution of food proceeded on the basis of coupons (élelmiszerjegyek). This, of course, necessitated long queues.

The case was not better even after 1953, regarding such items as lemons, rice and imported products generally or items which Hungary did not produce in sufficient quantities. One was obliged to stand in lines also when purchasing the Sunday meat on Saturday. Since no refrigeration facilities were available in private homes, such meat could not be bought earlier. Very often we also had to wait long when purchasing lard. In a word, the items for which we waited, sometimes in vain, varied from time to time, only the waiting in queues persisted. Once a person got into the store, he was limited to a certain quantity, i.e., a pound of rice, two ^{pounds}~~pounds~~ of meat, etc., depending on the available supply. These amounts were usually posted.

- (9b) The availability of food varied a great deal. But the supply of clothing items also fluctuated. This was also true of station-

ary goods, particularly in the fall. Often enough many of these things were available but the planning was haphazard and the calculations faulty. Somewhere along the line a ~~man~~ bureaucrat missed a number or two which then resulted in a general confusion.

- (9c) Most items were purchased in state stores. There were hardly any other possibilities. The few private stores or artisans^s who still existed charged much higher prices. Their tax was high and they received their products at much higher prices from the warehouses than the state stores. Peasant markets there were none. Vegetables and fruit we produced in our own garden. We went to the black market for such items as rice, pepper, lemons, caraway seed (kömény), etc. Prices there ran to 130-150 percent.
- (9d) There was an improvement after 1953. The export shipments were reduced and the inland supply became better. The improvement was particularly noticeable in food items. Also, after 1953, some of the factories devoted some of their production capacity to consumer goods. Coal shovels, for instance, appeared after 1953, for the first time ~~again~~.
- (10) The organization of Hungary's economic life was based on a hypothesis or, to be more precise, on one of the doctrines of the Communist Party. According to this the state must have a significant heavy industry and continuous industrialization is a must. The degree of transformation of an agricultural state

into an industrial state is at the same time the measure of socialist progress and achievement. In the Soviet Union this development is 30 years old and it certainly was not a fortunate one. In Hungary these changes were brought about within eight years, without capital, the developments were based ~~not~~ solely on a systematic lowering of the population's standard of living. The entire program was carried out by reducing the population to naked poverty.

After 1948, a series of large capital investments were effected, investments which represented a very large portion of our national income. Characteristic of the proportions of these investments is the iron works of Stalinváros. The huge undertaking was originally built in Mohács. The plan was to utilize iron ore from Yugoslavia and coal from the neighboring satellite countries. The huge structure was half way finished at Mohács when our relations with Yugoslavia were broken. Whereupon the plant was dismantled and was transferred to Stalinváros, there to operate on the basis of Russian ore and Polish coal. The truth is that there is not even a faint hope that this concern will be able to operate rationally and economically after the lapse of a few decades.

Take the underground railway (Budapest subway); this project was started around 1950, and it cost the state many millions each year. Having expended enormous sums, the project was abandoned in 1953. As it turned out, the sub-soil of Budapest was not suitable for the construction of a railway; the

soil was too loose.

Take the construction of the main eastern canal (Keleti fűcsatorna); this was started during 1948 or 1949. The canal runs through the Hortobágy Puszta and connected^s the Tisza and Maros rivers. This project was of more value. While it drained the economy and made life more difficult, it at the same time turned the Hortobágy Puszta into arable land. Irrigation also improved the arid regions of Nagykunság.

The hydro-electric works (erőmű) of Tiszapolkány was also another ambitious project; a dam was built there on the Tisza ~~river~~ for the production of electricity. Another large undertaking was the combine of Kazinc^C-Barcsika, and one could go on enumerating the many lesser works which were constructed.

Of these, Tiszapolkány, Kazinc^C-Barcsika and the quarry (kőbánya) of Recsk were constructed in their entirety by Hungarian prisoners, who were not paid a cent for their labors.

As a result of these enormous capital investments, the peace loans were raised to 10-15 percent, and the large-scale construction was financed in partly by a lowering of the workers' wages and partly by the tightening of the norms. The capital which ought to have been used for the production of consumers' goods was all channelled into the heavy industry sector.

The agricultural economy was disrupted and an accelerated collectivization¹ was forced upon the farmer. All this with the view of securing enough wheat for bread and fodder for the live-

stock.

The entire economic policy was mistaken and defective; Hungary^y has lost her mineral territories after the first World War. We did not have any of the important raw materials which, if available, could have justified the bringing into being of a heavy industry. All our raw materials had to be imported and, as a result, our industrial products were to^o expensive, & incapable of competing with goods of other countries either in European or world markets.

The heavy industry thus created was not in the position of producing quality products because, hoping to reduce costs, the regime constantly tried to use raw materials ~~if~~ available in Hungary as substitutes for imported raw materials. Also, transportation problems were notoriously unsolved, supplies were delayed, production targets, at the same time, had to be met in full. The result: a high percentage of scrap and rejects (selejt).

Imre Nagy recognized all this and, in his 1953, speech to the Parliament gave an excellent analysis of our economic maladies. In outlining his policy he defined the reduction of the heavy industry and the intensification of agricultural production as his goal. There was to be a pronounced emphasis on those branches of the industry which could utilize our own agricultural products as raw materials.

(10a) No. It was not a healthy development.

(10b) Our economic structure should have been adopted^{ed} to the naturally existing conditions of the country. The Soviet Union was in a position to do what she did economically, because she had an abundant ~~abundant~~ supply of raw materials, and she could erect factories on sites where the raw materials lay. We were in no position to duplicate this procedure. More than that, our whole economic structure was thus built and designed under pressure and at the instigation of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union wanted to see a heavy industry in Hungary because she wanted to create a market for her surplus raw materials which she was able to sell at high prices. In contrast, uranium ore, the raw material we ourselves possessed in significant quantities and which we should have exploited ourselves, was handed over by our government to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union had an exclusive concession in this field and Hungarian scientists, including the nuclear ~~physicist~~^{physicist} Professor Jánosy, were not even permitted to come near the scene. Jánosy was taken to the Soviet Union later and his fate is not known.

The situation was similar with regard ~~with regard~~ to our bauxite resources. This aluminum ore was shipped out, partly in raw form, partly in the form of a semi-finished metal, to the Soviet Union and returned to Hungary as a finished product. The situation was very similar to that prevailing during the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; our raw materials were shipped out and we were obliged to purchase the expensive finished goods back again.

(10c) The basic fact here is that after Trianon, Horthy and his entourage took over the power in Hungary, and used this power for their own personal economic benefit. Secure in their own little world they were foolish enough not to carry out the necessary reforms. This self-centered ^{attitude} characterizes the ~~the~~ policies of the Horthy regime between two wars.

W To this basic fact we must add the equally important element of Hungary's actual position after the first World War; we were forced to pay reparations, our mineral resources were taken away from us, and the world wide economic crisis affected Hungary much more than it did other countries.

After 1938, the war did bring about an economic upswing, but our economic situation in the inter-bellum period nevertheless must be considered as a negative one.

Our great economic problems were great indeed already after the first World War. But the greatest of these, the land reform and the adequate adjustment of our wage policies remained unsolved. Had they been solved adequately in time, perhaps our whole orientation might have been different and perhaps the post war events after 1945, would also have taken a different course and trend.

(10c2) In 1938, a general economic revival and prosperity set in ~~in~~ ^{and} this continued well into the war years. We have supplied Germany with all kinds of goods, a great amount of industrial products came ^M to us from there and, with these, also entered the German ~~mark~~ ^e. There was a total employment and unemployment was non-existent.

During this time the Jews were gradually forced out of Hungary's industrial and business ranks, - fields where, up until 1941, they had a considerable basis and influence. Many a person was able to secure for himself a good job during this period, capital became more freely available, primarily to those who were in the Horthy camp. This, we must bear in mind, was plain robbery; they took things away from one group and gave that to another group, which, in itself, is not an economic achievement but simply lifting of a less advantageously situated strata into a better position.

(10d) The period immediately after 1944, was, for Hungary, a period following a lost war. A lost war never did bring about an improvement in the economy. We were robbed by the Germans and, when they left, we were robbed by the Russians. If you add to this the damage caused by bombings and armies fighting on our soil, and the resultant dislocation and changes, the result is economic disaster.

The land reform itself represented a great dislocation and changes and loss^s in our agriculture but we had to view it as a social and human obligation and we carried it out.

Between^{en} 1945-1947 there was a decided improvement and progress, especially after August 1946, when our ~~ex~~ new currency, the forint, reached a high stability.

The currency reform and stabilization was carried out according to plans made by Béla Imrédy. Imrédy, the former prime minister and foremost currency expert, was incarcerated at the

time. He prepared his blueprints at his leisure in jail and offered them to Rákosi in exchange for his life. He sent his plans to Rákosi and Rákosi used them but Imrédy was executed, nevertheless. Forint, the very name of the new monetary unit was Imrédy's idea. Imrédy gone, the Communist Party claimed credit in all the world for the excellent work.

After 1946, our exports to the West was considerable. The small land holders achieved good results and the industrial and commercial undertakings, still privately owned, began an unprecedented expansion. The most interesting phenomenon in this post-war industrial expansion was the tendency of agricultural-industrial co-operation. Agriculture tended to abandon the traditional practice of producing cereals only and turned more and more to industrial crops; industry, in turn, gravitated automatically so to speak, to types of production where agricultural products were the raw materials.

The splendid development was cut to pieces by the Communists in 1948. What happened after 1948, should become increasingly evident to you from what I have said earlier during the interview.

(10e) The argument of consumer goods versus heavy industry and capital goods was not a sharp and pronounced one between 1945-1948. The cabinet was practically unanimous then that our industry should primarily ~~be~~ devote itself to the production of consumer goods. The argument began in 1947, during the debate on the first Three-Year Plan when the Communists tossed in the question of heavy industry, more specifically the tooling industry (szerszámgyártás).

They proposed that Hungary should build up a heavy industry and pave the way for the production of tooling machines for export.

Even as ^{these} ~~this~~ discussions went on during the Three-Year Plan debate, the MÁVAG was voted a large sum for investment purposes practically without a debate.

The debates centered around the pregnant question of Socialist versus bourgeois-democratic (polgári-demokrata) economics. Foremost among the opponents of Socialist economics was József Bognár who later became one of the most subservient servants of the regime.

It was this debate on theory which served as a basis of attack against the right-wing of the Social Democratic Party, leading ultimately to the elimination of the Social Democratic Party in June 1948, when the Hungarian Workers' Party (MDP) was created.

The economic policy of Imre Nagy in 1953, represented a sharp rejection of the entire concept of forceful industrialization. After 1953, the still unfinished larger projects (such as the Budapest subway) were simply abandoned. The production of consumer goods was emphasized and was carried out even in the machine tool industry.

(10f) After 1953, very many people (farmers) left the agricultural kolchozes. This set the pattern and soon a number of small scale service industries (ellátó kisipar) and artisan workshops (kisműhelyek) sprang up everywhere.

As the political struggle between Rákosi and Nagy fluctuated in

this period, so appeared waves of contradictory orders, some favoring, some impeding the re-establishment of the private sector. Nagy said the farmers could leave the co-operatives, while Rákosi insisted that first they would have to pay in full and in cash their share of the co-operatives' ~~own~~ debts. They were free to go and to become independent farmers again, but their livestock and implements could not be taken out. They not only had to pay but also had to re-invest in implements and livestock. Not very many were financially strong enough to do so.

This same thing happened to the small merchants. Yes, they did get their licenses and permits to operate again, but these licenses were issued for stores to be opened in the peripheries and outlying districts where it did not pay to open a store in the first place. Those who did ^ochoose independence, ~~nevertheless~~, ^{none}soon found out how utterly dependent they were on supplies from the government warehouses. They were given limited supplies and even that only once in a while. Whatever they received they sold at a higher price because they themselves received those goods at a higher price from the government, and the people, driven by necessity, all gravitated to the government stores where everything was cheaper.

The fate of the small artisans was not much brighter. They had a hard time trying to find raw materials. If and when they ~~received~~ received a supply from the government, they, too, had to pay a higher price than their counterparts in government stores. Thus, if you wanted to patronize a private cobbler, and brought

him your shoes for repair, you also had to bring with you a pair of soles.

This went on until the Revolution. The process of liberalization reached a critical point in 1955. Hegedüs did not at once try to erase all that Nagy brought about. 1953-1956 is pretty much a unit, the actual repression is ^{to be} re-introduced beginning only in 1956. Neither the people (individually) nor public opinion ~~was~~ ^{were} prepared to acquiesce in, and accept this retrogression and this, no doubt, contributed to the outbreak of the Revolution.

(10g) Things were better in 1956, than in the period 1948-1953 but were worse than under Nagy.

Since Nagy eliminated from his program ~~the~~ the large-scale industrializations and since projects already begun were abandoned, peace-loans were no longer compulsory. Neither did Hegedüs dare touch the norms. While the norms remained the same, factory leaders shut their eyes to ~~the~~ ~~many~~ many rationalizations (simplification of processes) and so the norms remained loose.

In agriculture, forced deliveries continued to be the rule, but peasants were permitted to sell at the same time whatever surplus they might have ~~had~~ ^{had on the open} (not regulated) agricultural markets.

There was a better supply of consumer goods and gradually people were able to buy a few items occasionally.

There was also a noticeable ray of sunlight in the political climate. People began to move around more freely and many of them changed their jobs. All this could be accomplished without

the ~~form~~ former red tape and without a careful ~~scrutiny~~ ^{scrutiny} of the kader sheets. After 1953, - though the old formalities remained - people were usually granted permission to change jobs whenever they applied for such a change. This resulted in more freedom and better income. Coupled with this, participation in political discussions also lost much of its dangers and ~~its~~ terrors of former times.

- (11) They were very important, indeed. The fact is indisputable that the people were conscious of how useless and hopeless a life they were leading. ^{There} ~~There~~ was not a ray of hope there. They earned just enough to buy what ~~was~~ were really the bare necessities of life, only occasionally having some money left for something else.

There was in Hungary no possibility of saving for the sake of security (Teljes vagyonbizonytalanság uralkodott). People could not even aspire to purchase for themselves such things, as a house, farm, etc., the possession of which represents the ultimate aim and goal in the lives of most individuals.

This created a certain discontentment. Opportunities of earning money were equally not within the free choice of the worker. He was transferred from one job to another without having any say-so in his own fate. This, too, nourished the discontentment. These were some of the economic problems of the average man and all his other grievances were rooted in this ~~big~~ basic problem, he registered them (became aware of them) through, and because of, his economic troubles. It was

through his material conditions that he saw the various injustices and peculiarities of the regime; he could not buy a book, or he could not buy what he wanted to buy. It was through this all that people saw how they were standing face to face with a state power, a collossus that declares the happiness and well-being of people to be its only aim, a collossus, however, whose visible actions distinctly negate and oppose its declared lofty aim.

We did not revolt earlier, because it was not possible and because we were not sure ourselves. We were exposed to Communism for the first time only after 1948. We tasted it and we still waited for the results they promised. Later we saw how the building is cracking, how presumably sage and wise men do nothing about it, or can do nothing about it. Soon came the writers, the Petöfi Circle, people took on courage and became resolute and determined. Still later came the rehabilitation of Rajk. That, indeed, was an incredibly stupendous event.

People, when they are in a very difficult situation and are weak will suffer (törnek), but when they eat, they stretch (kinyújtóznak), their aims become higher and they are no longer prepared to suffer. A man who is ^{writhed} ~~ripped~~ with pain and is laying on the ground is not a dangerous man. But if he thinks he is able to hit then things may happen. Revolutions happen in the spring.

(11a) I could repeat again what I said to the previous question.

Economic interest is one of the greatest moving forces in a man's life. Well understood egotism is the driving force in economics (Helyesenfelfogott önérdék a nemzetgazdaság mozdító ereje) said Adam Smith once.

(11b) Certainly economic affairs are more important than cultural affairs. I may forgo the latter but I cannot go without bread. The question does not sound right (Sántit egy kicsit a kérdés). All other complaints are stemming from economic problems. We had to keep quiet, because of the AVH. We witnessed the elevation of a few men to positions of gods. These men, in their new capacities, were declared infallible and we had to do whatever they told us to do in spite of the fact that we saw that they were wrong. There was the question of prisons; there were few families who did not have some one or another in prisons. There was the absence of consumer goods and innumerable smaller grievances.

(11c) There were only three groups of people (peasants, workers, intellectuals) and people in every group had plenty to complain about. (I'm not speaking here of Party members and other privileged segments).

The independent peasants were burdened with taxes, ^{bailiffs} baliffs (vegrehajtó). The AVH and the TszCs delegations constantly pressed them to enter the cooperatives. Those who were members of the cooperatives did not earn enough money to live by. They were forced to go and work someplace else during the winter.

The factory worker made 800-1400 forints per month. Both he

and his wife were working to be able to feed their children. While they were ~~not~~ working, the children were at home, alone, doing whatever they pleased. They could not buy enough food, let alone clothes. The men were drinking, in despair. Never before were there ~~some~~ many ^{alcoholics} ~~alcoholics~~ in Hungary. Completely drunk, they would go home with their wives waiting for them already full of complaints; no potatoes, no shoes, etc.

The intellectuals; they were ~~not~~ poorly paid. Every move of theirs was strictly checked and observed; their relationship to work, political checks, etc. There would be meetings, the seminars, the comments they were forced to make, the newspapers they were forced to read, the praising of Stalin and of others, all these did not tend to cheer up the intellectuals.

There was a slight chance for the better during 1953-56, but that was only a temporary relaxation - a slightly more humane life - not a real change.

- (1) I have completed three years of study at the University.
- (1 a) I attended a Jewish elementary school in Turkeve (1930-1934); I spent the next four years at a high school, the Budapest Állami Váci-úti Polgári Iskola, (1934-1938); I spent the next four years (1938-1942) at the Budapest Vas-utcai gróf Széchenyi István college of commerce (felsőkereskedelmi), taking my maturity examination (érettsegi) in 1942. From 1942 to 1944 I attended the School of Economics of the József Nádor Technical and Economic University (József Nádor Műszaki és Gazdasági Egyetem Közgazdasági Kara). My studies were interrupted ~~between~~ ^{between} 1944 and 1947. In 1947, I went back to the same university and studied for another year (1947-1948).
- (1 b) I received my elementary school training at a denominational (Jewish) school. Thereafter I always attended public schools.
- (1 c) Yes. At the time I attended university, it was still conducted according to the old system. The reorganization of the universities began only in the fall of 1948. After 1948, this school became a Marxist university. There was no structural change until 1948 and the professors were not replaced either.
- (1 d) No.
- (1 e) My parents did not enjoy good material circumstances. Sending me to school presented a great problem. My parents are simple people. My grade school teacher finally persuaded them of the advisability of sending me to higher schools. The four-year high school (polgári)

appeared to them to be the most feasible and, at the same time, the cheapest one. Having reached good results there, it was again one of my high school instructors who ~~x~~ convinced my parents of the need of my continuing my studies. He recommended commercial college because there no Latin background was necessary (I did not have a Latin background). Having graduated from the college of commerce (kereskedelmi), I made the personal decision of entering the ~~E~~ Economics University; in this decision I was prompted by the unsettled economic conditions of Hungary. Questions which always interested me deeply, the land reform, the social status of peasants and workers, made me decide to study and acquaint myself more thoroughly with the problems of our country's economic life. This is why I decided to study economics.

(2)

Yes.

(2 a)

I wanted to finish my studies at the University, to earn a Ph.D. degree. I contemplate continuing my studies even now.

(2 b)

See answer to Question 1 e.

(2 c)

Viewing my career in Hungary, I believe ~~E~~ I managed to get what I wanted to get. I was a Member of Parliament and the leader of the largest youth group in Hungary. After all, a man 22-23 years old cannot desire much more than that.

(2 d)

All in all, I was a superior student. Otherwise I could not very well have continued my studies. My parents made the immense sacrifices of letting me go. I had to take care of the rest. I did not have to pay tuition and I received all my textbooks free of charge.

(2 e)

This would be an overstatement. In studies, yes, there I did have equal

opportunity. But those who enjoyed better economic circumstances acquired their education much more easily and with less effort than I did. There were clearly recognizable *class* barriers, and differentiations. I am not complaining here, merely stating facts.

(3)

Not applicable.

(4)

There were certain clearly admitted pedagogical aims and goals; among these was the upbringing of a generation in Communist milieu; a generation with a Socialist Weltanschauung, the cementing of a generation whose thinking would be along Communist lines. Révai repeatedly stated that Communism in Hungary will stand or fall ~~on~~ depending on the Communists' ability to produce a succession of Communist generations. Only then are we going to start on the road of Socialism. This was the gist of his speech in Parliament which he delivered as early as 1947, during the debate on the Ministry of Education's budget.

(4a)

They tried first of all to give, -- and this is my personal opinion now -- an ideological training from the Kindergarten on. They dealt a great deal with questions of social justice. On the niveau of the grade-school pupils they conducted seminars, and the teachers told a great many facts and tales about Stalin and about Rakosi to their pupils.

In the "Úttörő" (Pioneer) movement, in which all the students, save the intellectually very weak^{nes} and the bad cadres participated, the Communists employed the~~se~~ educational principles employed by the scouts.

On the secondary-school and university levels, the DISZ circles were highly emphasized. The continued good standing of holders of university~~s~~ scholarships

depended solely on the work they performed in the DISZ. Once a week meetings and seminars were held.

Every university had a Marxist chair. (Faculty). Every school on all levels taught the Russian language. The teaching of the Russian language was used as an effective means of propagating the ideology and of exerting cultural influence. The ideological training was well organized and very thorough.

In the period 1948-1950, the ideology was stressed, even to the detriment of scholastic achievement. Scholastic results were considered secondary then. After 1954, scholastic competence was equally stressed.

The Communists made a careful selection of the student body. They were looking for good students whose cadre was good and did everything to prompt these. With the help of carefully prepared statistics, they constantly analyzed and controlled the composition of the university student body, keeping the ratio of the undesirables well under ten percent.

62 In 1945, the old teachers were still performing their tasks. Between 1945-1948, a large number of good cadres were quickly trained as teachers and were placed in strategic positions. Small cells of Communist teachers exercised control over the schools' faculties. ~~XXXX~~ With very few exceptions, only reliable party people were employed as school administrators.

In the period 1948-1953, the Communists attempted to change the entire faculty of the universities. They succeeded in replacing the old personnel, but the standards suffered a great deal in the process. Before the war, the niveau of Hungarian universities was rated high. This was no longer the case after 1948-1953. All the well-known professors who enjoyed an European

reputation were pensioned, or were assigned insignificant tasks, or else were fired outright.

In my university, only two professors remained after 1948. The old faculty was replaced with new men, young men, among whom there were one or two brilliant people, but the majority were grey and ~~ERREER~~ obscure individuals. Their talents were good enough for secondary schools, but not^t for universities. The final result of this wholesa^{ale} changeover was a substantial lowering of university standards.

(4b) The Revolution most effectively answered this question. It was the work of, and was carried primarily by, secondary-school and university students and by graduates of these Communist institutions. Think of the deputations that went to the radio building, think of the MEFESZ delegation.

(4c) The Communist school policy made the children remarkably mature. It was sad, indeed, to observe how already in elementary schools children learned the art of accomodating themselves to the extraordinary circumstances, they knew precisely what they were supposed to say, what they were permitted to say, and what they were never to say in school. The children did not go much for the ideological things. Their attitude was similar to our attitude to required readings. Rather than read the classics, we used the syllabus method and studied the outlines. I Later we realized how good a reading we missed, but at the time we thought the required readings were outrageous. So were the children with the ideology. They did not pay much attention to the lectures (egyik félón be, a másikon ki). Most students gave mechanical answers to questions^{ERRE} on^{ERRE} examinations, with no one taking the whole thing seriously, not even the smallest children. It was just like the compulsory Sunday Mass

in older times; the pupils' main interest then was to be physically present, so his teacher could see him, but he neither knew nor did he pay much attention to what the priest was actually saying. Such was the case with the ideology, too, from the first grade on to the universities. It was considered fashionable to oppose the teacher and to find plausible pretexts to avoid a lecture, and those who engaged in this sort of thing were looked up to. (Divat volt a közbeszólás, vagányság ellenkezni és kibújni).

(4 d) I don't know.

(4 c) See answer to Question 4 c.

(4 f) The aversion of students did not change. In other respects there were marked changes. After 1953, it was the students who first availed themselves of the opportunity of freedom to criticize. Since instructors were ever ready to discuss various problems, the criticizing mood developed markedly and the students eagerly used every opportunity to raise controversial questions.

In the fall of 1956 (before the Revolution), the compulsory study of the Russian language was abolished. Russian became an elective subject. Every student was permitted to freely choose his foreign languages. Very few students chose to continue studying Russian.

(4 g) Youngsters of today are of course different from those in my days. Harder times tend to train and educate people better. Our lives were by no means free of difficulties and complications. Yet we lived a carefree life. I was completely free to do and to think as I pleased. I was free to declare myself an Atheist. This sort of freedom was not given to the youth of today. The absence of these material and intellectual freedoms made the youngsters a more serious lot.

more thoughtful and deliberate in their ways, and more yearning at the same time.

A group of this youth, the 2000-member ~~MEFESZ~~ meeting, drafted the 16 points. If we read the points, we clearly discern in them the splendid presentation of the Hungarian people's main grievances. This document alone would fully attest to the remarkable maturity and foresight of our youth. It is a curious accident indeed, that the difference between 1848 and ~~1848~~ 1956 is a difference of wording of the drafts only. I consider it remarkable that our youth was able to find during those problem-ridden days a formula designed to secure us both a national independence and human (individual) freedom.

I read a great deal about the era of Reformation in Hungary. I was astonished when I read of young Hungarians who became preachers, young men who have given their lives ^{to} ~~for~~ a cause, to have gone to far-off universities in foreign lands to prepare themselves for this service. These preachers had to overcome tremendous obstacles and reached their goals in a roundabout way.

The youth of today have also made unheard-of efforts to keep abreast of the more significant intellectual cross-currents, something which was absolutely necessary for the drafting of the 16 points.

Our youth did have a love of forbidden things, it felt the attraction of perilous undertakings.

(4L) We have not seen much of them, and when we did see them, we could only register surface appearances. They all had a characteristic quality; they made every attempt to take lightly and almost jokingly serious questions. They took this attitude in order to be able to treat ideological questions in a light manner. This was their defense against their teachers and instructors.

I did not think much of this youth up until the Revolution. I looked upon their thoughtlessness and prodigality as a symptom of a radical change, as indicating a profound recklessness. It soon turned out that underneath the surface-appearance ~~XXXX~~ ^{they} were seriously thinking men. They did their serious thinking when completely alone, because they knew only too well that thinking in the open, in public, could not be conducive to their well-being. I never realized, for instance, that these young men, so superficial when in the open, were listening to the Western radios, were engaged in studying Western languages and were reading German, French, and English literature written before the second World War.

This was a completely misunderstood generation. Both Communists and anti-Communists misjudged them. We considered them to be much too weak, lacking backbone and resolution and determination. The Communists, on the other hand, looked upon them as absolutely reliable. They believed that the Moscow stipends and scholarships will make this youth loyal, faithful, and docile Communists.

(4 1) Generally speaking, all kinds of education is most effective in the early youth. Already the Ottoman Turks recognized this truth when they selected young children to be ~~XX~~ trained as janissaries. This very same method was tried by the Russians; they erected janissary schools for foreign students. The fact that the system did not prove successful ~~XXX~~ ^{must} primarily be explained by the internal contradictions so plainly evident in the regime.

Students in the age brackets of 18-20 everywhere experience

an instinct-like urge of acquiring all sorts of knowledge. They are craving for free access to all sorts of information. They would like to know everything, to learn of every secret. They are conscious of their capabilities and they seek out areas where to employ them. It was at this point that the Communist education collapsed. They very definitely pulled down the iron gates (rendkívül határozott sorompókat engedték le) and set arbitrary limits beyond which the student could not hope to go. The youth looked upon this procedure as does the bull upon the red cloth. Those areas of enquiry which are beyond reach because shut off by human arbitrariness, the things about which one is not permitted to speak freely, are extremely interesting. Forbidden things have a curious gravitational power and their learning and mastery becomes the non plus ultra of a young man's desire.

Communist education would have been eminently successful if the educational processes and the access to all sorts of information had been free, if the internal contradictions of the regime had not been present, if the instructors could have proved clearly and beyond doubt that of all social and economic systems the Socialist system was unquestionably the best.

The gravest of all the mistakes of the system was the fact that it did not allow opportunities for free debate. Instead of free discussion, the system imposed laws and regulations upon

the youth at a time when the youth was least receptive to arbitrary rules. The rigid exclusion of certain areas and problems from free discussion had a decidedly destructive impact on the Hungarian youth.

- (5) My father had two and a half $\frac{1}{2}$ holds of land which he cultivated. He was working in a factory besides this. His work in the factory was only seasonal and occurred in years when the agricultural economy did not prosper.
- (5 a) No, he did not. He received an additional two and a half holds of land as a result of the land reform and now he no longer worked in the factory.
- (5 b) What could my opinion have been? My father was an upright, honest, and industrious man, who ~~was~~ devoted himself to his family and led a sober life. It was not his fault, but the force of circumstances, that he did not achieve a higher state in life.
- (5 c) He completed six years of elementary schooling.
- (5 d) We never had any servants.
- (5 e) My parents had a house and five holds of land. I, too, had a house.
- (5 f) We were poor people. Compared to other people in the same social class we had a very good life. My parents were very understanding, they gave us all we needed.
- (5 g) There were the five of us (three children).
- (5 h) All five members of the family are still alive.
- (5 i) No, I married in the meantime and founded my own family.
- (5 j) Father, mother, and sisters and brothers constitute the family.

This composition later changes and expands; my sister's husband and their children, my second sister's family and my wife's family become part of it. After the initial expansion, the family contracts again.

- (5 k) I cannot speak of any advantages resulting from my social origin. My class origin became an outright disadvantage in prison; it was very hard to prove that I was a reactionary.
- (6) Yes.
- (6 a) My wife worked on a Hollerit machine (she was an IBM bookkeeper in a statistical concern). She was employed in a supervisory capacity.
- (6 b) I am married since 1945.
- (6 c) I ~~had~~^{have} two children (daughters).
- (6 d) The ~~oldest~~^{is} girl was ten years old, the younger ~~was~~^{is} eight.
- (7) Not applicable.
- (8) Yes, I talked to my wife about political matters.
- (8 a) We discussed acute questions of the day.
- (8 b) No.
- (9) Yes, we had tremendous problems and troubles. There was a duality (kettősség) between the family life and the instruction given at school. Our children received formal religious instruction, and in spite of this we had many troubles. The difficulty was ever present of explaining a truth which was true only in our family circle, but not in school. Our children knew precisely what they may and what they must not say in school.

- (10) Yes, the school did exert a great influence. They were taught in school that there were two types of people: those who were Socialists were exemplary and loyal persons; those who were not Socialists did not possess any positive qualities. They were only second or third rate people.
- (11) Our relations were very good.
- (12) Yes, I did.
- (12 a) We discussed important or timely issues of the day.
- (12 b) No.
- (13) I always was, and still am, in a very pleasant circumstance in this respect. My dear mother, though her education was rather rudimentary, was an extremely sensitive and thoughtful person. She always reacted very sensitively on her cultural level to whatever was beautiful or interesting. Through my mother, this point of view became an integral part of my own life too.
- (13 a) I had complete freedom in this respect, limited only by our material resources.
- (13 b) I don't remember any instance of parental interference in this connection. It is true that I did not make friends easily. I always had^{only}/a very few friends. And even these few became my friends only after a long time, after I learned them thoroughly. My mother enjoyed company. My friends were coming to our home and I went to theirs. My mother was well acquainted with all my friends.

- (13 c) In our family I was the only intellectual in many generations. The consequence of this was that I enjoyed a great respect in the circle of both my immediate family and among the relatives. I got used to a situation where my advice and opinion were eagerly sought after, but, at the same time, I had to be very careful what I was saying because whatever I said was taken seriously and remembered.
- (13 d) My father was a Calvinist and my mother was Roman Catholic. My two sisters were Catholics and I am a Calvinist. Our family was religiously mixed. This fact meant two things: there was an internal, real religious tolerance within the family. My mother held that everyone is completely free to lead such religious life as he thinks best. My father was not a religious person. He went to church once or twice a year, paid his church taxes, and that was all.

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My mother was a woman who led a much more sensitive and deeper spiritual life. She was very religious in her early youth. She was extremely sensitive. She ~~g~~ craved the good and the beautiful. She disliked and detested the contradictions which all too often were rather apparent between what the priests were preaching and what they themselves practiced. She was very religious and God-fearing in her own way, and yet at the same time she gave us great freedom to determine our own relationship to this question.

I myself passed through various periods; I was a rationalist at one time, then an atheist, and still later a believer. This all took place during my adolescent years. At the time I was eighteen, the only authority I recognized was reason. Later I became acquainted with contradictions in the lives of religious people. Outwardly their lives were good and beautiful, but inwardly they did not pay any attention to religious principles. Still later I became a member of a youth organization and there made the acquaintance of an excellent Calvinist priest. It was due to his influence that from then on I again am a believer.

- (13 e) I grew up with my two sisters. I was quite used to the company of girls. The family's life was very healthy from this point of view.
- (13 f) No.
- (14) I married in 1945. In 1948 I was arrested. In 1953 I was set free again. All in all, I spent six years together with my wife, which is not too long a time. I was very satisfied with my marriage and with my family life.
- (14 a) We lived a very fine family life. My wife was patient and understanding. She looked over my deficiencies and faults and impatience.
- (14 b) Our life was not typical.
- (14 c) I practically never had any leisure time. There was a great amount of work to be done. We lived in the province. There was

always work around the house, in our large garden with the orchard trees. Besides, I had two daughters. They expropriated every bit of time I had.

- (14 d) We were very seldom home at the same time. Both my wife and I worked in two shifts. And these shifts quite often did not run parallel. We did not have much time together.
- (14 e) We were together on Saturdays and Sundays and on weekdays whenever circumstances permitted.
- (14 f) I could not travel abroad, for instance, I could not read those books which I wanted to read, or which would have interested me. I could not go to the theater or to concerts as often as I would have liked to. I was only able to bring my daughters to a few places, when I would have liked to show them much more.
- (14 g) I was under constant police supervision. I was not permitted to leave the village in which I lived. I was not permitted to go to the movies, to the theater, to a restaurant, or to any other place of assembly. I could not have a telephone. My correspondence was strictly checked. I was not permitted to have a radio capable of receiving foreign broadcasts. I had to be at home at 10 p.m. every day and could not leave the premises before 6. (This latter point was not strictly observed). I had to report once a week to the police.
- (15) Family ties certainly loosened after 1945. This was an officially-supported tendency. In order to loosen family ties, the economic

plan

~~XXX~~ was so constituted that everybody had to work. People were kept in the shops even after the workday ended. Sports events, entertainments, common excursions and parties were held at the factory, not to mention the various meetings and seminars and production conferences. In a word, the place of work became the center of a man's life.

The regime encouraged childbirth outside the family. In the fifties, official placards proclaimed that giving birth to a child was the obligation ~~of~~^{of} the mother, but it was glory in the case of an unwed girl.

The concept of an illegitimate child was abolished. The child's mother could claim any male at all as her child's father, without running the risk of ever being prosecuted. Since the illegitimate child did not bear the name of the mother, there was no such thing as an illegitimate child.

- (15 a) Yes and no. It always depended on the actual situation, on the circumstances, and on the character of the family members. Generally speaking yes, but in numerous instances no.

Anti-democratic political attitude on the part of husband or wife was a recognized cause for divorce. If the husband was under police supervision, or in jail, or interned, the wife could divorce him automatically and keep all the husbands' belongings and estate. There were innumerable incidents when the wife

actually took advantage of this opportunity. I knew a great many people at Kistarcsa (forced labor camp) who were thus divorced. The law worked the other way round, too, but it was generally the wives, not the husbands, who terminated the marital contracts.

- (15 b) They were absolutely dependent on each other. The family constituted a defensive and offensive alliance (^dvé^d- és dacszövetség), if the family members understood each other. This dependence was further underlined by an economic dependence; both husband and wife worked, many families in the wider sense lived ~~together~~ together because of the bad housing conditions. I, too, lived with my in-laws. We lived together, the six of us.
- (15 c) Parent-child relationship did become more loose. Children enjoyed more independence and more freedom. The schools endeavored to artificially loosen the ties between parents and children. The parent no longer represented an absolute and unquestioned authority. In many instances, the teachers encouraged their students to ~~bring about~~ bring about a situation at home where the parents ~~would be forced~~ would be forced to admit a standpoint contrary to that represented by the school or by themselves, and did all they could to make a success of this showdown. They, (the teachers), knew quite well what great moral force the family represented against communism.
- While all this is true, here again, the Revolution proved beyond doubt that the binding force of the family was far greater than that of the school.

(15 d) By and large this is equally true of town and country, but there are qualitative differences, resulting primarily from the natural divergence of town and country. In the city the checking and supervising of children is a great deal more difficult than in the country, especially if both parents are working. While the parents work, the city children may do whatever they want to do. It is more the school and their friends, rather than their parents, who are responsible for their education.

In the country all this is different. Usually the grandparents live there too. And the grandparents have more time and patience. They could attend to the children with more loving care.

(15 e) Yes, very definitely. Especially after 1948, when the old-type family life collapsed. Both parents were forced to go to work, the children were left in kindergartens, day nurseries, schools, or other institutions. Many a mother became despondent and impatient because of this situation, where they only saw their children for an hour or two a day. The child was still sleeping in the morning when the mother carried it to the day nursery. In the evening the child was brought home, was given supper, and was again put to bed to sleep. There was no way at all of educating these children.

(15 f) Divorce statistics rose substantially in the cities after the second World War. Innumerable people were taken prisoner and were kept in POW camps for ⁸/₁₀ years at times. The husband

came home and, if the wife had not divorced him as yet, both he and the wife soon found out how greatly they changed and the only way out was divorce. Or, if the husband was put to prison after the war and later was freed, the situation was rather similar.

Then the circumstances of life, too, have undergone a tremendous change. Both husband and wife worked all day, in the evening they were both tired, after they were kept at their respective working places* long after the actual work came to a close, at any rate the patience and understanding and forbearance toward one another was ~~so~~ oftentimes totally lacking.

Divorce procedures were made relatively easy. Above all, a divorce was not an expensive affair, and so people reconciled themselves to it easier than if it had represented a financial burden.

I know of a number of instances where young people ^m married, but, because of lack of housing facilities, they continued to live with their respective parents. After a while they either agreed to divorce outright or else took up residence with the in-laws and divorced shortly thereafter.

- (16) Relations between boys and girls became more free, and I suspect this change may have brought about salutary results. Absolute freedom, all the way down to sexual intercourse, certainly was not beneficial, but the co-education had certain advantages.

There developed a healthy rivalry between boys and girls which often resulted in better scholastic achievement. The necessary sexual information (felvilágosítás) could be given more smoothly in schools and was associated with less inhibition and less bizarre and unhealthy imagination. This is particularly true if it is realized that these problems affect both boys and girls at about the same time.

Under normal social conditions coeducation and the conducting of common girl-boy programs is good and right. In Hungary, because of the regime's political tendencies, the results of this experiment were ^{my} barred by rude excesses and immoralities. While the experiment was not a complete success, the new system had more advantages than disadvantages.

- (16 a) The age at which young people marry dropped; young men marry at an earlier age now than before. This was brought about primarily by changes in their economic status; ~~they~~^y becoming economically independent at an earlier age now than formerly. The marrying age now is 20-22-24, whereas formerly it was 26-30. There was no change in the marrying age of girls.
- (16 b) Yes, there were certain changes. Young men marry at a considerably younger age now. Before the second World War the accepted marrying age for males was around 30. Now it is around 20. In the courtship, too, the process of liberalization was everywhere noticeable. The change, coming as it did as a result of changes

effected in schools, was inevitable. It had its advantages and disadvantages. Young people were much more at ease when together, their relations were far less constrained than before, and their conversation as well as their social contacts lost much of their former stiffness and formality, to be replaced by easygoing, light, and, to a certain extent, more human and natural way. Young people were, in a word, free from social and ethical pressure or restraint. I recognize all the advantages of this liberalization, but the excessive libertinism (szabadosság) in which many indulged led, I must say, to the destruction of family life.

The Communists consciously fostered and encouraged this sort of development after 1948. In their efforts to break up the family, they not only sanctioned but advocated extra-marital sexual relationships. There were propaganda campaigns which openly proclaimed this sort of thing as the new, official version of conduct (asszonynak szülni kötelesség, leánynak szülni dicsőség). This ~~new~~^{false} morality was by no means universally rejected. Many looked upon it as a justification of their own desires and actions. The campaign was definitely poisonous and destructive.

Parents and society were totally opposed to this new standard of morality. Parents strove to bring up their children according to the old and accepted moral code and, while they did all they could to enforce this code of living at home, they were powerless and did not dare to openly denounce the official

innovations. The inevitable result was a curious duality of home and school, where parents and teachers desperately fought for hegemony over the children.

- (16 c) I am conservative in this respect. I subscribe to the old-world standards and I consider the family and social ideas of that old world (régebbi világ) as right and proper. The so-called ethical and honorⁿable family life remains, in my judgment, the basis and foundation of a normal social life. I cannot accept, even in principle, the point of view represented by the Communists.
- (16 d) Yes, very definitely. This loose sexual behavior was not, however, the rule. The official policy of the state did have the loosening of morals and of sexual behavior as its aim. But the society's reaction to these policies of the state was equally tremendous and far-reaching. The ~~XXXXX~~ state's policy was rejected by the great majority of the people and the government's proposals never really had a chance of success. This would only have been possible had the old generation suddenly died out with the new Communist generation delivering a vast and devastating blow to the remnants of accepted standards and usages and customs. AS it was, the old generation did not die out, and the Communists were not even able to indoctrinate the new generation.

When I speak of more loose social behavior, all I mean is that, such conduct having been officially sanctioned, boys and girls did have more opportunity to engage in irresponsible actions, and many of them did so act. These opportunities were available

in schools, in mixed camps and other places where boys and girls worked together, played together, and lived together without any supervision. In the absence of supervision and of definite programs, they naturally filled the gap with activities of their own choosing.

This much about the youth. With the older population the situation was not much better. There the laxity of the divorce laws and the ease with which a divorce action could be accomplished certainly did not contribute to moral stability. Divorce had no ill consequences either financially or socially, and many people took advantage of it considering it an easy way out of their difficulties. The number of divorced women is about 67,000. The number of those women who are divorced in fact, though not legally, is even larger.

- (16 e) Prostitution was not officially permitted. It had been abolished in 1947. *In Hungary, prior to 1947* there were officially sanctioned public houses of prostitution. My own belief is that prostitution flourished in Hungary, even after it had been abolished, no longer legally, but in secret, just ~~like~~ as is the case in all countries in every part of the world.
- (16 f) The Communists were decidedly less strict than the authorities before them in these matters. They abolished the legal and social concept of illegitimate child. There simply were no illegitimate

children in Hungary. The mother of such a child was able to name whomsoever she pleased as the father of the newly born. The Communists, then, were far more eager than the previous regimes in destroying the legal and social obstacles which formerly tended to check unethical behavior.

The Communist ideology contains the entire free-love (szabad szerelem) complex. It was because of tactical considerations that they more or less accepted the institution of the family. They certainly did not support this institution, but did all they could to ~~MAKE~~ loosen its ties.

(16 g) I don't have a precisely-formulated opinion on the question of birth-control. I am, of course, familiar with Malthus's arguments. But Malthus's prognostications have not become a reality, -- at least not up until now. Birth control was strictly prohibited in Hungary before the war. The prohibition did not actually entirely eliminate it, of course, and it was fairly widely practiced, especially among the poor of the villages where large crops of babies destroyed the already delicate economic balance. The women themselves or their incompetent neighbors performed usually these dangerous operations, which very often left the expectant mothers crippled or caused their death.

Birth control continued to be prohibited under Stalin. It was held then that the nation must develop quickly and that many workers were needed for the expanding economy. After 1953, the

government, recognizing the futility of prohibite^{ing} laws and desirous of avoiding the innumerable tragedies that resulted from the practice, permitted the formation of an AB Committee in Budapest, at the Rókus Hospital. This committee was empowered to permit an operation, either because of reasons of health or because of social considerations. Some physicians continued to handle abortion cases, but they were severely punished if apprehended.

In 1954 another law left it up to the parents whether to permit birth of a child or not.

Prophylactic devices were not used at all in Hungary. The devices that were available were extremely primitive and people did not use them for that reason.

(16hK) There are simply no illegitimate children in Hungary. (I already explained why.) It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to even guess what their number may be, because officially and legally there are none. The fact remains that there are many ladies who live alone with their son or daughter.

(16 1) The status of women has definitely changed in Hungary, especially after 1948. After 1948 the employment of women rose to unprecedented heights. Women were simply forced into the factories as a result of the introduction of planned economy. Before the ~~war~~ war the living wage (letminimum) of a family was calculated on the basis of the husband's earnings alone; after the war the

living wage represented a subsistence-money for the working individual and no more. The wages of the husband alone were barely sufficient for the family's food supply, -- ~~the~~^a very meager supply at that -- and the wife was obliged to go to work too. Adolescent children also joined their parents as soon as they could. This is the explanation of the phenomenal rise in the employment of women. The Communists were ~~then~~ determined to "lift the fair sex to its status of complete equality." Men and women of the same educational background received precisely the same consideration and pay in whatever field of endeavor.

As to the second part of your question, I do not think it was a good thing. I reject it because it represents the first step towards the systematic destruction of healthy family life. There are, of course, girls who want to work and who do not intend to marry. The primary purpose and natural task of women remains, nevertheless, motherhood and the rearing of children. ^{leaders} The ~~leaders~~ who direct Hungary's life did not leave any room for such development.

- (17) The general state of morals has certainly changed in the past decade. The level of morality has definitely sunk. This fact is undeniable. All we could do, at best, is to cite qualifying and extenuating circumstances to explain it. The niveau of morals was not high under Horthy either. That society, under Horthy, was a hypocritical one. They preached water and drank wine.

Our society, after the second World War, was a freer society. And because it was more free, we know much more about it; about its virtues and about its vices; we were able to freely discuss them and ~~never~~ no one ever^{er} thought of hiding them. And the freedom that the postwar society enjoyed did have its effect. It was a healthy change. If it were possible to compare statistics of "good families" of the prewar and postwar periods, the latter would present a much more satisfying picture, I suspect.

There is, of course, a seeming contradiction in what I say. I said that the level of morality had definitely sunk after the war and, at the same time, I claim that the postwar society compares favorably to that of the prewar period.

The general state of morals did sink after the war. Because the society is more free now than formerly, those actions which formerly were rejected as immoral and were, therefore, concealed, -- those very same actions are performed today in the open, under the eyes of the public. Marital unfaithfulness and adultery were formerly branded as unforgivable sins against public morality. Some people no doubt did commit such sins, but in secret. If apprehended, they made the headlines and the scandal had no end in sight. Today, married men and women are certainly no different. They do commit adulteries, especially on vacation resort spas, but they do it in the open. People do know that this man and that woman (both married, but not to each other) live together as husband and wife for weeks. No one pays any attention to such

incidents, they are no longer affairs.

Those who do live normal marital lives are much stronger today than before. They have strengthened and cleansed their inner lives. Communism was a touchstone to both their convictions and their determination to live by them; ~~NE~~ such families had no outside restraints or social convictions to keep them in check. Everybody was free to pick and choose husbands and ~~WIFE~~ wives at will, and it took both courage and determination of conviction to fight against the separating tendencies of the state. Resistance to temptation had a wider and deeper role than ever before.

From this it naturally follows that the amoral tendencies and pressures of the state ~~budgeted~~ ^{touching} not only upon the relationships of mother and father, but affected the very lives of the children as well. The parents' love towards one another and towards their children, and the children's love towards their parents represented that leaven which eventually neutralized and checked and invalidated the powerful tendencies of the Communist state.

The parents had to wage a battle against the schools. They had to listen patiently to the children when they related what took place in the schools or what they were taught there. Then they had to even more patiently explain to the children controversial points and to ~~NE~~ set them straight, if and when the need arose. In a word, parents spent much more time with their children after 1948 than ever before. In the school the children were exposed to a never-ending process of alienation and estrangement

from their parents and each day the parents fought a battle to reconquer their children's trust and love and affection.

The children saw that their parents loved each other (husband and wife worked on two different shifts). The parents accepted the differing shift assignments so that one of them would always be home. The Sunday dinner, so irksome and such a nuisance before, now turned into a holiday feast with all the members of the family sitting together at the table. It was these little and seemingly unimportant things which strengthened the family against the anti-family policy of the state. These little pleasantries tied firmly together the several members of the family and taught them to love and to protect each other.

- (17 a) I have seen youth camps where boys and girls slept together under the same tent, collegiums (student hostels) where there were no separate quarters for males and females.

There were, I must say, girls who refused to go to youth camps because they knew that society would look down upon them if they did it.

- (17 b) This is a complex question. In Hungary it was considered a moral deed, so to speak, if a person refused to abide by, or refused to execute, laws or did not do what regulations required him to do.

If somebody has stolen whatever thing from his fellow-worker, he was considered a thief and his action was accordingly branded morally wrong. The offender was looked down upon with contempt.

If a person, on the other hand, "stole" wood from the factory so he could warm up his room, his taking the wood was not considered stealing by the public. A soldier in Hungary, for instance, never steals anything, he merely "procures" (szerez) what he needs. Most everybody acted similarly to the soldiers in this respect. The state waged a determined campaign against this system of procuring, but officials were never able to marshal public opinion against this system.

I could not have stolen anything, even if I had been disposed to do so, because people would have criticized me for it; knowing my past they looked up to me as some sort of a ~~mother~~ ^{model (ideal)}. I personally never had any difficulty in understanding others who stole. I could fully justify their actions and accepted them as not morally wrong.

I knew an architectural technician who built himself a cozy little house entirely out of stolen goods. Everybody in the village knew this. And yet this man was praised by the village's inhabitants, -- myself included -- for his resourcefulness and perseverance, with no one ever voicing a protest.

Why did ~~did~~ people steal? They were obviously in dire need of supplementing their meager incomes and there was ample opportunity everywhere to procure something. You have a planned economy in Hungary and all the planning was done in a centralized way. The central planning bureau planned the minutest little

details of every operation. The allocation of materials was also centralized. This necessitated a bureaucracy of tremendous proportions. An incredible superficiality characterized the work of this planning bureaucracy. All kinds of materials, raw and finished, were shipped around needlessly, in a rather complicated, roundabout way. Sizeable quantities were lost track of or were entirely forgotten in the process. Material, valued in the hundreds of thousands, was standing there rotting and disintegrating, for years. The people saw in this a clear evidence of carelessness and indolence, as practiced in high governmental agencies. Seeing this practice in high places, they themselves began to wonder. Many a man thought he was doing a good deed by "saving" at least some of the material and putting it to good worthwhile use.

^R
Our factory received at one time a freightcarload of tarred insulating paper so that they may cover the bricks and protect them from rain and snow. Just before a rainstorm the management sent out some men to cover the produced bricks. But the storm subsided and it did not rain. The paper, however, was left out in the open. Then came the loaders and began to load the bricks into the freight cars. Since they were not paid to take off the papers, and doing so would have involved additional labor, they simply threw them on the ground, together with the broken bricks. Now who could accuse a man of stealing if, seeing the obvious

waste and conscious of his own urgent need, he collected these papers, took them home, and used them as he saw fit? This is the way people viewed stealing. We must therefore sharply distinguish actual stealing from wage-supplementing (bérkiegészítés). Stealing is that when a person steals personal belongings from another. The taking away or "procuring" of material which more or less does not belong to anybody (félíg gazdátlan dolgok elvitele) is definitely not stealing.

~~XXXX~~ Aside from these factors I just enumerated, stealing was also a conscious anti-Communist action.

- (17 c) I cannot ~~XXX~~ give you precise information on these because these actions took place at levels where I had no insight. Bribery, graft and embezzlement took place in governmental offices and in certain social institutions, places where Communists were the officials.

Bribery was very severely punished. It was considered a high crime, next to spying and treason. There was, of course, ample room for bribery, but, then again bribery is univesally practiced everywhere.

- (17 d) Hooliganism is not an invention of the people's democracies. The Kadar-regime, when employing this term, have criminals in mind who were either freed or who have escaped from prison during the Revolution. I did not hear this expression before the Revolution. In Hungary there were innumerable prisons. In these prisons a

special lingo was in use, terms which were designed to humiliate the political prisoners, such as "úrge" (hamster), "csibész" (vagabond), "csavargó" (tramp), loafer).

- (18) I have so many good friends and I could tell you so much about them. To satisfy the questionnaire, let me think of only one; I met him in 1942, we were together in a Protestant youth organization. He was a professor in a secondary school and was, besides, engaged as a researcher in a historical institute. He was four or five years my senior. I was a university freshman at the time.
- (18 a) See answer to question 18.
- (18 b) His father was a poor peasant, possessing three holds of land. My father had even less than that. We both represented first-generation intellectuals.
- (18 c) A scientific undertaking tied us to one another; we investigated the sociological and historical problems facing isolated Hungarian settlements living among people of foreign tongue and culture.
- (18 d) We discussed politics innumerable times.
- (18 e) Definitely not. We acted together in 1944 and we were arrested and imprisoned at the same time. In 1945, we were members of the same political party, though our activities were not in the same place. He was arrested in 1947 and I was imprisoned a year later. Between 1948 and 1953 we never met and between 1953 and 1956 only on a few occasions, since I continued to be under police supervision. In 1956 our contacts were much more numerous, we met frequently

at the Petöfi Circle and participated in other meetings of political nature. We both participated in the Revolution, though at different parts, and met only again after the government of Imre Nagy wrestled itself free of the domination of the Akademia-utca. At that time we were again in the same political party. He left Hungary two weeks ahead of me.

(18 f) Yes, we are still friends.

(18 g) I assign a great value, first of all, to friendship itself, viewing it as something of great significance. From the point of view of feeling and sentiment, friendship is not as vehement as love, but it does generate a feeling which is at least as deep and enduring, if not longer-lasting. The prerequisite of friendship is an identical point of view and an understanding or agreement in questions of principle. Its essence is trust -- if I learn to know a man and we become friends, I must not make the mistake at looking at him with rigid objectivity. The success of whatever social experiment depends to a degree on mutual appreciation and trust the participants accord to one another. It is naturally understood that this ^{does} not exclude the severest criticism of one another, ^{ons,} amid discussing done in an atmosphere of the greatest understanding, of course.

(18 h) Generally speaking, it was not easy to make friends. The possibilities of the present generation were conditioned by those extraordinary situations which, beginning with 1948, followed one

another in quick succession, intimately touching our very lives. Hard times usually tend to emphasize much more the dependence of two people on another. Prosperity, in contrast, tends to loosen this feeling of belonging together.

- (18 i) I was a youth leader. My following consisted mostly of peasant boys. I have innumerable friends among them. But I am an intellectual and so are most of my most intimate friends. From the point of view of their age group, they are, I should ^{say} ~~see~~; five-six years older or younger than myself. As to their background, most of them are first-generation peasant or worker sons, intellectuals or such children of the intelligentsia who profess as their own that political and social program for Hungary which was the credo of the populist writers.

This credo included, among others, such principles as the elimination of social inequalities, the just distribution of the means of production, and equitable distribution of the produced consumer goods based on the social standing and education background of people in such a way that those receiving least would be able to lead human lives. We are democrats. Basing ourselves on the opinion of the masses, we formulate our theses accordingly.

- (18 j) Having a friend meant a great deal, since we found ourselves in such situations where friendship was the only force that kept us going, -- often enough saving our very lives.

- (18 k) I am unable to answer this question, because a situation like that never occurred. I could base my opinion only on experience, a hypothesis at best represents an uncertainty.
- (18 l) I had only such Communist friends whose acquaintance I made in prison. Because they, too, were incarcerated, you cannot very well class them as Communists. ^{Their} ~~THEIR~~ number among my friends was insignificant. They all were very decent and honorable men.
- (19) My father was a Calvinist, my mother was Roman Catholic. My two sisters were Catholics and I am a Calvinist.
- (19 a) In our home there was an absolute peace, understanding, and religious tolerance. Neither of my parents were religious ^{bigots.} ~~parents.~~ Both of them were rather liberal. We all received religious instruction, we all went to our respective churches and there was never any attempt by anybody at coercion or prohibition.
- (19 b) ~~IN~~ my early youth I was a member of the KIE ~~(YMCA)~~ (YMCA), spending all my free time there. This was when I was 18-20 years old. I was a devout youth (bibliás fiatalember), who often pondered about difficult metaphysical problems. This same could be said of my sisters, who acted similarly in their church organization.
- (20) Communist ~~rule~~ rule naturally affected religious life. Communist education is essentially irreligious or a-religious. Communists deny the existence of God. Our calendar begins with Christ, theirs begins with the year zero. After 1948, there was no longer religious instruction in schools. After 1950, religious instruction

was again made optional, but only if both parents expressed themselves accordingly in writing.

The Communist never proceeded openly and strongly and with determination against religion. Officially, while they did not share the views and beliefs of the faithful, they maintained a religious tolerance. There was an agreement between the state and the various churches after the conclusion of the treason trials. The Communists gave the M churches a 25-year tolerance period in which to reorganize themselves within the framework of the new state. They created an ecclesiastical bureau. This bureau functions even today. As I mentioned earlier, they even permitted religious instruction, outside of the school curriculum, but on the school premises, provided both parents requested such instruction in writing.

While giving this permission, they at the same time exerted considerable pressure on the parents not to request it. If one of the requesting parents was a party member, a direct means was available to discipline him. The Communists thus acted either through the party machinery or KA through the so-called democratic organizations in their struggle against religion, but never openly and directly.

A substantial change occurred after 1953. Church-state relations became more liberal. The written request or personal appearance of one of the parents was sufficient to KA ensure religious instruction of the child and the "quiet terror" was no

longer exercised either.

During the Revolution all these restricting directives were annulled. Religion was made part of the curriculum, though not as a required subject. It was up to the parents whether or not a child should receive instruction in it.

After the ~~REVOLUTION~~ Revolution the situation reverted to where it was during the early fifties, and the old methods of intimidation are again in use.

(X)
20 a

Theoretically all faiths were equally affected. In practice, naturally, there were qualitative differences. The most vehement and most determined campaign was waged against the Catholic Church. Next in line were the Protestants. Why? The Catholics were the strongest, theirs was the deepest-rooted tradition, their masses were the best organized, their organizations were the strongest and they lived a very intensive religious life.

(20 b)

The Communists were, in the final analysis, determined to stamp out religion, since religion, as an ideology, is just as total (totalis) as is communism. Communism is a religion where there is no God, the center of worship being economic principles. Besides this Stalin, while alive, was shrouded in an air of a fetish. Since communism is a religion, official pronouncements of its high priests are just as binding and just as infallible as are God's pronouncements to a Christian. It proceeded logically from the very nature of things that Communists opposed and fought against the Churches. Communism, like religion, is a closed ideology, it presumes to answer and reserves to itself

the exclusive right to answer, every question pertaining to man and the world and as such cannot tolerate another, rival ideology, desiring to do the same thing.

- (20 c) There was a national peace committee (Országos Békébizottság) in which every denomination and other political ~~to~~ personages participated. The national peace committee of Catholic priests was a part, and subdivision of, this organization. This latter group's main purpose was to assist in carrying out the official state policy. The primary ~~purpose~~ purpose of a Church is not, in my opinion, to support the state. These people, however, engaged in activities which at times were decidedly inhuman and employed methods which were clearly violations of the democratic rule of the game. They knew that what they were doing was wrong and with their very activities they sanctioned the system. This, of course, throws some light on their character. They were weak, egotistic, and cowardly. They were prompted or forced to act as they did.

The purpose and task of the Church is not to become a political partner. The strength of the Church lies in the fact that it is able to criticize, from the vantage point of its own moral purity, both the ~~the~~ actions of the individuals and of the state. It therefore represents a controlling force; it is able to proclaim to all at all times and in every situation what is the moral, human, or natural point of view. Neither the national peace committee, nor the national peace committee of Catholic priests

did even attempt to proceed along these lines. With their silence and inaction, these peace priests not only became accomplices of the regime, but were also, to a certain degree, guilty of criminal complicity in the many irregularities and crimes which took place after 1950. If of ten million people one or two enter the party for the purpose of securing bread thereby, such acts, while regrettable, are also excusable because of the compelling reason behind them. If, however, a person whose very vocation it is to represent divine justice acts similarly, that is an entirely different matter. Such persons ought never to compromise, nor must they fear human consequences, whatever they may be.

Many a priest chose this latter course. Many of them suffered imprisonment or, if they escaped prison, rather than subscribing to the state's desires they accepted the economic and other consequences, but remained with their faithful.

Partly as a result of this heroism of priests, the religious life of the people became deeper between 1948 and 1956. People became more devout than before. A religious reformation took place in the life of many an individual and yet, in the midst and in spite of this spiritual rejuvenation, there were some priests, the peace priests so-called, who took upon themselves a task contrary to their vocation.

(20 d) The economic status of the priests became insecure -- it is better, I think, if we speak of the Catholic Church, since the others

were not in a very good situation even before the war --
(interviewer's note" respondent was asked to comment on the
Protestant clergy originally).

Church land and other property was confiscated. Priests were obliged to live on state salaries after 1948. This made them dependent in more than one way on the state. A village priest after 1948 lived in a peculiar, isolated surrounding. He continued to work as before, but most of his doings, except the celebration of the Mass, was considered illegal. The faithful ~~WERE~~ were also acting illegally. Church life, as a result, was practically paralyzed, if not broken, after 1948. The peasants' former practice of going to ~~the~~ Mass regularly stopped abruptly. The number of faithful suddenly diminished and it took a certain determination if a person wanted to continue as a publicly practicing member of his Church. To do even more than that, to participate, for instance, in the church's functions and activities, required courage over and above the ordinary. The Church was branded, politically speaking, as the center of reaction. There was some truth in this assertion, though not in the sense in which the Communists understood this.

The clergy belonged, before the war, in a social category of its own and considered itself the possessor of power. They have lost this privileged position after the war. Most clergymen were unable to face this situation, were at a loss explaining

the reasons that brought about these tremendous changes and, deep in their hearts, were unwilling to acquiesce in their new lot. The result was that many a priest continued to fight for those privileges which he once possessed, privileges^s which -- everybody knew -- were things of the past. In a word, the priests were not conscious of the changes which occurred, or were unwilling to take cognizance of them.

Be this as it may, they wanted their old privileges back and viewed with preference such social systems where their desires had better prospects of realization. This, in turn, placed them in a situation where they were ill-equipped to defend themselves against these arguments and accusations which the Communists levelled against them. This attitude of the priests put their followers -- the faithful -- also in a difficult position. ~~THEY~~ Take, for instance, a poor man who received a few holds of land as a result of the land reform, or an industrial laborer who was appointed foreman in a factory. Both the land reform and the bettering of the worker's lot were claimed by the Communists as reforms which they brought about. Both the farmer and the foreman received something and the party did all it could to persuade them to enter the party on that account. Knowing as they did their priest's political views and principles with respect to land reform and nationalization, they often wondered whether they really belonged, or ought to belong, to the Church or not. This was the sort of breach or gap which the Communists wanted

~~XXXXXXXX~~

to effect, and did effect, between the Church and the people.

This was not a Communist success, not a victory of their principles, but a psychological battle won by the ^{default} ~~fault~~ of the priest who could not, or did not want to, acknowledge and to accept those changes which occurred in the country.

This was characteristic of the times immediately after 1948. It is true, however, that the Communists taught not only the people to better resist the Church, they taught the priests indirectly also, who were gradually awakened and were better able to perform their tasks in the changed milieu. Gradually the people's interest in their Church revived and their religious life deepened, ^{it was} ~~XXXXXXXX~~ warmer and more sincere, and the priests, too, became more natural and more human. This was the positive result of the struggle.

(20 e) See answer to question 20 d.

(20 f) Theoretically, yes. No general prohibition was ever proclaimed. There were no laws against attending church services. The methods ~~used~~ used were administrative and social-administrative. The regime did not resort to police methods, people were caught at the very roots and sources of their existence and were made to feel the all-embracing power of the party. There were certain social methods to which the regime resorted; the organized social events or created occasions, such as festivities or excursions, which coincided in time with the church-services. These were

temptations for many people. Others, facing the choice of attending church or a factory event, chose the safer way out of the dilemma.

The Communists tried to popularize opposition to church-going, often ridiculing those who did go, exerting, at the same time, social pressures. There was, besides this, the so-called cadre policy; a man had to take into account the possibility of his church-going being registered on his cadre-sheet and of being used against him later, not openly, but effectively, in his work-promotion, etc.

(20 g) There were very many people who did stay away for these very reasons.

(20 h) Between 1948 and 1953, I did not attend church services. There was no chapel in the prison, not even priests were given the opportunity of saying Mass. After 1953, I did attend. This, however, is not of interest here, since after 1953 church-going, too, became more free. Actually, I only seldom went to church, being under police supervision I was not permitted to visit public places.

(20 i) Old ladies went to church more often than others. Theirs was the most favorable social position in this respect. And they had a life-long habit behind them. Other than this it is extremely difficult to establish categories. It depended on education, background, and courage. Younger people were more frequent visitors than the middle-aged ones. But this is by no means universally true.

(20 j 1) Yes, there was a certain difference here. These differences stemmed primarily from the actual ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ state of church-state relationships. It all depended on how sharp the disagreements,

opposition, or attitude of the various church leaders was towards the political leaders or policy of the state.

The Jews were in an exceptional situation here, and for various reasons; they were persecuted before 1944 and after the war the government made it its program to rehabilitate them and to compensate them. Also, their number was comparatively small and the religious influence of the Israelite Church was restricted to small, local groups, without having a national significance. The influence of the Catholic Church, on the other hand, extended throughout the country; Mindszenty stood up and opposed the state with resolute determination. The Protestant and Jewish priests had a more progressive mentality and outlook than their Catholic counterparts. Neither the Protestant nor the Jewish Churches were ever so within the ruling ~~MA~~ class as was the Catholic hierarchy, -- who of old possessed immense estates and always was in a privileged position and, therefore, neither of the former two lost half as much as did the Catholics as a result of the change. The change, indeed, produced a very sharp contrast between what the Catholic Church's temporal power and influence was before and after the war.

Generally speaking, people of democratic conviction never did look upon certain members of the Catholic hierarchy with favor. Then came the land reform. The holder of the largest estates was the Catholic Church. It was from her that the largest quantity

of land was taken away. Then again the Catholic Church was built in constitutionally into the state. Obviously, if changes were to occur, these changes were bound to affect her first and most. Adjustment in her case was naturally more difficult than in the case of the others.

~~XXXXX~~

- (20 j 2) Life under the regime has eliminated denominational problems of all kinds. You no longer have a situation similar to those in my early youth when a Catholic boy often could not marry a Protestant girl because of religious and moral reasons.
- (20 k) You cannot establish categories here. It is my belief that religion means less today than it did before. Church and religion today are no longer ^a the socially accepted and socially sanctioned everyday necessity. It is no longer considered an essential part of good grooming to make the sign of the cross or to attend Mass or service. But people to whom these things ~~do~~ do have a meaning, these things do mean a great deal more than they did to their fathers. In former days ^{they} ~~we~~ used to go to church with the sole object of saving their reputations. The older people are rather more religious (vallásosak), while the youth of today is rather more believing and more devout (hívók). I am definitely on the part of the latter.
- (20 l) The Church, as an institution, did not officially play any role in this regard. Individual priests, on the other hand, did play

an important role. They were able to take a stand in connection with political developments and thus were able to influence small or larger groups of people. Essentially, however, resistance and opposition did not center around the churches, but rather around other centers of social life.

Going to church necessarily developed a critical stand. Those who did go clearly demonstrated their opposition to the state, at least in so far as the anti-Church policy and tendency of the state was concerned. The priest, if courageous, was able to analyze the events and was able to set in motion the critical judgment of his hearers. These people thus became the small knots in the great Hungarian conspiracy which enveloped and ~~en~~ ensnared the whole country.

(20 m) See above, question 20 1.

(21) The best-paid occupation is that of a physician, or that of an engineer with a specialization. I would have told him to try to become a physician.

(21 a) My ~~a~~ reason for choosing this profession is a rational one. It has good economic prospects.

(21 b) I would tell him to become a specialist, say, an excellent surgeon, to become a member of the party. There were a few physicians who were not party members. These were the specialists with a well-known reputation. There were others who did not even bother to enter the physician's labor union. For those, however, who

started later, party membership was indispensable. Such membership very often is no more than a nominal one. The situation here is similar to the village physician of older days who, ^{he} really wanted to be popular, had to attend church service regularly.

(21 c) Worker-cadres or poor peasant cadres had the best prospect. Or, if neither of these categories, a good party cadre of the father was very helpful.

(22) The best off were: the party, AVH, higher officers of the army. These were best off in both prestige and in monetary rewards. There were also the exposed specialists or expert cadres, (kiemelt szak-kaderek), such as the holders of the Kossuth prize (these were mostly writers), scientists, workers, politicians, and other members of the worker-aristocracy. These were holders of technical rather than political jobs. They were good specialists and trusted party members.

Aside from political considerations, professional competence, knowledge, and technical skill counted most. Thus next in line I would place the good technicians, scientific personnel and intellectuals. After this came the white-collar workers (tisztviselők) and the so-called free intelligentsia (szabad értelmiség). Next in line were the teachers in secondary and elementary schools. Next came the unskilled workers, peasants (independent peasants and TSzCs members), next came the enemies of the society (this

was a heterogenous group, placed there by the state, employable only in certain places and only as menial laborers). This last group had no perspectives whatsoever. They lived in a permanent uncertainty, delivered to the momentary mood and caprice of those in command of the system. The very last and worst off were those in prisons. The number of these was very large between 1948 and 1956.

- (22 a) I was in prison.
- (22 b) In those times I felt perfectly well in the group in which I was in.
- (22 c) Good sports talents had everything they desired. Good pay, good jobs with no work, travels ~~am~~ abroad. They could bring into the country certain things and sell them there at good price. Between 1948 and 1956 these sportsmen achieved wonderful results. The Communists spent a great deal of money on them.
- (22 d) Artists were a category ^{by} ~~in~~ themselves. The Communists were trying to get hold of these people, lured them to their camp and kept them to praise their regime. But willingness to praise was not an absolute requirement in all cases. Zoltan Kodály received everything from them, including a magnificent residence on the Kékestető without ever havind said a ~~few~~ pleasant word to them. In fact, Kodály criticized and cursed them openly. He, of course, was an exception. The regime's cultural policy could not afford to loose him. Besides, Kodály's international reputation

protected him. His is really an unique case. Writers and poets could not do this. Our greatest writers were condemned to silence. The regime did not fight against them. They were living. They had the material means, too. But every attempt was made to keep them far away from the public. The position of Illyés was similar to that of Kodály. He never said a word of praise, but was recognized, nevertheless, as the greatest living Hungarian poet. And the more down the line you go, the situation is that much more difficult. These writers were obliged to get a job, to earn a living, or else to become members of the party.

- (23) There are three classes in Hungary: workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia. These are the classes we had and we still have them (megvolt és megvan). These three classes are constant factors of any society. Over and above these three classes there emerged a Communist aristocracy. In every society where there is no democracy, an aristocratic layer or stratum necessarily develops, which holds firmly the power in its hands and sits on all positions.

This aristocratic stratum of Communist Hungary is made up of several factors, such as workers and peasants, its largest single ingredient being the intellectuals, and primarily Jewish intellectuals (and here I enter the slippery and elusive problem of anti-Semitism. I am still accustomed to Hungarian ways where, if you mention the word Jew or Jewish, you are immediately branded an anti-Semite, -- left-over or rudiment of Fascism,

after which there is only one more step on this side of the prison, namely, imperialist. If you dare to criticize a person who happens to be a Jew, you immediately have to prove that never in your life were you an anti-Semite) who, after 1919 escaped to Russia. There is also a goodly sprinkling of younger Jewish intellectuals of a later generation among them.

These people lived in a separate world of their own, they came in contact only with their own kind and they based all their actions on one another's opinion. These were the only opinions which counted. These people were and are the possessors of the power. The best proof of how little they knew of the real sentiments of the people is the Revolution itself, the dismissal of Geró, etc.

- (23 b) It certainly represents a significant change, and for two reasons; a) as a result of the change those strata who possessed the power before the war disappeared from the scene. They were not liquidated. The people who held the leading positions in the state machinery and industry were simply relieved and new people, people from different social classes, took over the direction of things. This was a structural change. b) The change was even much deeper than that; the process of democratization of the entire Hungarian population had begun. If this process had not been interrupted and had not been followed by the unfortunate political events of 1948, then it would have brought significant and useful results.

During 1945-1948, the differences between classes began to crumble and the age-old distrust between governing and governed began to vanish. While before the war the large masses resented and hated the ruling class, firstly because it was the ruling class and secondly because that ruling class dug too wide and deep a ditch between itself and the rest of the people. After 1945, this gap and the resultant hatred was no more.

Shortly, however, came the party aristocracy and, if we view things from this angle, than we must say that no change occurred at all. There is again a narrow stratum there, governing above the people and without the people, having only their own interests in mind. This group taught the people anger and hatred only which is not a very fortunate path towards progress in Hungary.

(23 c) Yes, and no, depending on the viewpoint. See above, answer to question 23 b.

(23 d) Your question, I assume, refers to the last twelve years. A differentiation was certainly made between man and man. The narrow ruling circle, utilizing its cadre policy, maintained a thorough and up-to-date record of all the people, carefully noting their class background and used this information for, or against them on all such occasions when an individual, for whatever reason, had to be classified. A man's class background became an integral part of his qualification.

In social judgments, i.e., when people formed an opinion of

a man, the social background of such a man was not a decisive point. The people did not, by any means, reject an individual simply because the party has judged him an undesirable, or enemy, or what have you.

You can observe a curious phenomenon among American Hungarians; these people left Hungary a long time ago, but in their eyes Hungary is still the Hungary as they experienced it towards the end of the 19th or at the beginning of the 20th century; even today they hate the priests and the magnates and gentlemen (urakat) of all kinds. The picture in Hungary is entirely different. The people do not hate now individuals simply because they may have been their former masters, or because they belonged to the ruling class, their hatred and contempt is directed towards their present-day oppressors whom they despise both as individuals and as a class.

- (23 e) People are socially more equal today, if we disregard the ruling stratum, than they were formerly. In their propaganda and in their declarations of principle, even the members of the ruling circle proclaim equality as their aim and practice, but in reality this is not so. It is precisely on account of this contradiction between the official aim and actual practice that the people no longer believe in the regime's equalitarian pronouncements.
- (23 f) I am for the fullest social equality possible.
- (23 g) There were many changes in this respect, changes which are many-sided and difficult to pinpoint or define. The youth is more free today than ever before. Regard or respect for authority

exists no longer. The old notion of the youth's listening politely to what an elder has to say and of his ~~it~~ generally refraining from speaking unless asked to do so is gone and nonexistent. This freedom of the youth has brought with it a certain degree of libertinism (szabadosság), which cannot be approved, of course, since rude and ill-mannered behavior certainly is not a necessary ingredient of freedom. All great changes, however, are accompanied by unpleasant excesses, excesses which no doubt will diminish and wane in the course of time. At the moment they are still very much present and it will probably take a decade or two for their elimination. This is a necessary evil, part and parcel of the change. Individuals are, of course, free to stand up and combat this sort of thing.

Another great change resulted from the mass employment of women after 1948. The living wage was so adjusted that an individual's earnings covered his own maintenance expenses only. Husband and wife and all the children, all went out to work. Very many women travelled on the trolley cars. Males no longer stood up to offer their seats to ladies or to older people, a situation which was inconceivable before the war. With the slogan "now we are all equal," this pre-war custom is completely abandoned. You could, of course, fight against it, and there were some who did ~~XXXXX~~ abide by the pre-war etiquette. There was even an organized campaign after 1953, admonishing riders to give up their seats to

the ladies.

Children began to earn money at a much earlier age now than before. This was due partly to economic necessity, as explained above. Also a large segment of our youth was automatically precluded from continuing their schooling and were therefore forced to go to work. Here the principle "equal work, equal pay" came into play. Very often a 20-year old son, as a skilled laborer, was able to make 1500- 2000 forints, whereas his father, who was on the job for 25-30 years, earned much less. This inequality in pay often caused the young people to overestimate their personal abilities and worth (value) and they demonstrated outwardly their feeling of superiority by ill-bred, rude, and ill-mannered attitude and behavior towards their parents.

This sort of thing was supported by the official policy of the state and was calculated to loosen the ties in the family. It was clearly in the interests of the state to bring about such a situation. In the factories, on production conferences, etc., whenever these things came up for discussion, the party secretary invariably sided with the youth. Partly officials were eager to help them find housing accommodations, so that young people were able to lead an independent life without parental interference or supervision. This again represented a conscious effort on the part of the government; the party wanted to have and to control the whole man and it is they (the party) which claimed the exclusive

right to answer all the questions pertaining to the young men's life. ¶ It is much easier to control and to direct a young man's life if he does not reside in a closed family circle where there is a different, antagonistic air, a unit which formulates and enforces its own laws on its members. This is the reason why the Communists were so eager to create artificial barriers among the family members, this is the explanation of their wage-politics, whereby they forced ¶ every able family member to work. While they never dared to openly admit these objectives, X i.e., the destruction of the family, they utilized every means at their disposal to bring this about. This is further proved by the repeated official pronouncements of leading Communist theoreticians; Reval repeatedly asserted in ¶ Parliament in 1948 that the Communist regime, the workers' rule, will only then be completely established if the Communists succeed in bringing up a generation of fully Communist mentality and action. If this was really so important in theory, the Communists certainly did not overlook its practical implications and consequences.

- (24) The Communist Party does have a minority program. According to this, minorities enjoy identical status and rights, just as all the rest of the population. The Communists do not recognize any differences between Magyar and minority peoples. This is one instance where they actually acted according to their program. Actually, from the point of view of inter-satellite relations, this was an imperative necessity; all ¶ minorities maintain^d close

personal contacts with their relatives in the mother countries and all the mother countries were also people's democracies.

This question, in the form you put it, was nonexistent in Hungary. Nationality and minority problems we did not have. This favorable domestic situation was seized upon by the Communist leaders and used time and again against Western countries. Innumerable ~~MEME~~ accusations were levelled against the United States, where a distinction is made even today between whites and negroes, with ample discrimination against the latter. There may be some reason for this distinction and discrimination of which I am not aware, but to this day I ~~MEME~~ fail to find any justification for it.

(24 a) No minority group benefited more than others in principle, in practice, however, the Hungarian Jewry did derive greater benefits. They benefited both politically and economically, because many of them turned Communist and those who did not were prepared to cooperate with the regime under certain conditions.

(25) ^{question} See ~~MEME~~ 24 a.

(25 a) I can say that the Hungarian Jewry, with a little exception, (kevés kivétellel) cooperated in the fullest possible measure with the Communists. Of the exception (those who did not cooperate) very many were imprisoned, others were expatriated (másokat kitelepítették). It was the Jews who, accepting the conditions ~~MEME~~ set by the Communists, took upon themselves the execution of the various tasks in the political and ~~MEME~~ economic life of the country. These tasks included the organization and direction of the AVH.

Very many of the AVH officers were Jews. Jews became the directing forces in the economic life also, and they actively participated in the organization and direction of the Communist Party, Jews occupying the position of party secretaries in such number which far exceeded their actual numerical proportion in the country. This holds equally true of the highest governmental offices, including the Cabinet itself.

(25 b) See above, 25 a.

(25 c) I had very many Jewish acquaintances. These people were with me in the prison.

(25 d) This always depended on the individual. (Ezere válogatta.) They participated in the Revolution just as I did and as did many others.

Generally speaking, those Jews who opposed the regime were extremely stubborn and determined enemies of the system. This is especially true of the Jewish Social Democrats, who proved to be remarkably courageous and hard fighters.

I had the impression that Jewish intellectuals, in general, have a peculiar aptitude and predisposition towards extremes. Some of them are inclined to easily enter into uncalled-for and unnecessary compromises, while others, who decide to oppose something, are extremely consequential in their opposition.

(25 e) One can say that the Hungarian nation and the Jews lived well next to one another. In 1944, during the Jewish deportations, the population of the country was on their side, hiding and

concealing them, helping and supporting them. In 1944, the Jews reappeared again from various places.. They were an asperzed, tortured, and suffering people. These people came back with a flaming desire of revenge, which first manifested itself clearly during the war-criminal trials and during the liquidation of the nyilas movement. Jews were practically the only government witnesses on these trials. At the same time, Jews also participated in large numbers as members of the people's court councils. Their actions may have been just and right and proper, but these actions certainly did not tend to make the returnees popular in the eyes of the general population.

I knew a Jew, Isidor [redacted], the owner of a printing institution of European fame. (I always admired their magnificent lithography. There were only two or three such presses in all Europe.) The [redacted] family lived at Gyoma in Békés County. Gyoma is a small agricultural town, 95 percent of its inhabitants being peasants. The [redacted] were a highly respected family. In 1944 the entire family was taken away, with only the son, [redacted], and his sister returning in 1945. [redacted] was a young man, of my age, and we were very good friends. They returned to Gyoma, [redacted] got back his printing presses, and tried to get started in business again. It was hard going, because he was all alone. He tried to engage himself in communal problems, desperately looking for means of forgetting the past.

This young man finally committed suicide in the beginning of 1946. He took his life because he was unable to find and

unable to reestablish his former contacts with the people.

How do I explain this? One of the first steps of the returning Jews after 1945 was to enlist in the local and national police forces. The police force of Gyoma also had a fair share of them. These returned Jewish people, now as policemen, very often overstepped not only their functions and authority, but acted in a decidedly tasteless manner, often unable to differentiate right and wrong, guilty and innocent. [REDACTED] was looking to the people for justification; he did not emphasize, as did the others, the failure of the peasants to comprehend the grave injustices ~~inflicted~~ inflicted upon the Jews -- their lack of feeling of guilt -- instead, he censured and criticized the manner and attitude of his co-religionists. He was bitter and disillusioned. "I cannot creep out of my skin," he used to say, "to disentangle myself from the rest." On the other hand, he understood that the simple peasants, bewildered by the actions of the Jewish policemen, could not distinguish in their minds one Jew from another. The public became reserved and they looked upon all, including my friend, as a potential enemy. Rejected by the peasants he loved, and himself rejecting the actions of the ^{other} brother Jews, he saw no way out but death.

This story clearly shows both the ill-guided actions of many Jews after the war and the failure of many Hungarians to distinguish the "good Jews" from the "bad Jews."

Things quieted down somewhat as time went on; the Jews

became sober and they ~~calmed~~ cooled down. But the public retained the ugly memories and people kept on telling one another how many Jews there are in the AVH.

Then came the general persecution; innumerable people were put to jail. The relatives and friends of these imprisoned people constituted a substantial part of the Hungarian population. All these prisoners passed through the AVH and all of them experienced the inhuman brutality and cruel tortures of this infamous institution. Most of these people remained in jail for years, unjustly imprisoned and held without cause in the first place. Both the AVH and the prisons were liberally ~~represented~~ represented by Jewish officers and guards.

This was the main reason why the Jewish people were so much afraid of anti-Semitic outbreaks during the Revolution. But there were no anti-Semitic outbreaks. The fact that nothing like it occurred only goes to show the Hungarian people's ability to distinguish between Jewish individuals, cruel, unjust, and wicked, and the Jewish population who may have been entirely guiltless. While convinced of the indisputable guilt of some, they did not try to apply ~~to~~ the theory of collective guilt at all.

This correct course was so much easier to take as neither the AVH, nor its excesses, nor all the other evils that plagued Hungary were exclusively attributable to the Jews alone. The people were well aware of this. Nevertheless, the fact that nothing happened by way of anti-Semitism must be credited to the

mature and sober judgment of Hungary's public opinion and must not be seen as a Hungarian admission that the Jews were not responsible at all.

(25 g) Anti-Semitism in Hungary was always an artificially fabricated movement, nurtured and kept alive by certain interests. The people themselves were never anti-Semitic, just as Hungarians, as a people, were always able to freely cooperate with other minorities.

Anti-Semitism, as a European political movement, got well under way only between the world wars, especially after the ~~ANNEXATION~~ Anschluss of Austria to Germany. It manifested itself mostly in neighboring states of Germany which had sizeable German minorities, such as in Hungary around Budapest and other places. In Hungary, too, it was among the German minority that the idea of anti-Semitism first began to spread. It was these people who organized and manned the extreme-right party and propagated anti-Semitism. It was only in 1943 that the Hungarian Parliament, on direct German pressure, passed the first drastic anti-Semitic measures. We did have a Jewish Law as early as 1938, but that was a very mild measure indeed, as compared to similar measures of other countries. It had to do primarily with expulsion of Jews from the economic life of the country, setting at the time some limits to the participation in politics. Administrative measures against the Jews were adopted only in 1944, at the time ~~WHEN~~ when

Hungary was no longer an independent nation; on March 19, 1944, Sztojay took over the reins in Hungary. This, then, was the situation. The fact is that in the entire German sphere it was Hungary where the Jews received, to the end, the most humanitarian treatment. Many Jews fled to Hungary from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Jugoslavia.

After March 19, 1944, the Jews living in the provinces were deported first. The Hungarian people watched helplessly the nyilas-gendarme ^{terror} ~~pesta~~, condemning it from start to finish.

While unable to resist the armed abductions, those able to do so did hide and conceal many Jews and helped others in every way they could.

The Jews from Budapest were taken away later. Their forced moving into the Ghetto only occurred in September 1944, and even in October 1944 we still cooperated with many "illegal" Jewish groups. Of these groups many people knew that they were Jewish ~~but not only as people, made reports to the police.~~

From all this we may deduct that the artificially created and nurtured anti-Semitism did not ~~EE~~ take deeper roots in Hungary. The wide masses were not touched by it at all. And while the role of the Hungarian Jewry after the war was by no means popular, the public opinion always tried to excuse them, constantly referring doubters to their inhuman sufferings. If there had been anti-Semitism in Hungary, then, after all the crimes some Jews committed

(in the police, AVH, prisons) after the second World War, such anti-Semitism would of necessity have come to the surface during October 1956. Such, however, was not the case. This gives an unmistakable answer to your question.

(25 H) I am referring here to "minority groups" and I use the term "minority" only in order to be able to intelligibly answer your question. In reality I was never able to distinguish minority groups from people of so-called Hungarian origin. I cannot differentiate between Jews and Hungarians. As to their future in Hungary, it depends entirely on their future attitudes and actions, on how are they going to live and what their relationship to the rest of the nation will be.

There were many (Jewish) writers and newspapermen and other intellectuals who joined the party in 1945 who later made important contributions to the anti-Stalin and anti-Rákosi struggle. Many of them are now in prison. The people will view and ^{ad-}judge these ^{just} men/as they will view and adjudge ~~the~~ other Hungarians. In determining the future of the Jewish group, the decisive factor will not be the role ~~of~~ the Jews played as a group, they will be rather evaluated as individuals, what attitude each and every one of them took and how did they act during Hungary's fateful hour.