

- (1) You should know that not a word is true of what the Hungarian and the Russian radios say when they proclaim to the world that *what* took place in Hungary was a counter-revolution. The uprising must be considered as the termination of the twelve-year old subjugation of the Hungarian people by the Russians. The Hungarian people simply couldn't take the oppression any longer.
- (2) A demonstration was to take place on October 23 in the afternoon at 3 o'clock at the Bem Plaza on the Buda side of the city. Sometime between 12 noon and 1 o'clock in the afternoon, on October 23, the Ministry of ^{the} Interior has forbidden this demonstration, later this forbidding order was withdrawn, apparently because the Ministry of the Interior has seen that it was impossible to stop the whole thing. Prior to the demonstration, university students already were distributing a great number of handbills to the population and to the factories. The distribution of handbills took place not only in the capital, but also in the provinces. To our factory in Sopron, university students also brought a great amount of handbills. I have received a batch of these myself and I did everything in my power to distribute them as soon as possible among my fellow-workers. I simply could not believe my eyes when I saw these handbills and when I read their contents. I simply could not believe that the Savior has finally descended to us. Work was immediately stopped in our factory, and Communist leaders

soon after disappeared. All this took place in a Sopron factory. I should like to ask you: not to mention the name of the factory because I fear that reprisals might come to my relatives who are still behind the Iron Curtain.

(2 a) We suspected something, and we expected a general change already after the premiership of Imre Nagy, but especially after Rakosi was dismissed from his party job. The people discussed the issues of the day and all seemed to agree that something must come soon. Even prior to Rakosi's dismissal, there was an international fair or exhibition at Poznan and a violent demonstration took place there. The workers said already then that something definitely was in the air. We were constantly listening to the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and to the broadcasts of the BBC, so that, knowing the background of the whole thing, we did not for a moment believe that what took place in Hungary was a counter-revolution. We were fully aware of the true state of affairs and our domestic radio broadcasts were in no way able to change our views on that.

(2 b) The Communists, after 1948, have liquidated the leaders of the Coalition and our religious leaders (Mindszenty, Grösz) in an ignominious way. With the liquidation of Mindszenty, the schools, too, became nationalized. These schools were up until then in the hands of the Catholic Church. After the nationalization of the schools, the education of our children became completely

distorted, the Communists trying to educate our children completely according to their own principles. However, as the events of last October-November, taking place twelve years after the Communists had taken control, fully show, ~~that~~ the Communists were not able to win over the Hungarian youth. We parents did everything in our power to keep alive the right and proper principles in the minds of our children and to lead them on the correct path.

After the Communists consolidated their power in Hungary, they sealed off the Hungarian borders with barbed wire and with minefields. This accomplished, the Communists clamped down on the population with the greatest terror that ever took place, according to my knowledge, in world history. Hundreds of thousands of defenseless people were affected by this terror. Some of them were deported, others were interned, still others were sentenced to hard labor in the mines, still others were wrongly accused by false witnesses, land and property was taken away from the prosperous farmers, and everyone who was not prepared to bow to the dictates of the regime was mercilessly persecuted. All these activities usually took place during the night, on the basis of a well-organized and widely-scattered informer system. An improper statement, a slip of the tongue was sufficient, the AVH people came in the middle of the night, knocked on the door, and did away with the man.

Gradually the population came to know the informers, kept away from them, and engaged in confidential conversations only with the most trusted ones. After the Communists arrested Mindszenty, they also forbade all non-Communist political parties, making their continuous functioning absolutely impossible. Only the Communist Party existed, and in this party only such people were accepted who ~~HERE~~ have shown complete zeal and devotion. Members of that party would have been prepared to kill their own mothers, if necessary.

After this, the Communists nationalized all the factories and smaller enterprises, proclaiming the slogan "the factory is yours, you work for yourself" (Tied a gyár, magadnak dolgozol.) Exactly the opposite of this was true. They promised us everything (fűt-fát), at the same time subjugating us and pulling us down to the greatest misery conceivable. Court proceedings were completely falsified. ~~THE~~ Regular court protocols and elaborate statements of confessions were prepared long before the actual court trial took place and a person's guilt or innocence was not based on the actual state of things, but on his cadre status. Complaint, defense, or appealation was completely impossible under this system.

Once the nationalization of factories and other industrial enterprises was accomplished, Communist agitators and agents ~~THE~~ provocateurs descended down upon the villages and literally

forced the peasants into the TSzCs's. They have followed a clever and diabolic system in this connection. The village leaders, who had a peasant following and to whom a great number of peasants would listen, were taken away under the cover of night and were accused of anti-regime and anti-democratic activities. The rest of the peasantry, leaderless and frightened, gradually entered the ranks of the TSzCs's. When the peasants saw where all this would lead, they began to sabotage, they refused to sow and they refused to manure their land, and, as a result, the agricultural production sank to such a low level that the government, in order to prevent an acute famine, was forced to import several thousand tons of grain from France.

The most primitive type of people were appointed to positions of leadership in the TSzCs organization and they did everything possible to make the life of the more prosperous peasants intolerable. These people not only did not get any compensation for their land, but they were also forced to work on the TSzCs property for hunger-wages. The government did promise compensation, but they always found some excuse in explaining why the compensation was not forthcoming. At the end of the year -- the TSzCs's paid once in a year in kind to their members -- only the head of the family received compensation for his 250-300 work units, and the rest of the family received nothing. This compensation in kind consisted of some 250 kilograms of grain and 5-10 dekagrams of sugar per work unit. The compensation was so small that

it was barely sufficient for subsistence, let alone for clothing and cultural needs.

Independent farmers, who were not prepared to enter the TSzCs, were hit with the most horrible kind of taxes.

Land taxes and forced deliveries were based on the golden crown (aranykorona) value of the property. Arable land was divided into seven categories, and the corresponding land value was fixed from 10 to 40 golden crowns per hold (hold is a Hungarian agricultural unit, equivalent to 1.422 acres). The forced delivery key was hold times golden crown value times 10 kilograms of grain.

In practice, it worked out in the following way: if the value of one hold of land was fixed at 40 golden crowns, then one times 40 times ten kilograms of grain (400 kilograms) was to be delivered to a government warehouse in the form of forced delivery, for which no compensation was given. To this was added the land tax in kind, amounting to 80 percent of the forced delivery, in this case 360 kilograms of grain. The government paid for this grain 60 fillers per kilogram (216 forints). To this was added land tax in currency according to the following key: hold times 10-15 forints times golden crown value. (In the above case 15 times 40 times one, which equals 600 forints.) From this 600 the value of land tax in kind was deducted (thus, in the above case, 600 minus 216, which equals 384 forints). 384 forints, then, was the amount of tax to be paid for one hold of land whose value was fixed ^{at} ~~for~~ 40 golden crowns.

Forced deliveries were also extended to poultry: ~~2~~2½ kilograms per hold at a price of 10 forints per kilogram; 2½ kilograms of eggs per hold at about 30 fillers per piece; 70 liters of milk was to be delivered per cow and per hold; 15 kilograms of beef per hold and 10 kilograms of pork per hold.

After all these deliveries, a farmer did not even have seed for sowing (vetőmag), let alone seed for actual consumption. If ~~Y~~ someone was not able to produce enough grain to satisfy the forced delivery requirements and to pay his taxes, such farmers were obliged to buy seed on the open market or, failing that, their farm animals or equipment, or the land itself was confiscated by the government. All this took place between 1949 and 1951.

Proprietors of ^vwineyards, if they possessed more than 100 square ~~EA~~ yards of vineyards, but their property did not exceed 500 square yards, were forced to deliver ~~100~~ 192 kilograms of grapes to the government. All agricultural produce deliveries were calculated on the basis of grain, every kind of produce to be delivered to the government was convertible to grain. Thus one kilogram of pork equalled ten kilograms of grain. To these land-taxes a tax on the house must be added, which amounted from 400 to 500 forints a year. Also, there was the village development tax, amounting to 50 forints per hold. To all these taxes still came ~~the~~ the peace loans. ~~the~~ We used to call these the war loans. A village, for instance, would be

assigned 100,000 forints in peace loans and Communist agitators kept on knocking on the doors as long as the amount was not collected. At one time we were also forced to make forced deliveries in fruit. This was later abolished, due largely to the total absence of copper sulphate, so necessary both for the upkeep of orchards and vineyards. In the vicinity of Sopron about 80 percent of all the vineyards and orchards were ruined precisely for this reason.

It so happened that the amount one realized from five holds of land was not sufficient to pay ~~the~~ taxes for one hold. The ~~XXXXXXXX~~ remainder of the taxes were to be covered from other than agricultural income. In many cases a farmer had sons or daughters working in the factories. In such cases 33 percent of their payments were automatically blocked and *GARNISHED* for tax purposes. If the farmer was not able to pay and his land was of good quality, the government simply took it away from him, if the land was of inferior quality, the farmer had to meet his taxes as best he could. The TSzCs's expropriated for themselves the best lands available.

During the summer, when the TSzCs's were organized, all harvested grain was to be delivered to a place designated by the authorities, to be threshed there. The produced quantities were exactly weighed and government inspectors supervised the entire operation. We realized only later what the purpose of this unusual procedure was. The produced quantities, as

recorded by the threshing inspectors, became the basis on which the forced deliveries were later calculated. Many a person in our village attempted to bribe the inspectors. But informers were already at work and 36 farmers were shortly arrested. Their entire grain was confiscated and they were imprisoned and fined in addition.

(2 c)

Yes, this turning point, as far as I could see it, was on the morning of October 24. I was living in a small village near the city of Sopron and I commuted from that village to the factory located in Sopron. As usual, I listened to the early morning ~~NEWS~~ broadcast of Radio Budapest. The radio repeatedly broadcasted how counter-revolutionary bands attacked the radio. I proceeded to the factory, but no one worked there. We all declared that we were not going to work for the Russians. The Communist plant director, Pal Kovacs, held an assembly for all the workers and tried to paint us a very rosy picture of the future; he said he knew, and he was ready to admit, that the Russians were systematically exploiting Hungary, he said he was aware of the many injustices ~~being~~ coming from the Hungarian Communist leadership, but he asked us to remain calm and to continue our work, that the system was going to change, there would be no more AVH interference and no more personnel section, that the norm would be abolished and wages raised, that large families would receive additional assistance, that the other

political parties would be permitted to resume their functions, etc., etc. We refused to permit him to continue his speech, saying, we have had enough of Communist lies. † Thereupon the plant director, the party secretary, and other leading Communist functionaries left the plant. I went home and jubilantly told my family that the revolution was going to win. We started collecting food for the insurgents. Everyone rejoiced. We were certain of receiving assistance from the West. We knew quite well that Hungary did not possess anti-tank weapons. University students of Sopron maintained a steady contact with university students of Budapest and reported whatever occurred there on mimeographed sheets. My nephew, also a student, informed me how the Budapest ~~III~~ students keep a constant watch over leading Communists in the Budapest Communist Party headquarters.

- (2 e) Writers were extremely influential. The Petofi Circle and the evening discussions conducted there were the actual originators of this whole thing. There were libraries in every village and factory. While I have high ^{praise} ~~praise~~ for the Hungarian writers in general, I condemn Tamas Aczel, he was a blood-mouthed (véresszájú) Communist. He wrote a book entitled Az acél megedzik. Now, that he is in the West, he is telling all the world exactly the opposite. There were other writers with backbone, who knew quite well that if they mislead the Hungarian people, Hungary as a nation will vanish from the face of the earth and

will become a Soviet colony. Rakosi, Geró, and others like them, were people who spoke Hungarian, but they were actually Russians.

(2 g)

The conference of the deans and students of the University of Szeged impressed me a great deal. The points they enumerated in their demand actually became the basis of the Revolution. Newspapers were carrying this good news from Szeged. The same thing happened in Budapest, Miskolc, Debrecen, and Sopron. University students and teachers were in a state of ferment, and they ~~WERE~~ were more free to act than the rest of the population, because of the autonomy granted to universities.

(3)

The peasantry and the workers were not able to purchase any of the produced items out of the wages they received for their work. We were not able to purchase such things as shoes and clothing, we were not able to maintain even the minimum standard of living. The average factory income was 800 forints per month. This was barely sufficient for food for the worker himself, let alone the rest of his family members. I, for instance, was paid 2.56 forints per hour. I was required to move for this money 10,000 kilograms of material per hour. My situation was extremely grave because my cadre sheet contained many items of information which put me in an unfavorable light. I served in the Hungarian army before the war for a few years, I did not have a learned trade, from 1945 till 1948 I was the proprietor of a restaurant. During 1948 they took the restaurant away from me. The police came and they literally chased us out of our own property. I went to work

to a lock factory. In this factory, just as in innumerable other factories, the workers were oppressed by the impossible norm system. The regime paid a certain amount of money for a given quantity of production. We were encouraged to raise our production in order to be able to earn more money. As soon as we did that, in a few weeks' time a new higher norm would be introduced and that would be henceforth the standard.

Another of our major grievances was the impossibility to change jobs. Also, certain categories of people, such as former gendarmes, former active army officers, former professional soldiers, and former white-collar workers were forced to perform the heaviest type of work at a very low wage. These were the so-called "B-list" persons (bélistások). Not only was one not able to change one's place of employment, the road to advancement within the factory was equally closed. Party activists and ~~HEIA~~ brigade leaders (brigádvezetők) were our foremen. Our working conditions were no less oppressive. I, for instance, was obliged to shovel 10,000 kilograms of coal per hour. The capacity of my shovel was 16 kilograms, even though the law limited this to 10 kilograms at the most. When we complained to the Party secretary, his answer was! "Those who are not able to do it will drop dead." ("Aki nem bírja, az megdöglik.") While we performed extremely heavy work under very unfavorable circumstances, our food supply was very meager and ~~it~~ quite limited. During 1950, for instance, I, as a heavy worker, received

5 dekagrams of meat per day. The rest of the workers received even less than that. Our foreman^a constantly ~~NEKRAJIKAVENKOR~~ ~~ME~~ agitated us to work more and harder, saying that all would be better in the future. We did not believe a word he said. The foreman did not work, except occasionally for five to ten minutes, when he intended to show us ^{the} speed, and yet he received 15 percent more than we did, and he also participated in premium payments.

As if all this oppression had not been enough, we were obliged to offer ten percent of our yearly wages for peace loans at a time when we did not have enough money to purchase food for our families. On one occasion I refused to offer anything for this purpose. In about a week's time I was summarily dismissed from my job. We were in the middle of a very cold and severe winter and I went from ^o Darius to Pilate complaining, but all my activities in this respect were in vain. Luckily, the plant director was transferred and another director came in his place who did not know of my case. As a result, I was reinstated after a few months. Naturally, I had to pay ^{the} peace loan retroactively and both the party secretary and an AVH captain warned me, saying I had better be more careful in the future, or else they will take me away where I will never see the light of the day again.

(3 b) The system collapsed so easily as it did, because those in charge and in control themselves saw how the people were

constantly sinking and how the country was exploited by the Russians. Hungary received only the trash, ~~with~~ ^{with} all the fruits of our labours going to Russia.

- (3 e) People everywhere rejoiced. Even before the demonstration was staged, the Communist government had ordered that the mines be removed from the country's frontiers. This also meant a great deal to us. We were shedding tears and we were crying, constantly praying that the Revolution should succeed. The children came home from school and they tore their Russian books to pieces. We would have liked to embrace the whole world at that moment. The Communists have ~~been~~ fled, Russian civilians gone home, factories were taken over by the workers' councils. We demanded that the institution of the party secretary and of the personnel ~~and~~ section be abolished. We further demanded that political prisoners and those who were accused of stealing be immediately set free. The Communist's power of resistance collapsed within moments. Some of the blue policemen immediately changed their uniforms for civilian clothing and became extremely humble.

In Sopron, on the 24th, all the factories ceased producing. Already on the before-noon of the 23rd, university students distributed leaflets listing the ~~MEFESZ~~ points. Soon after the distribution of these leaflets, the production was characterized by a complete slow-down. Already on the 23rd a number of Communists left the plant. There were no fights and ^{there was} no bloodshed in Sopron. We tore down the Communist insignia, the red star,

the red flag, and we also demolished a statue, erected in honor of the fallen Russian soldiers. Members of the AVH were present at all these activities, but they did not dare to do a thing. In fact, some of them came over to our side. A few of them actually participated in the demolition of the statue, actively helping in the operation. The AVH barracks became completely empty. University students and blue policemen were watching over the streets, in all the factories the workers' councils were quickly organized, the political parties: the Social Democrats, the Peasant Party, the Smallholders' and the Barankovics forces became reorganized again.

- (3 f) I don't know of any opposition. Everyone was forced to express his opinion. If someone had dared to oppose us, he most probably would have been beaten to death.
- (3 g) The AVH did not exist any longer. I could not think of anyone else being neutral. Everyone contributed to money and food collections. As I now remember, there was one police officer who refused to contribute anything. He fled from the city and came back only after November 4.
- (3 h) Among the most popular slogans were: Russians out, we are not going to work for the Russians, at last we are free, Communist controls should cease, political parties should be reorganized.
- (3 i) The revolt was decidedly anti-Communist, it was against the whole regime. In our estimation, anyone who wanted to remain Communist was completely free to do so, provided, of course,

that the government of the country be based on a coalition, where the Communist strength must not exceed the strength of their actual following. I am convinced, not too many Communist would have remained. Many of the Communists themselves came completely over to the side of the revolutionaries.

- (3 k) The uprising had the effect of turning people into a joyous trance, people became intoxicated with it and the force of this elemental tide carried everyone in an irresistible stream. It was similar to what occurs on a good soccer match, where everyone enthusiastically shouts: goal! Here, too, everyone acted as if possessed by one will. The ~~XX~~ big Communists, such as the plant director, party secretary, and others, were an exception. They fled for their lives. The plant director went across the border and remained in Austria for a week, when he eventually returned.
- (3 l) I don't know of any reactionaries. Their participation would have been completely out of the question. Everyone thought ~~as~~ ⁱⁿ terms of ^{freedom} and desired, freedom only, not land or some other material goods.
- (3 m) The Revolution would have been victorious. We have won anyway. It was the Suez Canal question that turned the tide. The Russians, encouraged by this Western violation of Egypt, decided to come back to Hungary. At any rate, if we had won, Maleter could not possibly have remained Minister of Defense. Nor would we have tolerated any of the other former Communists. We workers would not have spared any one of them. Maleter's Hungarian conscience

the Russian commander, the Russian commander promising not to shoot at us if we do not provoke him to do so.

- (4 b) There were innumerable instances of desertion among the Hungarian troops. Many a soldier came back to my own village. The frontier guards also abandoned their duty on the Austro-Hungarian border. They not only did not ~~XXXXXXXX~~ hinder the refugees from crossing the border, but they actually supported them, saying that they would be coming themselves.
- (4 c) No, I did not.
- (5 a) There were no organized demonstrations in Sopron.
- (5 b) Yes, I ~~XXXX~~ participated in the strike. I did not work from October 23 to November 20. Nor did anybody else.
- (5 c) Yes, I did. I was actively engaged in collecting food items and money. We went from house to house and everyone offered what he could. My wife ~~XXX~~ and I even considered offering our two pigs to the fighters of the capital.
- (5 d) I participated, with some 5000 other people, in the destruction of a Russian war memorial, which was erected in the center of the city. The policemen were standing there, watching us demolish the statue, but they didn't do a thing. As for ourselves, we didn't even think in those days that one could possibly die. We were also instrumental in removing red stars and red flags from the public buildings and from the factories.
- (5 e) university students brought a large quantity of leaflets to our factory around 10-11 o'clock in the morning of ~~the~~ October 23.

I took some 25-30 of these leaflets from one of the students and distributed them among my fellow-workers. I agitated at the same time, telling them that this is our chance, our opportunity to finally get back our freedom.

- (5 f) I was not a member of a revolutionary council. In the factory, younger people got elected, and by the time I got home to my village, a revolutionary council was already elected.
- (6) Not applicable.
- (7) There was no such thing as ~~the~~ one having greater, the other less authority. It was a unitary (egységes) revolution.
- (7 a) No. Conflicts or disagreements were out of the question. The Sopron revolutionary council sent a delegation to Imre Nagy. One thing we disliked in Imre Nagy, namely, his failure to declare a general mobilization. We expected such orders any moment. There was a regular ^{WAR} ~~war~~ between Hungary and Russia.
- (7 b) We acted as one. Arm in arm, and warmly embracing each other. These students were children of workers' families.
- (7 c) I did not have contact with ^{ARMY} ~~any~~ units. I met my fellow-workers frequently in the factory, and my nephew, a university student whom I met often enough, informed me of what went on in the students' circles.
- (7 d) I did meet the Catholic and Lutheran clergymen in the village on Sundays and occasionally on weekdays. Our children received religious instruction there. I had no direct contact with the

revolutionary councils.

- (8) There were no Russian soldiers in Sopron up until November 4. After the second wave encircled the city, tanks occupied strategic positions on the main roads and asked everyone passing for identification papers. Our passes were numbered according to zones and districts. Those whose papers were marked No.2, were permitted to go on their way, all the others were chased back. Those who attempted to cross the Austrian border -- it lay not very far away from us -- and were caught by the Russians, had their identification papers stamped. All these unfortunates, if they did remain in Hungary, were arrested later.
- (8 a) These Russians were looking for the Suez Canal. Actually, they weren't Russians at all. Many of them did not speak a word of Russian. They had repulsive faces and brutal features, with dog-like heads. And they were all extremely young, between the ages of 15-20.
- (8 c) Korean students rejoiced with us, and they sympathized with us fully. They spoke Hungarian well and they were fully aware of what was going on.
- (8 d) I never came in contact with these people, nor do I know much about them.
- (8 e) I heard reports of one Russian company deserting and defecting to the rebels in Győr. I also heard of Russian tanks going over to the rebel forces in Budapest.

- (9) First of all, I listened to the radio, both domestic and foreign. Then we had trucks moving back and forth from Sopron and Budapest, supplying the capital with food. These trucks arrived every hour. Also, students were sometimes employed as official messengers, who went from one locality to another.
- (9 a) We received newspapers only later, around November 1. At that time, an airplane threw down a great quantity of a Budapest newspaper. Unfortunately I no longer remember the name of the newspaper.
- (9 b) For instance, a truck was dispatched from our factory to Budapest. It carried some of our products to the capital and brought back some merchandise to the plant. The driver of the truck and others who went with him related to us how they were not able to cross by way of the Margit Bridge, because a tremendous crowd, marching to the Bem Plaza, thronged and streamed down that way, completely blocking the way. They told us that students and soldiers and officers, and women and children participated in a massive demonstration, singing Petofi's immortal poem, the Talpra magyar, and ripping to bits and burning red flags. They told us how the crowd streamed to the statue of Stalin, and how the 16-meter high statue was demolished. They told us that only Stalin's boots were left intact, as if for irony.

On October 23, in the afternoon, we listened to Geró's speech on the radio. But we had no idea that fighting broke out in the capital. The only thing we noticed during the speech was the

unusual thing that Gerő abruptly broke his speech, or that it was interrupted, by someone in the studio. As the truck proceeded on its way back to Sopron, these people further related, they drove through Győr, where everyone was on his feet, having meanwhile learned of the Budapest events. The truck stopped again at Csorna and Kapuvár, spilling whatever information they had. As they proceeded through our village, and later to the city of Sopron, around 2-3 o'clock in the morning of October 24, they shouted and awakened the people, telling everyone that Budapest was on fire and advising them to immediately stop working.

As I later learned, the university students of Sopron were well informed of the activities of the Budapest students even before October 23. They have held a general student meeting a day before, on the evening of October 22. On that meeting they expelled Communist students from their organizations and decided to print and distribute leaflets, which they actually did during the morning of the following day, 8 October 23.

As far as I was concerned, however, and innumerable other workers and villagers, our first authentic knowledge of the Budapest uprising came to us from the reports of these truckdrivers.

(9 c) We listened to the radio practically every minute of the day. For the first four or five nights I was not even able to sleep. We listened to both domestic and foreign stations, particularly to the Hungarian broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and the German-language broadcasts of Radio Vienna.

- (9 d) The radio was the most important medium, the stations I mentioned under 9 c. Newspapers were the least important.,
- (10) All government and part institutions in our area collapsed automatically, because the Communists immediately abandoned all their positions. They knew that they were in no way qualified to do what they did and they fully realized that there was no one with them or for them.
- (10 a) All Communist-directed institutions disintegrated. The town, the village council, everything.
- (10 b) The party disbanded immediately. They knew what great injustices they inflicted upon us.
- (10 c) The uniformed blue police ceased functioning. Former policemen donned civilian clothes. The maintaining of peace and order became the sole responsibility of university students and of the revolutionary workers' councils.
- (10 d) The AVH collapsed completely. We never even heard of them any more. Once there came an announcement that everyone should report names and whatever complaints they may have against individual members of the AVH.
- (10 e) The courts were disbanded. Pending court proceedings were stopped and sentences not yet executed were ordered held in abeyance.
- (10 f) Army units stationed in the city came over ~~in toto~~ ^{in toto} to the rebels. The only exceptions were high-ranking political officers. These fled immediately. They were coward dogs, they did not dare show their faces to the people, especially after what happened in

Mosonmagyaróvár.

- (10 g) There were none of these in Sopron.
- (10 h) These councils collapsed, too. Their functions were taken over by the workers' councils.
- (10 i) Churches continued, as always. The priests gave us encouragement ~~in~~ in their sermons, at the same time admonishing us to be calm and peaceful and to steer clear of ~~extremities~~ extremes and of atrocities.
- (10 j) They used none.
- (10 k) The revolutionary workers' councils were the ones that emerged during the revolt.
- (10 l) Workers' councils sprang up in every enterprise. They ~~had~~ were elected through secret ballot. For the election a minimum of 70 percent of the factory workers had to be present. Before the election the assembled people nominated whom they considered worthy of their trust. I, too, nominated two young and honest workers. ^{Both} ~~one~~ of them ^{were} ~~was~~ elected ^{to} the council. Youth, honesty, and leadership were the qualities we sought.

Once elected, these councils became the supreme power, both ~~administrative~~ administrative and legislative, in the city or village. They ~~effectuated~~ effected a number of necessary corrections in the administrative orders issued by the Communist regime; they set people free who were unjustly held in prison; they made sure that the cadre sheets were destroyed; they abolished the norm system and were in the process of establishing a system of just wages. They re-established, in principle, the worker's right

to freely choose his place of employment. The councils were autonomous and independent in their local sphere, while at the same time they received directives from the county councils, who, in turn, received theirs from Budapest, in an effort to achieve some minimum of coherence and standardization. The university students and other intellectuals had a lion's share in all these activities.

- (10 m) There would have been a coalition government, representing on a proportional basis those five political parties which functioned between 1945 and 1947. This government would have operated within the framework of a free and independent Hungary. The MASZEK would have been reestablished and the armaments ~~XXXXXX~~ (fegyverkezés) would have been reduced.
- (11) Yes, my family and I think about the Revolution very often. How good it would have been, if we had been able to retain our freedom.
- (11 a) I think it was very useful. The Western world, which we ourselves knew only partially, would have remained completely out of reach for our children, who would have grown up knowing only things Russian. Also, the Western nations conveniently assumed that, as far as ^{they} we were concerned, we were done for as people, that we no longer existed. And how mistaken were they. We, Hungarians, have a centuries-old unerasable tradition of freedom. The Czechs are an entirely different people. The Serbians, on the other hand, sympathized with us. If Austria had not been a neutral

country, then, I am certain, everything would have turned out quite differently.

- (11 b) Not only could it have succeeded, the Revolution actually was successful. If it had not been for the second Russian wave, the Communists would never have regained ^{their} ~~the~~ power in Hungary. All the other subjugated nations, with the exception of the Czechs, would have followed our example.

It is not Hungarians who rule Hungary now, it is Hungarian-speaking Russians, relying on Russian weapons, who hold our country under sway. There is an absolute Russian dictatorship in Hungary. What goes on in Hungary today represents the darkest slave-trade episode of the XXth Century. But that millions of people were thus traded into slavery, this, indeed, is beyond my limited comprehension. We expected East Germany and Poland to rise simultaneously with us, or shortly after us, and we ~~expected~~ expected that, had this taken place, the Russians would have been impotent to deal with such a situation. But the whole came so unexpectedly and, as a result, it came so without organization. We know quite well how great and deep and widespread the dissatisfaction of the Russian people is.

- (11 c) Yes, we expected help from the West. Very much so. Every day we expected the Americans. We expected American and English paratroopers, or, failing that, the least we expected was that these ^D ~~power~~ would drop us enough weapons, especially anti-tank weapons, of which we had none. We expected the West to openly take our side.

(11 d) In Hungary -- an agricultural nation not yet industrialized -- ~~the~~ agriculture was so badly mismanaged and agricultural production sank so low that we did not have enough food for our own population. The forced deliveries were beyond comprehension. Workers toiled for hunger wages at a forcefully accelerated production tempo. What eventually erupted was prepared by a long and painful process of fermentation. The process was slow because it was impossible to organize. The thought matured on an individual basis, or in little groups at best. But it was ripe. It needed only the pushing of a button and the millions of individuals, all ready individually for years, suddenly united and initiated an irresistible chain reaction. The Hungarians could never stand foreign oppression. Hungary's history testifies to that. We of this generation, ~~we~~ too, would have preferred to conduct our lives in freedom, but, unfortunately, Hungary is very badly located geographically in today's world.

If the United States would have supported us, as she did other nations, Hungary would never have become Communist-controlled. It is a grave mistake to assume that poor economic conditions (németelenség) inevitably lead to communism.

(11 e) In 1953, when Imre Nagy proclaimed his July-program, we all received his program enthusiastically. But Imre Nagy did not say a word about free elections, and he remained silent ~~regarding~~ regarding the coalition parties. We considered his government to be a puppet government. We did not believe him and we could not trust him. We knew that whatever the Hungarian government

may say, it says it on Russian orders. We knew that the Russians saw themselves forced to retreat somewhat, to allow certain concessions, because about 10 percent of the Hungarian population was in prison. They saw the need of making one step backwards. One or two weeks after Nagy proclaimed his program to the nation, Rakosi began hindering and boycotting its execution. Those who have opened MASZEK stores, following Nagy's bid, soon saw them being closed again or, maybe worse than that, the proprietors were so heavily hit with taxes that their continued existence clearly became impossible.

- (11 f) The leaders of the coalition parties were important: Anna Kethly, Zoltan Tildy, Cardinal Mindszenty. We all wanted Mindszenty for our leader. Irrespective of religious allegiance or denomination, everyone in Hungary admired and adored him. Lajos Ordass was another important personality.

Maleter used to be garrison commander in Debrecen. He was a big Communist, a big party wheel, he was a great "builder" along the party lines, and he was extremely anxious to introduce and establish communism within the army. When at the Kijlian Barracks, he saw the bloodshed and his Hungarian conscience moved. But he could not possibly have given a contrary command under the circumstances.

Király -- I don't know him at all. I never heard of him.

Kóvágó -- he was in jail, I know, at one time he was the

Mayor of Budapest. But, if he accepted even the smallest office under the Communists, then he is a no-good adventurer. (esapnivaló.) I say this, for he helped the people's enemies.

Aczél -- I never read any of his books. His book Az acél megedzrik was widely read, and even a movie was based on it. Aczél's guilt lies in his willingness to clothe communism in acceptable garbs, thereby propagating a regime and system in a presentation which he knew was not true. He was a traitor to our country. Now, safely in the West, he takes exactly the opposite view. As a big, intelligent writer, he should have acted differently. He should not have tried to idealize and polish up *what* ~~was~~ basically was untrue and a lie.

Lovász -- I don't know him at all.

Tilley -- he was a former president of the Hungarian Republic. He was some sort of a minister, I think, in his private life. I don't know much about him. Tilley is guilty because he failed to inform us in 1948 about the plans he knew the Russians had in store for us and for our country.

Dudás -- I never heard of him. (Interviewer here interjected that Dudás was a Transylvanian Hungarian by origin. This is what respondent said to that:) Transylvanians were the greatest Communists. We had three of them in our factory, and all three of them were devout Communists. In our village there was another. This, too, was a great Communist. The wife of the village council president was also a Communist. It was a

general policy to import aliens and to put them in leading positions. Local people would never have accepted assignments of this kind.

- (11 g) I would put these in the following order: 1. students; 2., workers; 3. soldiers; 4. youths (young workers).

There were no ~~IES~~ irresponsible elements. Everyone knew precisely what he was fighting for.

- (11 h) Not only ^{did} ~~that~~ we expect university students to act as they did, ~~EH~~ we were positively convinced that they would burst into that sort of activity at the first chance that would come their way. These young men were educated and skillful people, they knew the situation more than anyone of us did, and they also knew how to break the ice.

We did not think much of the Petofi Circle. We thought it was a Communist bluff, just as the Imre Nagy program of 1953 was a Communist bluff. We figured they would let this ~~HEHEHE~~ circus go on for a little while, only to hit us even harder after that on our heads. The freeing of Mindszenty had a far greater significance on all of us than anything else. The whole nation sat in a gigantic prison for the last twelve years, and Mindszenty remained the living symbol of our never-ending struggle as well as a symbol of our hopes and expectations for the future.

Imre Nagy and Maléter spoke entirely in vain. They had no following and they should have been ejected from their positions.

- (12) The decision to leave Hungary was a very hard one to make. I loved my fatherland very much. I was out in Russia in 1942-43. I have seen what it really looked like. While in Russia, I made a vow never to leave my country. But I agitated very strongly against the Communists during the Revolution and I was very active in the distribution of leaflets and in the removal of Communist symbols. I had to protect my family. I made my final decision on November 20.
- (12 a) I sympathized only too openly with the Revolution. Also, I was not prepared to live under communism any longer. I was in the Revolution with my whole heart and with my whole soul. I did not even dare to believe and to admit that we have lost it. I kept on thinking that the United Nations would reverse the situation.
- (12 b) No, I did not discuss it with anyone, except with members of my immediate family.
- (12 c) I did plan to return to Hungary, while in Austria, as soon as the Russians withdrew their troops. Even there I continued hoping.

(1) I started working and earning money in 1938. I began my industrial career as an unskilled laborer in a textile ~~XXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ dyeing plant. I was drafted into the Hungarian army in 1940, spent some time on the Russian front (1942-1943) and, remaining in the army even after my tour of duty ended, I was finally discharged in March 1945. After my discharge I lived in a village (please do not identify the village by name). (Interviewer's note: the village was of medium size, population cca. 4000, located about 4-5 kilometers from an industrial town in Western Hungary, adjoining the Austro-Hungarian border.) From 1945 to 1948 I owned and operated a thriving tavern-restaurant in this village. In 1948 my establishment was nationalized ~~h~~ -- we were thrown out of our own property without any compensation. In 1948 I again became an industrial laborer, joining a factory that produced all sorts of locks. I worked there as a galvanizer and metal grinder. I left this place in 1952 and joined a textile factory, where I worked with one interruption until November 20, 1956.

(1 a) I consider myself an unskilled factory worker and farmer.

(2) Right after 1945 I made good money in my tavern-restaurant. As time went on, however, my taxes kept on increasing until they became unbearable. I was not able to pay and, one day during 1948, armed policemen entered my business, took a complete inventory, and chased us all out.

My next employment was at the lock factory. My job there

was to grind and galvanize various ~~metals~~ *metals*.

- (2 b) I was a metal-grinding worker.
- (2 c) I held this position from 1948 to 1952.
- (2 d) No, I was never promoted.
- (2 e) The factory was of middle size, employing about 300 ~~in~~ people in a one-shift operation. We made locks, doorhinges, ornaments, stoves, ovens, pots and pans, and certain construction metal pieces. We had a sizable export to India.
- (2 f) See Q. 2 e for factory activity. I don't know whether it was an efficient operation. I know we ~~had~~ had plenty of orders. Soon after the Korean war broke out, a large shipment of ours, ca. 32 freight car loads, were sent back to us. I don't know where these goods came back from. At any rate, the plant management wanted us to unload and to lubricate and to repack this merchandise, after regular working hours, without any compensation. ~~They~~ They asked us to render our services as a sort of socialistic work-offering. I was not prepared to ~~do~~ do that and, claiming reasons of health, I asked the plant management to permit me to quit my job. My request was granted. I left this job and sought *employment* ~~appointment~~ in a textile factory.
- (II. 2a) In the textile plant I was a steamer. It was my job to steam-treat semi-finished woolen goods. From here I was transferred to the dyeing section of the plant, but did not stay there long. I was told that my cadre was very bad and that, as a consequence, I could not hold responsible assignments. I was transferred

to the outdoor yard-party, working as a loader and unloader. This was an extremely heavy work and the compensation for it was very, very low. In the production section of the plant, 16-year-old girls made cca. 30 percent more than I did.

- (2 b) I was an unskilled laborer.
- (2 c) I worked from 1952 to November 20, 1956.
- (2 d) I was never promoted. To the contrary, I was demoted because of my cadre status.
- (2 e) It was a middle-sized plant, operating in three shifts, and employing about 600 persons.
- (2 f) The plant worked very efficiently. It produced woollen yarn goods from raw wool imported from Australia. The plant worked almost exclusively for export to Russia and, as far as I know, at a sizable profit to the plant. This plant was a subsidiary of a German or Austrian concern and its products were of very high quality. It produced very thin and very fine yarn. I must ask you emphatically never to mention either the name of the plant or the name of the Austrian mother plant, because I still have relatives in Hungary and I don't want to cause these people any harm, should the information I give you ever come into Communist hands.
- (3) (Job description here following has to do with respondent's job in the textile plant.)

I did not like this job at all. I stayed there because I simply could not go anywhere else.

- (3 b) Plants in Hungary were categorized, a,b,c, and the wage scale of the workers depended on the category of their plant. Our factory was a "c" category plant and work in it was very poorly paid.
- (3 c) I had an income five times larger when I worked as a grinder and galvanizer.
- (3 d) Working conditions were very bad and work was extremely hard. My work consisted of loading and unloading coal. My hand shovel -- everything was done by hand -- had a capacity of 16-25 kilograms and I was obliged to use it even though the law limited such operations to a maximum of ten kilogram liftings.

The technical niveau was very low. As far as hygienic considerations went -- we very obliged to stay in the open and work whether it rained or snowed. The plant was not crowded, except for the executive offices, where 60 people performed their various tasks. Before the war, these offices were manned by 7 people. The offices were very crowded indeed. The plant equipment was very obsolete. The quality of the finished ~~export~~ export products was very high. The yarn we produced was a mixture of Australian wool and an artificial material called nia, which came to us from Italy. Goods ^{of} this ^{kind} ~~same~~ for domestic consumption had a ~~PERCENT~~ ratio of 30/70, those to be exported ranged from 50/50 to 100 percent wool. Between 1948 and 1950, the factory was completely in Russian hands, as a former German

asset, and during that period a Russian director and Russian inspectors supervised every activity. After 1950, the Russians resold the plant to the Hungarian government.

- (3 e) I commuted by ~~my~~ bicycle. The distance from my quarters to the plant was cca. 4 kilometers. I spent some three quarters of an hour on a round trip.
- (3 f) My regular work period was 8 hours a day. If we had freight cars to unload, I frequently/^{worked} as much as 72 hours uninterruptedly. It often happened that five of us received the assignment of unloading ten freight cars of coal by hand shovels. While ~~we~~ unloading this, we were required to throw the coal to a distance of 8 meters or more with shovels that took cca. 16-25 kilograms of coal. ~~I~~ We received 16 forints per person per freight car.
- (3 g) I worked 6 days a week.
- (3 h) I did work overtime very often. I was not paid for it as overtime, but received 16 forints for the unloading of one freight car of coal.
- (3 i) Yes, I think we had two legal holidays, November 4 and May 1.
- (3 j) Yes, we had 12 days of paid vacation a year. This was the basic unit. Each continuous two years at the same plant increased the vacation ~~by~~ ^{by} one additional day, up until a maximum of one month, I think.
- (3 k) Yes, of course. The plant manager had a much longer vacation than had the masters (mesterek). These, in turn, had longer vacations than the rest of us.

- (3 l) Yes, very much so. If one was late five minutes, he did not receive pay for that hour. If this happened more than once, one ~~h~~ whole day's pay was deducted and one or two days were taken away from one's vacation. There were people who lost a whole week of their vacation this way. It all depended on, and was according to, the decision of the plant manager.
- (3 m) Yes, there were a number of such changes; these changes consisted in name changes. What used to be called norm was renamed time-wage. Time-wage in turn, was rebaptized to piecework-wage. The names changed, but the essence behind it all was that the workers received less and less pay for harder and harder work.
- (3 n) The emphasis was always on speed. There are ^{too} ~~are~~ many saboteurs -- they used to say -- who do not want to understand the admonition of the Five-Year Plan. Speedups continued to be emphasized, very often even to the expense of quality. Production very often rose on paper only. At the end of the year, if this bookkeeping manipulation was discovered, the responsible ones were arrested and imprisoned.
- (3 o) I cannot speak of benefits. My job brought me only the greatest of miseries.

I did have medical insurance, they deducted a high percentage of my wages for that. If one became ill, he continued to receive his wages for a year, if necessary. If one became an invalid as a result of an on-the-work accident, ~~he~~ he received a compensation proportionate to his losses. There was a woman in our factory who suffered a nervous breakdown as a result of her work.

She received assistance for 18 months. After that, she had to come back and was forced to resume her previous task. If someone left the plant out of his own volition, without the approval of the management, and secured himself employment in some other place, and got sick there, his sickness assistance was reduced by 15 percent. If one felt sick on the job, and went to see the doctor, more often than not the plant physician did not approve a sick leave. It happened to me a number of times that I was sick and had high fever in the morning. By the time I got to see the doctor, late in the afternoon, the fever subsided, and the doctor did not admit that I was sick. Days like this were simply not paid or were deducted from one's vacation.

(4 a) These were disgruntled and ~~XXXXX~~ fed-up and disillusioned people. Among them were holders of certificates of maturity examinations (érettsegi), former technicians, former army officers, freed inmates of internment camps and former gendarmes. Their age varied from 30 to 40. All of us were considered unreliable in the democracy, for one reason or another, and we could never hope of receiving responsible positions.

(4 b) Our group leader was a Communist. He was very strict. We often asked him for raise but he always replied that democratic raise must be earned. I once called his attention to my five children, pleading with him for a raise on that score. His rude reply was: "Why did you make them." If we saw a way to make our job

easier, or if we had an idea to rationalize our work methods, and if such change would have required a little material to be accomplished, our requests were immediately rejected.

- (4 c) The circle of friends was very limited and closed. Even among friends, one never discussed politics, limiting the conversations to discussion of work problems. This changed markedly shortly before the Revolution. But even then, we never discussed political matters, ~~EXCEPT~~ in the presence of our brigade leader. This gangster disappeared during the Revolution.
- (4 d) Not before the end of September 1956. We knew there was an extensive informers' system, and we did not dare to. We were afraid.
- (4 e) Yes, there was a great difference in treatment. Party ~~MEMBERS~~ members received much higher pay, they were assigned to responsible positions. Irrespective of their ability or qualifications, they received such jobs as warehouse management, scale operator, assistant master, etc. If you find anyone who claims to have been a master ~~(MESTER) MESTER~~ (mester, English equivalent master craftsman), you may be dead certain he was a party member.
- (4 f) I was also a member of the trade union. Membership was tied to one's relationship to work (munkaviszony), a Communist phraseology which meant that only members were permitted to work. Membership was forced. If you were not a member, you were out. Later even the SzTK benefits were tied to union membership. If you were not a member, you had no hospitalization insurance,

nor monetary assistance in time of sickness. Union ~~XXX~~ dues were 3 percent of one's pay. This was later reduced to 7 forints per month. Unions were not independent, as they should have been. They were an arm of the government and their policies shifted with shifting trends in the government.

- (4 g) Yes. Unions were independent between 1945 and 1947. After that they became part and parcel of the government.
- (4 i) Yes, there was a shop triangle. It consisted of the party secretary, of the plant manager, and the chairman of the plant committee (üzemi bizottság elnök). I don't know too much about them, I was too far removed from the plant offices.
- (4 l) There were many operations in the plant which were not rational. If we proposed to rationalize some of the operations, but we needed some lumber, for instance, to bring them about, our requests were always refused.
- (4 n) Communists, among themselves, decided who the good cadres were. The stupider the man was the better opportunities of advancement lay ahead of him. Those who consistently overproduced, the Stakhanovists, were the best liked. No one in my group possessed these qualities.
- (4 p) I don't know of any such ones. But that the plant manager was an AVH agent, that is a sure thing. The chief of the personnel section was another AVH person. These people noted and recorded everything.
- ~~XXXX~~ (5) There wasn't any possibility for changing jobs. If someone

had a serious accident, or was known to be physically unable to perform his job, then, he may have had a chance to change jobs. But it was impossible to change jobs on a voluntary basis. If someone did leave of his own free volition, he received 15-20 percent less pay at his next place of employment. This was a sort of deterrent and punishment. It remained in effect for from one to three years. There was no possibility for further on-the-job training either.

- (5 b) I would have remained a restaurateur and tavern operator. I enjoyed immensely the company of people and, while operating my tavern restaurant, I was always in the circle of gay and happy people.
- (5 e) If I had all those possibilities and the freedom of choice, I would aspire to secure for myself a family home. I would devote all my free time fishing.
- (5 g) Definitely not. All our plans called for the education of our children. The life I led was definitely not suitable for either founding a family or for maintaining one. We realized, however, to our great sorrow, that the education of our children was only a dream, a wish, the realization of which was entirely out of our reach. My cadre status was a very bad one.
- (6) Until 1948 we lived reasonably well. Between 1948 and 1956 we were not able to secure even 50 percent of the minimum living standard. This was true even though my wife worked also at home and on the farm, together with the children. We also kept some

Contrast to factory

livestock. Even that was to no avail.

- (6 b) We bought three bedsheets during the last 12 years. I could not buy any clothing at all. I received a working suit from the factory. I wore this suit not only while at work, but at all times. During the hardest and coldest of winters my children did not have shoes. One pair of shoes was used by two, and sometimes by three of them. One child wore them during the morning, the other in the afternoon. They were lucky that schools were conducted on two shifts. We did not have coal during the entire winter.
- (6 c) No, not at all.
- (6 d) Exploited I was, that is certain. Every feeling of mine indicated that to me. As to your question, who our exploiters were, the regime itself demanded the ransom from the people, it was the system that extorted from us every bit we had.

By exploitation I mean a system where people do not receive just compensation for work performed. Where they receive far less than they justly deserve. The exploitation on farms consisted in the forced obligation of the peasant to deliver goods he produced at no compensation.

- (7 a) 1947 -- 20-25,000 forints yearly.
1952--- 14,000 forints yearly.
1955 -- 10-11,000 forints yearly.

While at the lock factory, I received 1200 forints a month. In the textile plant I made 2.56 forints per hour. My official

norm was unloading of one ton of coal (10,000 kilograms) in an hour. ~~My~~ My base pay was 560 forints per month. This rose to 800-900 with the extra unloading of additional freight cars after regular working hours at a rate of 16 forints per freight car.

These figures reach their full significance only if you realize what prices were in those respective years. To give you just one example: in 1947 ~~we~~ we paid 25 forints for one meter of velvet material -- a year when I made over 20,000 forints. In 1956 I made about 10,000 forints, and the price of velvet rose from 25 to 100 forints per meter.

- (7 b) I had a very low pay. But there were people who received even less than I did. Some invalid workers received only ~~my~~ 400-500 forints a month. This was about the wage of factory cleaners also.
- (7 c) In steel factories, people who performed the same type of work I did, very often made as much as 40,000 forints per year.
- (7 d) I alone worked. (Interviewer's note: by work respondent considers work ~~done~~ done for someone else, for which some compensation actually is paid. His wife's work at home and on the farm would not come under this category.) My wife worked at home and on the farm. Even my children (8-10 years old) worked with hoes in their hands during the summer. They did this in order to give us some help in that hard life.
- (8) Respondent filled out a Budget Questionnaire.
- (9) Dwelling conditions were extremely bad. The official Communist

program proclaimed that large families would be helped in their housing problems. The reality was that they took away from me my business and house (my house contained a comfortable apartment beside the restaurant) and they put us in a 4 by 4 meter hole called living quarters, to which a 2 by 2½ meter kitchen was added. We lived there, the seven of us. One bed was occupied by three children.

(9 a)

Either my wife, or one of the children, spent 90 percent of the day waiting in queues. The village had five stores before the war. Now we only had one store to well over 2,000 inhabitants. One had to wait for bread and meat. Lard was not even obtainable. Later we didn't have bread or flour either. Between 1948 and 1956 there was no butcher's store in the village. Before the war we had two butchers. After 1948, meat was brought to the general store of the village from a nearby city, in very small quantities and at irregular intervals. People often sat in front of the store from 10 p.m. in the evening and all through the night in the hope of getting some meat the following morning. It soon turned out that the store did not have enough meat available, and only the very few at the beginning of the line received small quantities. The rest had to go home empty-handed.

Communist leaders, on the other hand, never had to wait in line. They went into the store through a separate entrance and picked up the large packages already prepared for them.

The service itself in stores was equally miserable. You could not express a desire, or a preference, for this meat, or

that cut. The operator handed to you something, and you could take it or leave it. More than once ~~E~~ we almost broke our hearts at the sight of bones we got from the store.

- (9 b) I didn't notice any variation. There just wasn't anything available.
- (9 c) There was only one state store. There was a marketplace, too, in the village, but there was nothing on the market. ~~Was~~ⁱⁿ the city, state stores were a lot cheaper than privately-owned ones. We, in our own family, produced such things as vegetables, onions, tomatoes, and other things on our fields. We did not have to buy these things.
- (9 d) No, there was not much variation. Except that the amount of available goods became less and less. Another change was that prices continued to go up. I paid for a pair of work boots 106 forints in 1947. The price of these in 1956 was 275 forints.
- (10) Well, let's take the Stalin works. (Interviewer's note: reference here is made to the vast industrial complex at Dunapentele, also known as Stalinváros.) We knew it was heading for bankruptcy, because it did not have the material base to operate. We were not strong enough economically for the construction of the Budapest subway~~EE~~ system either. Many millions of forints were spent for nothing. Vast sums of money were thrown out ^{through} ~~EE~~ the window and the work was eventually stopped, after experts ascertained and stated the fact that the construction

was not feasible from an engineering point of view.

- (10 a) No, it was not. The development of the economy was forced and artificially accelerated. Our country should have based the nation's economy on our own resources. The Stalin works was supposed to operate on Serbian iron ore, but the international situation worsened and Tito refused to give us any ore.
- (10 b) See Q. 10 and 10 a.
- (10 c) I was a very young man then and, I must confess, I was not even interested very much in politics in those days. I was not forced then to think, and to try to reason out the roots of all the problems, because I knew no problems. I am not able, for this reason, to answer your question.
- (10 c 2) I was a soldier in that period and, as a soldier, I did not concern myself with questions of public life and interest.
- (10 d) In 1946, we had the currency reform and the coming of ^{the} forint. Then came the Marshall Plan, but the Russians did not approve of it and they forbade Hungary to join it. The Russians were afraid, thinking that they would loose most of their authority and prestige if the Marshall Plan is extended to Eastern Europe as well. Most Hungarians eagerly welcomed the Marshall plan. After the stabilization of the currency, the ruins of the war were cleared and a gigantic program of rebuilding went under way. Everyone was elated. But this enthusiasm stopped abruptly after 1948, when the Communists took complete control.
- (10 f) After 1953, the Imre Nagy program proclaimed the partial

re-establishment of free enterprises. But those who opened new stores were forced to close them after two-three months because of the high taxes and because of the lack of consumer goods. Artisans did not have the necessary raw materials. The shoemakers did not have leather, the butchers did not have meat. Most of these MASZEK people closed their shops of their own free will, others were forced to do so. Communists did this whole thing, IM I think, in order to discover those few who still had some money to open stores with, in order to liquidate them that much more easily. They waited until people opened up their stores or shops and then they took away everything from them. After the closing of the MASZEK stores, the future of these MASZEK people became just as hopeless as the future of everybody else. Viewing this sad situation, we did not believe a word of the Imre Nagy program then, nor did we believe Imre Nagy during the Revolution. He was a Communist and we knew Communists ought never to be trusted.

(10 g) I haven't noticed any betterment of the situation. Programs were coming and going, promises were heaped one on the other, but in reality no change occurred. The price of lard was reduced to 28 forints per kilogram, but it was not lard really, it was a mixture of some vegetable and mineral oils, completely unfit for consumption. The real Hungarian lard was exported to Russia. If one wanted to buy the real thing, on the black market,

the price was still from 40 to 50 forints per kilogram.

- (11) The workers earned so little that they were not able to cover more than 80 percent of their basic food needs. Needless to say, one could buy nothing else but food. The larger one's family, the bigger his distress and misery.

- (1) I completed 6 years of elementary school and 3 years of continuing school.
- (1 a) My ~~XXX~~ elementary schooling stretched from 1926 to 1932. From 1932 to 1935 I attended twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, the continuing school (ismétlő iskola).
- (1 b) I attended parochial school.
- (1 e) I was a war orphan -- my father ~~XXXX~~ died of wounds suffered in the first World War -- and my mother, left alone with three small children, could not afford to send us to higher schools.
- (2) Both my mother and my teacher desired that I continue my education and I, on my part, studied earnestly and diligently. But the question of finances thwarted all our plans.
- (3) Not applicable.
- (4) The main objective of Communist education was a complete re-orientation of Hungarian youth, a training ~~to~~ away from, and implicitly against, ~~the~~ patriotism, against love of our Hungarian fatherland. Another objective was the alienation of this youth from, and the instilling of hatred against, the Western world.
- A constant propaganda was exerted against the West in schools, and the West was depicted in quite unfavorable colors, in textbooks, in teachers' lectures and in exhortations addressed to us during PTA meetings. The West was full of warmongers, of imperialists, and what have you.
- (4 b) Communism was completely incapable of taking roots in the hearts of the young. Parents constantly agitated against it. We told

our children of our youth, explaining to them how we used to live when we were children. We told them of the lives of our parents -- their grandparents. We did not have to tell them about ourselves -- they have seen and grasped our misery and plight. We are not the barbarians the West often thinks us to be. We were, in effect, one of the most cultured nations in the Central European region. Our population has a density of 80-90 persons per square kilometer -- not 2-3 people as in some backward regions.

- (4 b 2) Teachers, the older ones, remained loyal to their convictions, even though they occasionally paid lip service to ~~XXXXXXXX~~ communism by using their phraseology. The regime knew this and tried to counteract the situation by appointing young and inexperienced school supervisors who were faithful to the party line. These supervisors often did not have more than a few months of training.
- (4 c) Children, -- and I am speaking of our village -- without exception, regularly visited the churches, often in secret. Religion was excluded from the official curriculum, but our children continued to receive religious instruction in church or at the parish. The children realized fully the antagonism between us and the authorities. They even copied our actions in their own ~~XIX~~ lives; they refused to play, or even to be seen together, with children of Communist parents.

(4 e) They disliked the constant demagogy. Every year they were told to praise different individuals. Once Stalin, then Malenkov. They had to change their textbooks at least twice a year. Not even the children believed the obviously contradictory statements in the textbooks. In the eyes of the children the regime represented a curious, if not ridiculous, spectacle, where there was no stability in anything.

They made their school chores not because they believed in it, but because it was to them an inescapable necessity. If they had some homework assignment, they did them in the way it was required, knowing full well all the while that what they wrote was false.

(4 f) There was a constant intensification of this attempt at indoctrination.

(4 h) On the surface there was a seeming change of children's attitudes which, to a superficial observer, might have indicated servile acceptance of all the poison they were fed. But deep in their souls this forceful feeding bred resentment, opposition, and hate. They have seen how either their father or their mother or both suffered because of the system. And where the family thus suffered, where the unity and tranquillity of the family became disturbed and ruined, Communists had no chances at all of winning over the hearts of the young.

Communism will never be able to establish itself in Hungary. Hungarian families were much better off under the counts and

barons, when they were "slaves," than now, when theirs ^{is} ~~of~~ the factory and theirs is the land.

Young people did not have any joy and recreation at all. We had innumerable ~~palatial~~ ^{culture-}homes, with libraries, facilities for dancing, of playing cards or chess, but all this was so artificial, lacking in spirit, that few people went there. The culture homes were mostly empty. We had movies, too, but no one cared to look at Russian pictures. The films portrayed such things as ploughing with a tractor, the founding of a TSzCs farm, and similar nonsense. Who wanted to see such things?

(4 i) It all depends on the child's circumstances. Much depends on the parents' attitude towards communism. If the father is a big Communist, if to that he has a good job, etc., then, in all probability, he will have a reasonable success in the indoctrination of his child. Unfortunately, there were such parents. Children of such parents had everything they wanted, including a first-class education, private tutoring in foreign languages, etc.

(5) My father died in 1919.

(5 f) We were somewhere in the middle. In the pengó-world my mother had a good job in a factory and was able to bring up her three children in a decent way. I started working only after I became 18 years old. And there was really no need for us children to go to work earlier. Our material circumstances did not force

us to do so.

- (5 g) There were the four of us, my mother, my sister, and the two of us, boys.
- (5 h) My sister is in Canada, my brother is supposed to be somewhere in France. He did not return from the West after the second World War. He participated subsequently in the Indo-China campaign and we have not heard from him since a long time. I don't know if he is still alive.
- (5 i) No, only my wife and children were in our household.
- (5 k) My social origin was more of a hindrance than help. My cadre status was very bad. I was a restaurant owner, I was a Social Democrat, and I refused once to sign up for the peace loan.
- (6) Yes.
- (6 a) My wife worked in and around the house, she worked in the fields, in our vineyard, in our vegetable garden, and she fed the animals.
- (6 b) I am married since 1944.
- (6 c) I have five children.
- (6 d) My oldest child was 12 years old.
- (8) Yes, we spoke about politics, both between ourselves (husband-wife) and with our children. Both my wife and I constantly tried to enlighten our children by correcting some of the falsities they were taught in school.
- (8 a) We cursed the Communists all the time. They were barbarians, and we told our children so whenever there was an occasion for it. And there were plenty of such occasions. Just to give you an

example: the Constitution proclaimed that we had complete religious freedom. But, when it came to the implementation of this constitutional provision at the time of the school registration, the drum man (dobos) was sent around the village and informed us that parents who want their children to receive religious instruction must report to the village council and sign a special authorization there to the effect that both parents desired their children to receive religious instruction. I don't have to tell you what the purpose behind this Communist ~~MANE~~ manoeuvre was.

(9) Aside from their religious instruction, as explained under Q.8.a, no. (Other sections of Q.9. not applicable.)

(10) Yes, the school exerted a great influence over our children. It actually determined their future. Two types of certificates were issued in the elementary school. The one certificate stated that the child received religious instruction, ~~XXXXX~~ the other, that it did not. The certificate on which religion was listed as a subject was worthless when it came to continuation of studies beyond the elementary level. The fact that my children received religious instruction had a powerful bearing even on my work in the factory. This circumstance was one of ~~the~~ the main factors that blocked all my opportunities of advancement. Because my children received religious instruction, I was branded a clerical reactionary. Communist functionaries sometimes stood in the vicinity of the church on Sundays and recorded the names of those

who ~~had~~ entered or came out. (These very people professed to be great believers in God during the Revolution.)

- (10 a) Yes, there was a very fierce competition. On every PTA meeting the political referee denounced and warned us parents that we did not teach our children adequately in the Communist spirit. Teachers exert themselves in vain in this direction -- the referee used to say -- if the parents refuse to cooperate. Teachers vainly try to instruct the children in the right way -- he continued -- if the parents exhort them to proceed in the opposite direction.

‡ The Russian language was a compulsory subject, and it was emphasized much more than was mathematics, Hungarian, or history.

- (11) Yes. Our relations were always very good. We are active correspondents even now.
- (12) No. Since I got married, I saw my mother only twice.
- (13) No.
- (13 b) No.
- (13 c) No.
- (13 d) No.
- (13 e) No.
- (14) We had a struggling and suffering life, but there was always the best of understanding between us. Neither of us had friends. We lived a closed family life.
- (14 a) We were very close.
- (14 b) For our village, our family life was rather typical.

- (14 c) I never had any leisure time at all. I always worked. I attended twice a year a soccer game.
- (14 g) No, I was not free because I had so much work to do that I did not even have any leisure time. I worked 8 hours in the factory and 8 hours in the fields. I had 6 hours rest. My average ^{wt}wieght used to be 80-85 kilograms. ~~XXX~~ It came down to 65.
- (15) Family ties became very close and tight in the constant and common struggle of survival. Families led a secluded life and kept always to themselves. This was not the case with the Communists. 90 percent of them were divorced men and women.
- (15 b) Yes, I think so.
- (15 e) I don't know of any changes.
- (16) I don't really know.
- (16 b) I could not tell you.
- (16 e) Prostitution was prohibited. But it still persisted in larger cities. If someone was caught practicing it, he or she was very severely punished.
- (16 f) They were less strict, I think. Their aim was the demoralization and eventual destruction of the family. They wanted to create a situation where there are plenty of dissatisfied people ~~XXXX~~ combating one another. This is why they confiscated property, persecuted religion, etc.
- (16 h) I don't know.
- (16 i) Yes, the status of women has changed insofar as the Communists have burdened them with heavy material responsibilities and

worry and forced them ~~them~~ to work in factories. They are required to work 8 hours a day away from home and they still have to perform their regular household duties after that. And there are none of those electrical appliances which make the life of a Western woman a dream.

I think this change is very bad. Women need much more ^{leisure} time and rest. My motto always has been that a woman should stick to the mixing spoon (főzőkanál).

(17) Yes, it did. It sank.

(17 a) No, I cannot give you any examples.

(17 b) Stealing is one of democracy's life-saving institutions.

(Interviewer's note: respondent means people's democracy when speaking of democracy.) The slogan is: He who does not steal, perishes. About 20 percent of all the goods in circulation is stolen property. The general attitude is that stealing is not stealing in the traditional sense of the word, but a nation-saving activity. What we steal now -- Hungarians say -- will not come into the hands of the Russians. And how true it is. We were obliged to steal back our own property from the Russians.

The TSzCs members steal farm products from the farms, whatever they happen to be near to. Some steal potatoes or apples and conceal them in their trousers. Others, entrusted with the taking care of the animals, steal such items as barley, corn, or milk. The milk collector skins the milk of its butter contents and pays off the manager of the pasteurizing station, who in ~~them~~

turn keeps his mouth shut. At the end, our children suffer.

The corruption is very deep and widespread. Some of it is justifiable, some of it -- like the milk skimming -- is decidedly ruinous and cruel. But what can you do? Where can you go, whom can you turn to, to complain? Imre Nagy, or Aczél, or Maleter were crooks just like all the others. Our hands were tied, even at home we dared speak only with subdued voice. I listened to Radio Free Europe behind locked doors, having carefully covered my receiver with blankets.

- (17 c) This is a practice in which the upper ten thousand are engaged in. For instance, if the plant director is unable to reach his production target, or if he embezzles large sums of the plant's money, he usually throws a big party and entertains lavishly the visiting revisor for three-four days on end. Members of the plant ~~XXX~~ triangle are the absolute rulers of the factory, reigning over both production and finances.
- (17 d) Hooligans (the Hungarian expression for this type of person is "úrge") are people who never do any work. They spend their time in espressos or restaurants. They dress for the occasion, always imitating the dressing habits of their momentary milieu. They denounce and curse the regime or some person of prominence in loud voices and encourage others to do likewise. They often pay drinks for those present, thereby facilitating the expression. If someone is naive or drunk enough and expresses his true views, the AVH, always present everywhere, sometimes in civilian clothes,

moves in quickly for the kill. The hooligan remains, but the innocent person is arrested.

- (18) I did not even have a friend. I used to have three very dear friends. Two of them died in the war, and the third one vanished from the scene. I don't even know where he is.

Even with my work colleagues I always remained on terms of acquaintanceship only. I could never be sure who was who.

- (18 c) Not applicable.

- (18 g) My friends were unselfish and true and forbearing. They never looked down upon me just because I was poorer than they were. We were together in everything; in good things and in hard things.

- (18 h) No, not at all. We could not trust anybody, we were suspicious of everything and everybody. We preferred to be secluded, to be left alone, and we did not have a genuine desire to be in company under the circumstances.

- (18 i) Not applicable.

- (19) My parents, and everyone in my family, were Roman Catholics.

- (19 a) We all had the same attitude.

- (19 b) I believe in God, I abide by His commandments, I keep my religion and I will never repudiate it.

- (20) Yes, it did. When Mindszenty was taken away, several million people in Hungary were heartbroken and sad. Everyone knew that the whole thing was a Communist manoeuvre designed to liquidate the only leader we had. We had complete trust in Mindszenty, even during the Revolution. Had the Revolution been successful,

Imre Nagy and company would have been swept out. We wanted to elect Mindszenty to the post of Prime Minister.

- (20 a) Yes, all religions were equally affected, except that of the Jews. The Jews were not persecuted so much. Ordass, the Lutheran Bishop, was also arrested.
- (20 b) The Communists ~~EE~~ wanted to completely eradicate religion from the people's lives. That was their purpose. In Russia for instance, churches are used as stables, movie houses, or as factories. Whoever is religious, cannot be a good Communist. Religion was persecuted by steel and fire. Church ^{PROCESSIONS} possessions were prohibited. Religious holidays were abolished. If there was a church activity in the afternoon, school children were taken out for an excursion.
- (20 c) Peace-priests were former priests who, for reasons known only to themselves, chose to cooperate with the Communists against their very Church. The Catholic Church did not recognize these men as priests, and the faithful did not care for them very much either. I don't know anything specific about them. But in the eyes of the public the term "peace" in whatever variation was always associated with the Communists.
- (20 d) Many of the Catholic priests were liquidated. Priests had to be especially careful what they said and what they preached. They were restricted to the Bible and to the religion. They were constantly under observation, and yet, in spite of all the persecutions, of both priests and laity, churches were even more

crowded than in the 'forties.

- (20 f) No. The Communists first tried to intimidate the people. Then they placed all sorts of obstacles in the way of those who did not permit themselves to be scared. People quite often took their marriage vows in churches distant from their living quarters, catching witnesses on the way, in order to escape possible difficulties. The regime soon recognized that all their machinations were of no avail. There were periodical letdowns, but the process was essentially continuous.
- (20 g) I don't know of such people.
- (20 h) Yes, I did. I went to church on Sundays and on church holidays.
- (20 i) As far as I know, all villagers, with the exception of Communists, attended church services regularly.
- (20 j 1) All people and all denominations were the same. Circumstances brought things down to the smallest common denominator: all people recognized one God and all people rejected one government.
- (20 j 2) They got along very well. Everybody was very understanding. Differences in denomination did not play any role. Even priests of the various denominations were the best of friends. With the advent of the Communists, a new criterion began to emerge; people were grouped according to their being God-fearing or irreligious.
- (20 k) Religion means much more now to young people than it meant for us. Religion is the only force and institution that unites them in their resistance and educates them, at the same time. This

is true of children up to the age of 14. Children over 14-15 years of age do not frequent churches as much as do older people and the very young. Children over 14-15 prefer to go to the cultur^e ~~clubs~~-homes or else enjoy themselves in some other way, i.e., visiting the movies. It was usually in the morning, coinciding in time with the ~~Mass~~ ^{Mass}, that the best pictures were presented.

- (20 l) I cannot tell you much. Workers, students, everybody agitated against the Communists. The priests could not say, they weren't allowed to offer their views.
- (20 m) There were no textbooks available for religious instruction. After the nationalization of the schools, religion no longer formed part of the curriculum. If both parents were prepared to sign the necessary authorization, the children visited the priest at the parish or church and received their instruction there. In our family, I am the only Roman Catholic. The wife and children are Evangelical.
- (21) I would have recommended him to become an iron worker, a tool and ~~the~~ diemaker for instance.
- (21 a) Because I think that iron and steel represents the future.
- (21 b) I would have told him to become an excellent craftsman and study as much as possible.
- (21 c) People whose fathers were members of the Communist Party. Who had a good cadre.
- (22) My list, beginning with those best off and continuing with the others down the line, is as follows: government officials, such

as the AVH, the president of the ~~XX~~ county council, the ~~president~~ president of the village council, policemen, army officers, managers of large department stores, engineers, workers, peasants.

- (22 a) I was a worker.
- (22 b) Worker again. I was not a man of great ambitions.
- (22 c) Members of our world-famous soccer team received 10,000 forints plus per month.
- (22 d) Artists fared satisfactorily. This was a government-favored group, provided that the artist did not object to the prescribed artistic and/or political line.
- (23) There are only two classes in Hungary today. The upper ten thousand, such people as the AVH members, government officials and party functionaries; the other class consists of everybody else, the people.
- (23 a) Such people as physicians, engineers and teachers are both underpaid and receive no social recognition. They do not constitute a separate class.
- (23 b) As far as the composition of the Hungarian society goes, yes, this does represent a great change. The middle class no longer exists. Part of the intelligentsia has been downgraded, others, who willingly pushed the Russian wagon, have been upgraded, irrespective of their abilities or capacity.

There always were some people who were prepared to push the Russian wagon. They ~~WERE~~ were paid according to the importance of the task they performed. On workers' meetings, some collaborators had to speak as long as two-three hours

for a glass of beer. Collaborators in the Parliament, in contrast, were able to acquire a car and a villa, ^{by} as they spoke right for only as long as five minutes.

(23 e) This is not good at all.

(23 d) Yes, it does. The barriers between classes are higher now than ever. The people -- the lower class -- are barred for ever from entering the higher regions. They live in a complete insecurity from day to day. The upper class is well protected by legal and material barriers and operates within its barriers by a well-functioning protegee system.

There was a placard in our factory which proclaimed that "Demokráciában protekciósokra szükség nincs. Igazgatóság." Someone cleverly and fittingly changed the wording, so that it read: "Demokráciában protekciósokra szükség nincs, mert tele az Igazgatóság."

The barrier which separates the plant director from the workers is insurmountable; to go and see him in his office is about as hard now as would have been an attempt, in 1940, to bodily ascend into Heaven to talk to God Almighty Himself. The plant director and others in his category are absolute masters now. One word out of their mouth may spell ten, twenty years in jail for anybody under ^{their} jurisdiction. Human rights and legal protection are non-existent in Hungary.

(23 e) There is less of an equality, and the cleavage between the

classes is deeper and wider. The Party completely segregated itself from the people. To present grievances to them is impossible. There is no such thing as grievance procedure.

(23 f) You tell me, how could it be good?

(23 g) On the village level, where everyone knew everybody else, before the war, and everyone acted in a true neighborly fashion, today people do not even as much as greet one another. To go and see the plant manager is an impossibility. Children are taught in school to greet by saying: "Előre" (meaning "forward"). The usual, but unorthodox reply is: "Hátra" (meaning "backward"), or "Ki a Lipótmezőre" (meaning "out to the insane asylum"). The greeting "kezet csokolom" was prohibited. The adult Communists' standard greeting is "Erő, egészség" (meaning "power and health").

(24) The workers suffered most, both bodily and spiritually. Only the barren virgin soil of our country received a heavier punishment than we did. Being silent meant gold, uttering a word meant jail.

(24 a) Jews had it very well in Hungary after 1944. Many of them were engaged in wholesale trade. Most of the "góré"-s (this is a new slang expression, meaning leaders of every kind -- vezető) were Jews. Jews had a remarkable ability to adapt themselves. (Zsidók nagyon jól tudtak alkalmazkodni.)

(25) Jews were very pleasantly (kellemesen) affected by the Communist regime. There were innumerable derogatory stories and attacks in the newspapers against both Catholicism and individuals of

Catholic faith. I have not seen a single article even mentioning either Judaism or Jews. They never wrote anything about the Jews.

- (25 a) I don't know. I do not think Jews could have genuinely loved communism. We did not have any Jews in our village and I never knowingly came into contact with any of them. There was no distinction or differentiation made during the Revolution.
- (25 b) I do not know. Not a single Jew worked in our factory. I know that Rákosi, Gerő, and Vladimir Farkas were all Jews.
- (25 c) No, I did not have any.
- (25 d) I don't know.
- (25 e) Nobody harmed them in any way. There were some good souls even among the Jews. In the final analysis, religious hate simply did not exist.
- (25 g) I have no knowledge of the existence of religious hate as such. I felt sorry and had great compassion for them during the war. We helped a great many of them with food. What could a Jew have done about his being a Jew?
- (25 h) I do not feel competent at all to say anything to that question.
(Nem tudok hozzászólni.)

- (1) Back home we resisted and instituted resistance against every decision of the Communist Party. Prior to the ascendancy of communism, I was less interested in politics.
- (1 a) We constantly deprecated and condemned government regulations and decisions, because all these went counter our interests and were always to our disadvantage. It was very easy to detect (mindig kivolt a lóláb) that these rules and regulations did not stem from a Hungarian person, but were the creations of Russians. We made every attempt not to execute these ~~rules~~ rules and regulations.

The more and harder we worked, the less we earned, the more bankrupt both our lives and health became. Whenever such political orders and/or decisions by the government were issued, they were always highly praised at ~~the~~ workers' meetings, and the speakers specifically emphasized that the regulations and orders in question represented the government's response to workers' demands. We never requested any of them, nor were we permitted to truly comment on them.

- (1 c) I was a member of the Social Democratic Party from 1945 to the beginning of 1948. Already in 1947 I ceased paying my party dues because I saw clearly that Kethly and others did not do those things, and did not act in such a way, as I thought they should have done and acted. Later the Social Democratic Party became united with the Communist Party and the other parties, too, were annihilated.

We Social Democrats were subject to all sorts of persecution. If the production in the factory did not go as they desired it to go, they always complained that there are ~~too~~ too many Social Democrats and Smallholders in the plant, who do everything to sabotage production. They constantly threatened us, while simultaneously the outside world was officially informed that Hungary and Hungarians enjoy the greatest possible political freedom.

Decisions to apply the greatest terror were formulated precisely in those days when they overwhelmed the outside world with the sweetest-sounding proclamations.

(2) We were told, in 1945, that we were liberated. Our country lay prostrate and in ruins. The five parties decided to join the Marshall Plan, and to begin the reconstruction of our bombed and ruined country with the assistance thus realized. The Russians even then ~~did~~ interfered in the internal affairs of our country, clearly demonstrating that decisions reached in Hungary were not the result of independent action of the five-party Coalition Government, -- whatever our government did, it did so on Russian orders. Appearances even then were quite misleading. (Az egész csak szemfényvesztés volt.)

Nothing came of the Marshall Plan, because the Russians did not permit it. They told us that foreign capital would rob us of our freedom.

The first elections really represented a secret voting.

In this election the Smallholders' Party achieved an incontestable victory. The second strongest were the Social Democrats. Then came the Peasant Party and then the Barankovics Party. The Communists received very few votes, and their mandates were proportionately insignificant. The majority of Communist votes came from mining cities and from workers in general.

I was a registered Social Democrat, but I did not vote Social Democratic. I gave my vote to the Barankovics Party.

Following this, the Communists, relying on Russian bayonets, and under the cover of night, arrested and deported many non-Communist Members of the Parliament. By doing so they destroyed both the coalition government and the effective and representative operation of the Parliament. By the time the second elections were held, the coalition government was cut to pieces, and only one party, the Communist Party, remained. Prior to the election, all the leaders of all the other parties were arrested. The election itself was not based on secret voting, we were confronted with a typed list of persons, -- names we never even heard of before. We were obliged to put the list into an envelope and to drop the envelope into an urn. One did not have the possibility of even as much as approaching the electoral booth. In our village, everyone was forced to participate in the election, with the exception of war criminals. The number of those prohibited to vote amounted to cca. 2 percent of the voting population. The ~~KKK~~ Communist Party got 98 percent of the votes. The remaining 2 percent were in such prisons as

Kistarcsa, Károly-Laktanya in Eudaórs, or forced labor camps such as the aluminum works at X Almásfüzítő, Tatabánya, and other mines.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

After this second election the country was encircled by barbed-wire fences. All sorts of innocent people were picked up by the security police. They were taken to various assembly places and held there incommunicado. Well-to-do people were the first victims in this wave. As elements harmful and inimical to the democratic order, they were ^{seized} ~~seized~~ and taken to forced labor camps, where they were forced to work for 40 fillers an hour. Sheep stables provided their housing, where men and women wallowed in mixed groups.

The Communists did not think that the barbed wires isolated and shut us securely enough from the outside world; they even laid mines along our Austrian frontier, saying that there are too many spies from the West who want to penetrate into Hungary. No one came from the West illegally to Hungary, but countless Hungarians did attempt to escape from their own homeland, right through the minefields and all.

On the 360 kilometer Austro-Hungarian frontier section, hundreds of fleeing people died or were maimed every day. All along this frontier section barracks were built at intermittent distances of 2-3 kilometers each, where 160-200 soldiers "watched over the security" of the Hungarian nation. In the

smaller towns adjoining the border, full regiments were stationed and further inside full divisions were kept in constant preparedness. This far they went in their determination to guard the frontier, but not even all these obstacles proved strong enough deterrents. People continued to try to escape, some managing to reach the West and relating to the world the terror we were living under. Thereupon the Communists began to employ bloodhounds, making it thereby completely impossible even to approach the frontier-region. People, whose property lay in the frontier's immediate vicinity, were issued special passports. This entitled them to work their fields, but limited their operations to from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m.

Inhabitants living further inland needed a special passport to travel to the frontier zone; a person traveling from Budapest to Szombathely was required such a certificate -- a document, by the way, which was extremely hard to get. Persons living close to the frontier, and desirous of traveling towards the center, did not need a special passport, but they, too, had to report all such movements, their destination and their purpose, to their local councils.

After they have sealed off the frontier completely with the minefields and bloodhounds, even then ~~AKI~~ they did not feel secure enough. They began to build special observation towers, about 20 meters high. From the top of the tower the whole area

was observable. The towers were equipped with telephones, searchlights, and heavy guns (nehéz puska). During the night the region was lit up at short intervals and the smallest suspicious move was sufficient a cause to place the entire frontier guard-force in a state of general alarm.

This much about the frontier. After the frontier was sealed off, the terror of the Communist regime blazed up with even greater an intensity. Every undertaking was nationalized, the MASZEK establishments were locked and expropriated, the system of norms was introduced into the factories, all previous employee-management agreements (double pay on certain holidays, sale of articles at factory prices, etc.) were repealed and abolished. The villages were overpowered by so-called people's educators (népnevelők). These educators were, in reality, Communist agitators, party plenipotentiaries who, if anyone of the village peasants dared to express their anti-regime views, were empowered to get rid of them in short order. Just a telephone call, and the recalcitrant peasant was picked up and gone.

There were innumerable arrests of this type. Neither the immediate family, nor the relatives or acquaintances of the arrested could do a thing for him. There was no recourse to courts in such cases and, if the inquiring family members were ~~EX~~ all too adamant and continued demanding where their

father or mother or both parents were, very often they themselves were arrested and united with their loved ones in prison.

Peasants thus bullied and intimidated were compelled to choose the road the people's educators wanted them to choose; to "voluntarily" enter and become members of the TSzCs co-operatives.

Those peasants who did not choose to enter the cooperatives, soon saw their entire livestock and farm equipment being sold at public auction. The process was simple enough: the free peasants were so overburdened by all sorts of taxes and forced deliveries that they simply could not pay any longer.

In the cities all major means of transportation, including trucks, were nationalized. Later even private cars were taken away with the slogan that, in the democracy, only such personages as engineers and physicians may possess personal cars. At the same time, however, AVH members, policemen, and party functionaries were swarming around in personal cars. Bicycles and motorcycles continued to be free. But the price of a motorcycle was totally out of reach for an ordinary person. If a peasant still insisted on ~~buying~~ buying one, he could do so at 14,000 forints. The price could only partially be paid in cash, however; the peasant was required to deliver to the government 4000 kilograms of corn for two forints per kilogram at a time when the free market price of corn was 4 forints per kilogram. This gave him a government receipt worth 8,000 forints. The remaining 6,000

forints he was permitted to pay in cash.

The intimidated peasants and workers were exposed day in, day out to such government edicts and decrees^e which were clearly designed to bring about a state of total subjugation of our country to Russia. The Communist Party gradually separated itself from the people. The party ~~was~~ not only did not become the people's defensive shield (védőbástya), but, to the contrary, it became the court of justice (ítélőszék) presiding over the people's lives. To lodge a complaint against them was impossible. We were told that, in cases of land or other property expropriations by the government, in cases of arbitrary transfers or exchange of real estate for purposes of TSzCs expansion, and in cases of nationalization where compensation was promised, the individuals affected would have complete right ~~to~~ of recourse to courts where compensatory demands against the government would be heard and decided upon. In reality, those who attempted to do as directed by our government, invariably landed in an internment camp, very often in the company of the defense attorney.

All undertakings, wholesale and retail stores, and transportation utilities were nationalized, and the difficulties of food supply became so widespread and encompassing that the state of affairs became truly desperate. In 1950, for instance, even meat was rationed, with 2.5 to 5 H dekagrams of meat assigned daily to men doing heavy physical labor.

The forint steadily lost in value. As a result, workers' income steadily fell, while prices of food and clothing at the same time rose 200,300 percent. A few examples: beef was 10, lard was 12 forints before the nationalization. The corresponding prices after the nationalization were beef 25, lard 35 forints. Shoes rose from 140 to 350 to 500 forints. Work boots from 106 to 275 forints. Work clothes from 60-70 to 200 forints. Shoe soles from ~~15~~ 15 to 40 forints.

Not only did our incomes drop as a result of the forint's losing in value. ^{We} ~~XXXX~~ experienced a reduction of our wages at the same time. The government accomplished this by changing the norm and pay system from job work (idóber) to piece work (darabber) and by drastically reducing the value of the piece-unit in the process. To give you an example: under the job-work system you had to work a certain metal, to which 20 minutes were allotted, and for which, if completed, you received one forint. Now, the same work was considered one piece-work unit, which, if completed, brought you, say, 0.5 or 0.8 forints.

If someone had an inventive mind and was able to rationalize some work process of his, saving time thereby, he was permitted to retain his old norm for six months. After that the time-study man came around and gave him a new norm, putting him, financially, right back where he started from.

We received so little money that the government decided to pay us bi-weekly, instead of weekly. They said this was

necessary so that we might have more money on our hands at a given moment. In reality, they did this to dampen our purchasing ^e desires.

As time went on, the government used such devices as voluntary work offerings at no compensation, overproduction (túteljesítés) and peace-shifts (békeműszakok). This latter was the offering of 8 hours of work at no pay for the purpose of peace & to further tighten our norms. All this was carried out to the accompaniment of sonorous and bombastic political slogans. Stakhanovists were praised to high heavens and rewarded, while those who were not able to reach 100 percent of their quota were correspondingly subjected to degrading experiences (their names were placed on the board of shame, etc.).

To all this, Communist political agitators (people's teachers (népnevelők)) constantly observed people in the factories, watching them how they produced, what their relation was to the norm relationship (ki-ki hogyan aránylik a norma-viszonyhoz). ~~THE~~ Russophile and communistically inclined guys (szivarok) carried at all times stop watches on their persons, constantly checking the time-element of production and saying that this or that person's norm is much too loose, it needs tightening up. And the norm then was tightened.

There were innumerable production conferences in the factories. The constant theme on these was that we must produce cheaper and more. We must raise the standard of living. Communist gangsters,

people who never worked themselves, who never did any more work than watch us, magnanimously offered in the name of their crew a ten-twenty percent overproduction. And there was nothing we could do about it. These people received the big money, and the premiums, and they drove and urged and cursed the men under them incessantly into faster and more exhausting tempo.

There were incredibly high norms. There ~~WERE~~ were instances where the machine had a maximum capacity of, say, 10,000 turns in a given period of time; the man working at the machine was required to produce 9800 pieces in that period of time. Often ~~ENOUGH~~ enough the norm was above the maximum capacity of the machine.

On production meetings, held at the time of the Vietnamese and Korean wars, as well as during the East German and Polish uprisings, the Communists cursed and abused the clerical reactionaries, Social Democrats, and Western imperialists. Everything that was bad came from the West. And the West was responsible for all our failures.

In the villages, life continued to deteriorate. Independent farmers were forced to deliver milk for pennies (*fillésekért*) and to reduce the number of their livestock. They already had lost their good-quality fields to the cooperatives.

Other villagers, -- the peasantry forced into the TSzCs cooperatives -- while the good land was at their disposal, they did not cultivate them well and, instead of harvesting grain, they harvested weed. The concrete TSzCs farm which I am here

describing was about 4000 hold large. The wage of day-laborers on it was so small that no one volunteered to work there. Convicts were brought to the farm in the acute agricultural seasons. The soil's nutrient powers were constantly diminishing. Manure was not available because of lack of animals and industrial fertilizers were given only to the TSzCs's. But at the TSzCs's the work was done in such a depressed atmosphere and so half-heartedly that most of the fertilizers were wasted and the land was completely neglected. People mocked and ridiculed the TSzCs precisely for this reason, calling it ~~the~~ weed-producing undertaking (*gaztermelő vállalat*).

Independent peasants did not receive any assistance from the state. Loans, assistance against such natural hazards as draught, hail, and flood were non-existent, even though insurance against these was compulsory, and the insurance rates, computed on the golden crown value base, were so high that you could practically buy the produce of the land you were insuring with them. In the event of a loss, the maximum amount one received was 80 forints per hold, whereas insurance premiums ran from 35 to 50 forints per hold per year.

I already told you of the forced deliveries; let me just add a few words here. Wheat was bought by the government at 60 forints per 100 kilogram if the wheat was dry. Frequently the wheat was placed in special dryers in the laboratory and 15-20 percent of the ^{weight} ~~same~~ was deducted as correction for moisture.

The price paid was the price of wheat when delivered to the government warehouse, 8-10 kilometers distant from our village. There was no reimbursement for the cost of transportation. Later, in 1954, 4 forints per 100 kilograms were paid extra for this purpose. Even this was not a gesture of justice, -- there simply were not any draught-horses available in the village.

The independent peasant could purchase fertilizers only in the event if he sold grain over and above his forced-delivery-quota to the government, at standardized prices, of course. This standardized price was 2/10 forints per 100 kilograms of wheat, while Péti Só (a fertilizer ~~was~~ whose English equivalent I do not know at the moment) stood at 90 forints per 100 kilograms, super phosphate at 70 forints per 100 kgs, potassium salt (kálisó) at 60-70 forints per 100 kg. Needless to say, there were very few people with free grain ~~and~~ surpluses and, consequently, only very few people could afford to purchase fertilizers. All this happened in 1953-1954.

Let me tell you a few words about the TSzCs. The formation or establishment of it was characterized by intensive agitation and application of brute force, as I already described it in some detail. Leading peasants, those possessed of an authoritative voice in the village community, people who were looked up to by the rank and file of the peasantry, were the first victims of Communist agitation, blackmail, and threats. These people

were literally forced, in spite of their determined opposition, to become the charter members of the collective to be formed. Once the leaders were in, the others were somewhat easier to handle. ~~THE~~ 35-40 peasant families became in this fashion founding members of the TSzCs.

Soon a government decree was promulgated, which provided that the TSzCs property is to be established in such locality where all the favorable factors of effective and rational land cultivation are eminently available. In other words, the best quality lands, in the immediate proximity of the village, if possible, is to be expropriated as the TSzCs site.

If a non-TSzCs member happened to have property within the borders of the proposed TSzCs ~~area~~ domain, that property was taken away from him and he received another $\frac{1}{2}$ piece of land, not necessarily of equal value, at a different locality. Very often the land received in exchange was very far away, and of inferior quality. The land taxes of the affected peasant remained the same, however, irrespective of his new property's gold crown value. He continued to be taxed on the basis of his old land's value, as if nothing had happened.

At the time of the founding of the TSzCs, well-kept vineyards and orchards, properties with exceedingly good income possibilities, as well as medium and heavy agricultural machines and equipment were automatically expropriated from their rightful ~~in~~ owners, irrespective of whether or not such owners entered and became

members of the TSzCs. Former owners of agricultural machines and equipment received absolutely no compensation. Owners of vineyards and orchards were assigned plain farmland of equal size as compensation, but they were forced to pay vineyard or orchard ~~the~~ category taxes, even though they no longer were in possession of them.

As time went on, the TSzCs expropriated all the farm machinery and equipment available in the village.

Once the TSzCs was thus ~~is~~ brought into being, the members elected a chairman. The TSzCs chairman usually came from the village's lowest economic, social, and educational strata, a person whose niveau was desperately low in every respect, but whose cadre status was very well established. This was still the more ideal solution. In most cases, the chairman was not a local man at all, but a person nominated by the agricultural section of the Communist Party's county headquarters. Persons of this kind did not have any scruples, nor were they constrained by local tradition and personal ties in any way. They became the real despots of the village.

The terror ~~was~~ meanwhile continued with increased intensity. Those already forced into the TSzCs were now forced to exert all sorts of pressures on their relatives and friends and acquaintances who still did not become members. These members -- completely against their will -- began a recruiting campaign in the village, agitating and blackmailing their relatives and

friends. The cumulative effect of all this was that the village, heretofore tranquil and peaceful and happy, became the scene of internal strife and struggle.

Those who did not ~~become~~ become members, received the ~~best~~ worst land available, and very often stood there without even an equipage in their possession. They were obliged, nevertheless, to begin cultivating their new land, and to do the sowing within a prescribed time limit, even though their new land may never have been under cultivation before.

The TSzCs had its own institutional code, as prepared by the Government. According to the appropriate sections of the TSzCs bylaws, the TSzCs population was split into small operational groups called brigades, each consisting of some 7-10 people, and each responsible for the performance of some specialized activity. Some were vegetable cultivators, others were feeders, still others were cattle breeders, etc. At the head of each brigade a Communist presided. Sowing of grain was an activity done in common by all members, on a compact territory of the domain, sliced out for this purpose. The members were required to supply their share of the sowing seed, however, about 180 kgs of seed per person.

Heavy agricultural machinery (erőgépek), necessary for the cultivation of the TSzCs domain, was supplied by the government-established machine stations. These stations -- completely

independent agricultural units -- were equipped with tractors. To this other equipment was added later, such as sowing machines (vetőgép), rollers (hengertörő), harrows (borona), etc.

The machine stations were paid in kind; for the ploughing of one hold 80 kilograms of wheat was charged. Other operations performed by the machine stations were correspondingly compensated. All in all, the TSzCs paid cca. 250 kgs. of wheat per hold to the machine station for its services. The average yield per hold was 800-1200 kgs of wheat per hold.

The machine station had a contractual relation to the TSzCs's, one station serving about 8-10 TSzCs cooperatives. State farms had their own machine stations. Tractors of all machine stations worked around the clock, ploughing 24 hours a day, on a three-shift basis. TSzCs's were farmed and managed better than the state farms.

All these changes completely transformed the profile of the Hungarian village. Both the people, their way of life, and the agricultural production methods were vitally affected by this transformation. The yields per hold dropped, the village population became depressed, apathetic, and indifferent. The independent farmers continued to work and to try hard, but, as time went on, they, too, were characterized by an apathy of despair in the face of this complete futility of their labors; livestock they did not have, and so they did not have natural manure; fertilizers, on the other hand, could not be obtained.

Whatever they did, whatever they produced, they did so practically in vain. Everything had to be delivered. The taxes, dues, and insurance premiums ~~etc.~~ eating up whatever was left.

The TSzCs had a strip of land which served as a grazing field. Hay they did not have. They did cut the grass later on, but they did not have men to work as haymakers and both the hay and lucerne remained out in the fields, unattended, and becoming rotten and useless.

TSzCs members were usually older people, 50 years old and older. The young folk preferred to ~~go~~ go and work in the factories, rather than enter the collectives. By the time the government realized the scope and extent of this great shift affecting the village population, -- industrialization was pursued at all costs -- it was too late. The government did make a determined attempt to chase back the villagers to the farms, but no one was willing to do so. The result, needless to say, was disastrous; agriculture was drained both of its production force and of its traditional meaning and spirit. The already low yields dropped to ~~300~~ 3-400 kgs of wheat per hold. The lack of spirit, the lack of people, the absence of organic manure, and the overapplication of inorganic fertilizers combined to ruin the once so prosperous Hungarian agriculture.

In the TSzCs's people worked in small groups, called brigades, each consisting of 7-8-10 individuals. These people worked from 7 o'clock in the morning till 6 o'clock in the evening. They
women.

quit their work at 11 a.m., went home and cooked. They brought the meal back, the family ate, and work was resumed. During harvest time the work day started with sunrise and ended with sunset. Cooking, then, was done in the open, right at the place of work. There was a field kitchen, and pigs, sheep, or calves were slaughtered for food.

TSzCs members received their pay in kind and in some money. (They were paid one forint per work unit, amounting to 250-400 forints per year.)

The TSzCs chairman received a salary, 1600 forints per month plus premium. The brigade leaders received compensation ten percent higher than the ordinary members.

The payment in kind was a complicated matter; the TSzCs, after satisfying its forced delivery obligations, and after putting aside a portion of the produce for development of the cooperative, assessed the remaining stock and divided it according to a certain ratio among its members. Generally speaking, a two-member family received 1200 kgs of wheat. A portion of this, cca. 220 kgs per person, was necessary for bread. The remainder was free to be sold. This was the formal pay. Meanwhile the TSzCs member continued to steal, whatever and as much as he could, to round out his actual compensation.

All TSzCs members also had a small homestead to themselves, amounting to a maximum of one hold per family, for which they delivered 2 kgs of eggs and $2\frac{1}{2}$ kgs of poultry per year to the government. This land, the location of which varied yearly,

was theirs to use as they pleased. The assignment of the homestead land was accomplished every year by throwing. If one was lucky, he got fertile land, others, less fortunate, were assigned arid territory. The brigade leaders could choose their own land. The tractors ploughed this land for free. That is to say, the respective members did not pay for this service directly and immediately. The TSzCs paid for these services, the outlays being reduced from the TSzCs's net profit and the members receiving that much less payment in kind the following year.

Members of the TSzCs worked all year round, building and repairing in the winter, when there was nothing else to do.

TSzCs taxes were much more moderate than those of the independent peasants. They were more than adequately provided with long-term loans by the government. They were supplied with fertilizers and with improved breed of seeds.

Hungary was, and still is, a predominantly agricultural country. But even before the second World War, some villages were no longer self-sufficient. Their autarchy was affected by industrial workers and miners who lived side by side with farmers in certain villages. Such villages had to import food even before the war. This situation continued after the war, too, but in a more pronounced way. But after the war, irrespective of the composition of the village population, the forced deliveries had to be maintained. This created an anomalous situation, where in villages, the place where bread is produced, very frequently we did not have bread at all. One had to stand

in line for hours for bread, and often we did not have bread for days.

In case of elemental damage, the TSzCs received 90 percent compensation from the state-controlled insurance, while the independent farmer received only 20 percent.

The former great private landed estates, as well as the former ~~ENNE~~ Church-entailed estates, came under complete control of the state after the war. These estates were all transformed into state farms. Hungarian agriculture, then, had three different kinds of farms. State farms, occupying by far the greatest territory, independent farmers, being in the second place, and TSzCs's, occupying the third place.

Individual peasants could never be certain of their land; there were always people entering into the TSzCs. In cases like that, the TSzCs had to expand. The method employed was simple: private farms bordering on the TSzCs domain were taken away from their owners, and, in return, an inferior land strip was assigned them somewhere else. One could neither protest, nor take his case to court. One had to resign oneself to the inevitable.

The average TSzCs had cca. 140-150 members, the average TSzCs domain was around 1000 holds.

(2 a) Yes, I sympathized with the Social Democratic Party until 1947. After that I saw that even that party did not represent and fight for those principles which I thought it should have represented and fought for. I ~~ENNE~~ broke with the party in 1948.

- (2 b) Not applicable.
- (2 c) I did not like Fascism, nor Hitlerism. I am a Social Democrat in the sense of Western social democracy.
- (2 d) I recognized even then the aspirations of the Communists, namely, that the Communist Party desired to grab all the power and to consolidate her hold on the whole country. This is precisely the reason why we condemn our leaders of those days; they permitted this to come about, and they did not speak frankly, they failed to inform us of what was going on.
- (2 e) My mother related to me often the 1919 revolution. We were brought up in a spirit of fierce anti-communism. At the time I was out on the Russian front, I experienced myself and became convinced of the misery and wretchedness of the Russian people. They lived there in the same way and manner as Gypsies do in Hungary. One could see ikons only here and there. I never even saw parquette floors during all my stay in Russia. The animals were housed in the immediate proximity of human quarters. Some of the animals were roaming freely around and performed their necessities of nature right on the top of the sleeping household. But I don't even like to recall the abhorring picture to my mind. If you are really interested, read the book entitled Csendes Don (The Silent Don), -- every word of it is true.
- (2 f) (vi.) I never disassociated myself completely from politics, but I never sympathized with the Communists. I have seen how they grab the last bite of bread out of people's mouths.

Communism is nothing else but a big dictatorship which exploits the people and sinks it to an animal-like niveau, debasing and perverting it in the process.

- (2 g) 98 percent of the population of our country felt the same way.
- (2 h) A system of terror, tremendous in scope, extent, and effectiveness, operated in Hungary. State-employed informers, the AVH, spies, provocateurs, were everywhere. All sectors had a built-in system of informers. Everyone lived in a state of fear and fright, you did not have a situation where one could speak his mind openly. Many people were afraid of their very own children. In the radio, the press, in the arts, everywhere an effective thought-control operated, freedom of speech was an impossibility. The Revolution was accompanied by a great and universal exultation, because it finally afforded a possibility for people to talk, and everybody had so much to say. The nation was ~~never~~ imprisoned for 12 years. One could not say anything at all during those years.
- (3) My unjust assignment to a work area which I would not have done if I had a choice; the compensation-less expropriation of my restaurant, the confiscation of my land. I sowed lucerne into my land in the spring and they confiscated it in the autumn. I had a coach (kocsi). Someone stole it from me. Subsequently I recognized it and reported it to the police. The police checked into it and discovered that the man who had it then bought it illegally, as a stolen property. The case came to court. After long litigation, the court recognized that the

carriage was mine. But I did not get it back. I received a compensation instead, 175 forints. I was forced to pay the court costs, however, 1025 forints. The established value of the carriage was 1200 forints. This was Hungarian justice in a nutshell.

- (3 a) iii, vi, vii.
- (3 b) Everything you enumerated is very important. I cannot eliminate three as the least important.
- (3 c) iv, vi, x.
- (3 d) vi, vii, ix, xiv.
- (3 e) i, ii, iii, iv, v, viii, xiv, xv.
- (3 f) Just take No. v, inadequate food. I was a heavy physical laborer, but I also had five children. And we just did not have enough food. So I went to work every morning without breakfast. I was collapsing of hunger. Many other people had the same difficulty. They did not eat breakfast either. Breakfast became a notion.
- (3 g) Of course, we did discuss our personal problems, if they were acute, such as the breakfast, or rather the absence of it. We discussed them with our fellow-workers. Our superiors were party members. One had to remain silent when in their vicinity.
- (3 h) It would have been possible to remedy the general situation; if the government had abolished the system of compulsory deliveries and if it permitted the marketing of agricultural goods.

I personally could not do anything to remedy my own situation. Why? Because of my cadre status.

- (3 i) Yes, there were many such things. Just one example: when they changed the name of the norm-system. ~~THE~~ We knew we would be receiving less money.
- (3 j) There wasn't anything. Under communism, there were no such possibilities. If someone was knocking on the door, we all trembled in fear and waited in an awful expectation. "It is only I, the neighbor," came the voice from the outside. "It is not the AVH," was our automatic, reflex thought. An experience of this sort did represent both joy and relief. The death of Stalin was another cause for us to be joyous. We thought salvation (megváltás) would come to us then. Already then we expected a change.

There was a joke about Stalin at the time of his death: The Communists decided to sell Stalin's cadaver to the United States. One of the comrades suggested 100,000 dollars as the price to be asked. Others objected, wanting at least 150,000 dollars. It was decided to advertise the sale in the newspapers in the hope of receiving a very high bid that way. Finally two American gentlemen arrived and offered 100,000 dollars. The Communists demanded 150,000 dollars. The Americans refused at first, but, after consultation, accepted the sale at 150,000 dollars, declaring their intention to take the body as a relic. "Where do you want to place the cadaver?"-- enquired the comrades. "We will take it to Jerusalem"-- was the reply. "Oh, no," protested the Russians. "The sale is off under ~~IK~~ those circumstances.* We won't let you to take it to that place.

One man had already risen from the dead there."

- (4) The real power in Hungary was in the hands of the Russians. This fact was known to every Hungarian two years old or older.
- (4 f) There was a bureaucracy of tremendous proportions. It was characterized by encroachments, deflections, stealings, and falsifications. Dailies very seldom carried such dirty things, except in cases when meat or other things were missing from the market for two weeks or longer.
- (4 h) Those who ~~HE~~ were prepared to submit themselves unconditionally to the Russian dictatorship and to applaud Hungary's exploitation. It was a matter of character, not of social class. Among them were small landholders, lawyers, and tool and die makers.
- (4 i) These were made up of factory workers' and of peasants' sons. They received a tremendous salary and possessed total power over the civilian population. After the AVH, army officers were the most dreaded people.
- (4 j) The party selected these people from its own ranks. Sly impostors were they (nagy hintás/emberék voltak), they spoke with their mouths, but they themselves ~~was not believing~~ ^{did not believe} a word of what they were saying. This quality was an important prerequisite for a manager; degrees, or adeptness, or technical skills were not necessary.
- (5) This was a youth organization, under Communist direction. Young people were not fanatic about it. Some of party bigwigs enjoyed the advantages the DLSZ gave them, such as excursions,

reduced fares, etc. My children never went to any such places.

- (5 a) I don't know.
- (5 d) No.
- (5 e) Not applicable.
- (6) I don't know.
- (6 e) No one among my acquaintances joined the party. Those whom I knew were party members, were not known to me prior to their entrance. So I could not make any comparisons.
- (6f) They could not express or show to us their true feeling and/or opinions, if they were dissatisfied. We could not talk to them sincerely either. We could never have told if such acts -- had they taken place -- were an attempt to make us jump, or AVH ruse, or informer-deception, or sincere talk.
- (6 h) No.
- (6 r) They sure must have had a high command. It was the government, as nominated by the Russians.
- (7) I was a member of the workers' labor union. Entrance into it was compulsory, if someone did not join he was fired.
- (7 c) It would have had a beautiful purpose if it had been permitted to function as Western labor unions do. But not the way our union operated. We simply did not know what the purpose of labor unions in Hungary was. They gave us ~~many~~ innumerable promises, not one of which ever materialized.
- (7 d) Joining was compulsory, I became a member in 1948.
- (7 e) I paid my ~~dues~~ dues. Not even that did I do voluntarily.

On pay-day, the union representative was waiting for me at the pay window and demanded his money. Very often they took my due out of my envelope before I even saw it.

- (7 g) They denounced and cursed the labor union. We said that this, (the labor union), too, was just another wagon-pusher of the Communist regime. Later the sickness benefits and assistance also were tied to union membership. The union was a fat income to the state's treasury.
- (7 l) They were under complete Communist direction. The chairman and other leading members were all members of the Communist Party. Even they, the union leaders, constantly spoke about over-production on union meetings. "Keep on making great efforts and sacrifices" -- they used to say -- "you will have a better life." You can imagine how enthused we were with such good advice. They held the meetings right in the factory building. Why? Once out of the gates, they could never have gathered us for a meeting.
- (7 m) See also the answer given to Q. 7 l. ~~THESE~~ Labor unions are helping hands of the exploiters, of the Russian system. They made an effort to provide us with work clothes, but even that was of such bad quality that it only lasted for 2-3 months.
- (8) I cannot talk about convinced Communists. After all, they, too, have seen our wretchedness every day, even though they themselves had better jobs and higher pay.

- (9) Parents of all young people were suffering subjects of the regime. Parents constantly reminded them of the obvious contradictions of Communist life. Parents of DISZ-leaders suffered too, just as did everybody else. Those young people who delivered the big speeches there were paid very well. But parents of such leaders suffered, nevertheless. Of course, there were many brigands (haramia) among them, too. A mother has great influence with her children in these things. When the family is discontented, the dissatisfaction exerts its influence on every member of the family. There always are people who are not contented. But whereas in 1938 in a village you could find five discontented families, in 1956 98 percent of all the families were dissatisfied, including families of many a party member. Only the NSZCs chairman and council chairman were satisfied with their situation. These people received as much for a month as decent people earned in half a year.
- (10 b) We know very little of them. We were told that the AVH will be responsible for the maintenance of internal security, that it will be charged with the protection of the state's interests. But that it will enter into, and interfere with political life as well, that we never even dreamed. The AVH became an omnipotent force in Hungary. It became the highest tribunal over life and death. But we learned all these things only later. The AVH became the exclusive army of the party, functioning entirely independently of the law. They could do anything they

pleased; They could hang, they could torture, they could murder. Even during court proceedings, if a person they accused refused to admit his being guilty, and was not convicted, the AVH got him back in two weeks again and by then the wretched soul became the most cooperative self-accusing witness.

- (10 e) I don't know. But I believe recruiting was done on the basis of thorough investigation and observation by the party. Only those were accepted whose cadre was good ^{beyond} ~~the~~ ~~AVH~~ ~~doubt~~, people who served the regime with complete devotion. Salaries of AVH-men ranged from 6000 to 20,000 forints per month. Beside their enormous salary, AVH-men were entitled to use the facilities of Russian warehouses and FK's (országos konzumak), where articles of food and clothing could be had for a trifle. Such Russian and AVH stores were available in many cities. These stores had ridiculously low prices. One liter of wine cost one forint.
- (10 j) I don't know. If one saw a policeman or an AVH man, one tried to avoid and to evade them like one avoids and evades a burning house.
- (10 k) These two terms signify one and the same thing. Or perhaps they were sisters.
- (11) No.
- (11d) All sorts of people were arrested in Hungary, except party members.
- (11 g) I know of one, of Kistarcsa, located at about 40 kilometers from Budapest. Another was the Károly Laktanya in Budaörs. In all mines and in all great construction projects, thousands of interned people worked as forced laborers. Later some of the

- prisons were abolished, but the mining forced labor camps remained.
- (12) Not applicable.
- (13) I would tell him never to oppose nor to resist anything of anybody. Most important, I would tell him never to talk or think. Just keep on working. God only knows how many thousands of people watch and observe one another and report on one another.
- (13 c) I don't know.
- (13 d) No. This is not taken into consideration at all.
- (13 f) Well, in that case, yes. But even then one may never be certain. There are always malevolent people who invent a story, and a person they so accuse vanishes quickly.
- (14) In 1949 the terror was extremely strong. It continued until June 1953. After June 1953, it subsided somewhat and at the same time it became a little more moderate.
- (15) Hungary is under a complete Russian yoke. A Hungarian cannot act or do anything according to his free will in Hungary.
- (15 e) Soviet influence was equally strong and penetrating in all areas of Hungarian life.
- (16) If one learns to know his co-workers more intimately and a reliable acquaintanceship is so established, then, in hidden and out-of-the-way places, people do tell their troubles to one another.
- (16 d) One has to observe very thoroughly those with whom one intends to associate. One must know precisely a person's family - past, and inspect and ~~HEEK~~ scrutinize such person's total activities in past years. Those who suffered, or sustained a loss, at the ~~HEEK~~

(16 d) hands of the regime, are the most likely subjects in this respect. One could freely and loudly speak of the necessity to work more and harder and faster. But the political side of the matter, namely statements that we receive less and less pay for more and more work were completely forbidden. This would have been unkindness and discontentment, and being dissatisfied was already a crime.

(17) That is an absurdity. Controls were so strict and thorough everywhere that there just was not any possibility of circumventing or ignoring official orders.*

(18) The strong points of the regime consisted of the Russian divisions stationed in Hungary. Only the ~~presence~~ presence of these troops could maintain the Communist Party in existence.

The weak point of the regime is its inability to exist on its own; as soon as the Russians withdraw their troops, the government, the party, and the whole materialistic castle-in-the-air will instantaneously collapse and disintegrate.

(19) The peasants concealed their wheat, their wine, they slaughtered their pigs and calves, rather than sell them in the market.

(19 b) Generally speaking, those who were hard hit by the regime in their economic well-being were very hostile to the regime. Others in this group were former army officers and people of considerable intellectual accomplishment, whom the regime refused to recognize. This hostile group represented the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian people.

- (19 c) Members of the Communist Party were the least hostile. These people had good incomes. They could not even imagine that their regime could possibly come to an end.
- (19 1) Those who were responsible for the emergence of the Petofi Circle surely had true Hungarian hearts. They were unselfish and self-sacrificing people who dared open their mouths and dared proclaim the truth to the masses. It was a splendid and patriotic performance. But we did not dare believe that what went on there could be true. We were able to read of the Circle's activities in the daily newspapers after March 1956, but we thought it incredible that the Communist press would report the goings on at the Circle. We were sceptical of the whole affair.

- (1) I received most of my information from foreign radio broadcasts.
- (1 a) The foreign radio~~s~~ was the most important. These stations reported well in advance impending government regulations and decrees. ~~W~~ They knew of these things earlier even than the Hungarian Parliament.
- (2) I read one newspaper, the Magyar Nemzet. I did not read anything else.
- (2 a) I read the Magyar Nemzet. This newspaper used to have the title of Pesti Napló. I was a subscriber to it since a very long time and continued receiving it even after the change of title.
- (2 b) I read the above newspaper every day.
- (2 c) See second part of answer to Q. 2 a.
- (2 d) It had a ~~g~~ good classified section, and it also carried a novel. The Szabad Nep, in contrast, wrote only about dogma.
- (2 g) Yes, on November 10, 1956, I got hold of a German-language Austrian newspaper.
- (3) I was only twice in movies during the 12 years. I saw the fall of Berlin and another picture, whose title I don't remember any more.
- (3 a) I would not have looked at a Soviet picture at any price.
- (3 b) I liked historical and entertaining pictures.~~h~~
- (3 c) Yes, I saw a picture about the troubadours.
- (3 e) No, not under the era of the democracy.
- (4) No, I did not.
- (4 e) Petöfi, Arany, Móricz Zsigmond and Jókai Mór.

- (5) No.
- (5 a) We listened mostly to Vienna. Vienna had better musical programming. The Budapest radio spoke only of tractors and of hoeing. I did not purchase a radio to listen constantly to hoeing, to production, and to activities of the enemies of the state.
- (6) Yes, we listened to Radio Vienna, Radio Free Europe, to the Voice of America, to Washington and to London.
- (6 a) We believed in, and we had hope in, foreign radios only.
- (7) No, I did not.
- (8) We did not believe anything of what we read in Hungarian newspapers. In every area of life we saw the lies and falsifications and perversions. We did not believe the press either.
- (18)^d We believed such things as government decrees. We knew that they actually were issued. We did not necessarily believe that the decrees were intended to serve that purpose which the government ~~had~~ proclaimed to be their aim. Otherwise, I did not trust even the weather forecast of the Hungarian press.
- (8 e) Yes, the Imre Nagy program, for instance. When Nagy read his program in the radio, in June 1953, it was a sensational news. One did not want to believe one's ears at the time, so incredibly sounded Nagy's words. Prior to that, speeches of Rákosi and other leaders were of an entirely different order. We did not even bother listening to them.
- (8 f) No, I never did. I don't even know what it was or if it ever

existed.

- (9) Yes, they did. Generally speaking, those who had radio receivers made every effort to listen to foreign radio broadcasts. One person never dared inform another about this, never admitted that he was listening, nor would he suggest ~~any~~ doing so to anyone else. But everyone who could, did it.
- (10 a) I know that atomic bombs were dropped on two Japanese cities in 1945 and that several thousand people were killed as a result.
- (10 b) I don't know. We did not even know at first where Korea was. Never in my life have I ever before heard Korea mentioned.
- (10 c) I don't remember ever having heard of this, one way or the other.
- (10 d) We, too, said fervent prayers quite often that West Germany may complete her rearmament soon.
- (10 e) I have seen quite a few of these balloons myself. I also read a number of the leaflets these balloons dropped.
- (10 f) We knew of the Berlin riots of 1953. We were very pleased ^{upon} ~~about~~ hearing of it in foreign radio broadcasts.
- (10 g) We were well ~~well~~ oriented on that by the foreign radios.
- (10 h) Yes, we knew of emigré groups and of their activities.

- (1) I would eliminate the system itself, every little bit of it. I would institute free elections. The Russians ought to leave our country. The moment they left Hungary alone, the present government, too, would collapse instantaneously. On the other hand, it is senseless to talk about any changes, changes which would not have as their prerequisites a free Hungary, unbothered by the Russians.
- (1 a) I don't know of any good things which the Russians brought to us. None are there any features at all, as instituted by the present regime, which could honestly be said to be good.
- (2) Yes, very definitely. Only on the basis of political parties can the life of a healthy country be built up and developed. Only with the help of political parties can the leadership of a nation be effectively controlled and a situation prevented where one political sect holds subjugated and exploited vast masses of the nation, against the determined wishes of the population.
- (3) Every person should have the right to freely manifest his feelings and to express his opinions unhampered. Every person has ~~XXXXXXXX~~ the right to bring to the public forum the products of his creative imagination. The public shall be the judge. Those who have better ideas will thus be recognized by the ~~public~~ public, and their ideas shall prevail.
- (3 c) Of course not. Why should they be forbidden to denounce the government? If anyone knows of something, no matter what, or how grave it is, he should be given all the opportunity to

bring his knowledge to the attention of the public. This sort of procedure would be one of the foundations of the principle of legality.

- (3 d) No. Everyone has the right to say the truth, or what he thinks is the truth, and it is the duty of the government to accommodate itself to changing situations. If the government has made a mistake, or done something wrong, such facts shall be exposed and the government should correct its mistakes. The government has to abide by the wishes of the people, it must serve what the people consider to be their interest, refraining entirely from pursuing a policy foreign, or opposed to, the interests of the nation.

(4) Yes.

- (4 a) Yes, naturally. In all probability something is wrong with the government if the masses decide to raise their voices against it. Such government certainly does not pursue a right policy, it does not adequately consider the nation's interests.

- (4 b) Armed uprising is justified in a situation like the one which obtained in our own country, characterized by extremely high taxation, total exploitation, life no longer bearable, destruction of the family, complete disregard of law and legality, the issuance of government decrees which completely depended on the will of a foreign power, and the forcing of such decrees on the population without regard to the nation's rights, actual desires, or ~~XXXXXX~~ their consequences. No government,

- operating after 1948, was ever recognized by the Hungarian people.
- (5) The forcefully accelerated tempo of industrialization must be significantly reduced and slowed down. Hungarian industry must devote a far greater attention to the production of consumer goods. The development of Hungarian industry must be based on Hungarian economic facts and circumstances, on the capacity of the neighboring countries to absorb and market Hungarian exports (szomszédállamok piacfelvevőképességére), on the availability of necessary raw materials within Hungary and in the neighboring countries. Hungarian economy must be so reorganized that it may become an integral part of a larger economic unit whose operation is based on a complete reciprocity among states. This reorganization would have to take place in both ~~XXXXXX~~ industry -- all branches of it -- and agriculture.

The present situation represent an economy forcefully maintained. It is not the natural outgrowth of existing economic facts and circumstances, but the result of a political dogma whose correctness it proposes to demonstrate, no matter what the consequences. Our economy is based on such plans which we are incapable of executing, even if we labor at it during our entire life. We possess neither manpower ^{NOR} economic or natural resources, factors indispensable for its implementation and realization.

- (56) I favor nationalization of heavy industry insofar as nationalized heavy industry is capable of both exploring our national resources and producing raw and semi-finished products necessary

for our industry in an economically advantageous fashion. Nationalization of this sort is not disadvantageous, but it is decidedly to the advantage of the nation.

- (6 b) Yes. I would restore smaller undertakings to private hands in cases where it is obvious that private initiative and personal imagination would make their operation far more successful and to a much better advantage to the nation as a whole, than if they were run by the state. I have in mind here such industries as textile, timber industry, etc.
- (6 c) Private profit is good, naturally.
- (6 e) State monopolies are not disadvantageous to the nation. State monopolies do not exclude other private undertakings. To the contrary, monopolies encourage and invite private firms to a competition. Monopolies have greater sums of money available and are therefore better suited to carry out greater projects and to realize greater aims. This cannot be said to be ~~any~~ ~~less~~ disadvantageous in any way.
- (7) See answer to Q. 6 b.
- (8) If government planning really has for its aim the increase of production, the better serving of the needs of the consumer public, then, planning is very good indeed. But if the economic plans become a burden to a nation, when they serve not to consolidate what a nation possesses but bring about economic dislocation and chaos, then they are decidedly ruinous.

Government planning in Hungary manifested itself in its most ~~is~~ disadvantageous forms; our government was forced to

carry out a Russian-dictated plan, which benefited Russia only, not Hungary. We did not receive any compensation for the goods we produced. Such national economy is also a nation's grave-digger, which it actually did become.

- (9) The state, for instance, has no right whatsoever to interfere into family life. Nor does the state possess a right to interfere with matters of faith. These are areas where everyone acts and chooses and arrives at decisions freely, prompted solely by his own free volition.

- (10) Yes, naturally. A citizen is obliged to love and cherish his country. To become a decent citizen thereof. To respect and abide by the laws of the country, to inculcate love of and devotion to the country in the hearts of his offsprings. To accept his share of the nation's total obligations (taxes, work, etc.), and to carry out these obligations according to his ability.

A state cannot even be imagined but to be composed of workers and leaders. This is something which is self-understood.

- (10 e) Yes, of course. The government must secure law and order, it must maintain legality and constitutionality, it must see to it that the rules of the state's civil code are respected equally by all and that everyone abides by them without exception. The government must see to it that the land and other real estate -- the foundation of a nation -- is returned and kept in the hands of its rightful and legal owners. The government is

further obliged to legislate and administer in such a manner that the laws and regulations promote the well-being of the people, not just misery and exploitation. Most important, it is the duty of the government to secure to its citizens their full rights as enumerated in the state's Constitution. This must be done not just on paper -- as it was done in Hungary -- but in actual reality.

- (11) Our country struggled with an acute shortage of physicians. Still, medical care did improve since the war. This does not mean that there was a tremendous improvement in the sphere of social institutions. There are countless diseases whose origins and causes are searched for in vain, physicians are not permitted to leave the country to attend international conferences or to contribute to research projects and, even if the causes of some diseases are discovered, there are no medicaments available. In larger villages and factories, medical offices are functioning where a general practitioner and also some nurses are available. First aid stations are also fairly common.
- (12) No. First of all, Russified arts and films are not liked by the people. Films of Western origin, when we had them, ran sometimes for weeks, and everyone spoke of them in an enthusiastic fashion. Seeing them became a lasting experience for all of us. Hungarian productions were favored to a certain extent, if their content was not too antagonistic.

- (13) Definitely not. We all consumed at least 25-30 percent less calories than we did before the war. Our food situation was ~~is~~ much better even during the second World War, even though we had to feed the German war machinery in those days.
- (13 a) No.
- (13 b) About the same.
- (14) No. I have seen many ragged (rongyon) people in both Budapest and Győr.
- (14 a) No.
- (14 b) No.
- (15) It certainly did increase. It must have increased at least 100 percent. Unfortunately, nothing remains in the country. The Russians take away everything.
- (15 c) How could it be good?
- (16) The direction of factories and other undertakings should not be undertaken by the workers, but by able and gifted people who are well trained and educated, and who possess an adequate experience for such work. The fact that a worker assumes the director's seat is not sufficient a guarantee that all the problems will be solved to the advantage of the workers. Workers should be assured their right to institute rationalizations or be permitted to make such proposals to the plant management.
- (16 a) Labor unions should be the connecting link between employees and employers. They should represent the workers' interests against the employers. Labor unions should fight for correct labor practices and for just wages. They should be completely

independent of the government, and of the government's policies.

- (16 b) They should be completely independent.
- (16 c) Membership should be recruited on a voluntary basis.
- (16 d) Only fit and expert people, who are well educated and experienced, who are fully familiar with a factory's production methods and procedures, should manage a factory. A baker cannot be a steel-mill director.
- (16 e) Factory management should be responsible to higher directing organs. These, in turn, should take into consideration domestic consumer needs. These needs should be emphasized in production.

Management should also be responsible to the workers. It should give regular reports on profits realized, giving details on how much of these profits ^{was} ~~is~~ given to the workers.

- (17) Collective farms are unnatural (eröltetett), born their inception bankrupt, forced institutions which never in this life will have the slightest possibility of success. Collective farms of Denmark, organized on a voluntary basis, are excellent institutions. They prosper and develop very nicely.
- (17 bE) A state farm is a transitional institution which grabbed state land reserves after the war and prevented the distribution of the land to the peasants. State farms control vast land masses which under normal circumstances would be flourishing farms and would offer to many thousands of farmer families the foundation to a happy and contented life. In contrast to what these

state farms should have become, they now present a sorry picture where everything degenerated into a heartless and soulless indolence. (Lelketlen nemtörődömséggel fajult ott minden.) State farms were aptly called the state weed-producing undertakings (állami gaztermelő vállalatok).

- (17 cB) If the Russians leave the country, collective farms will disband immediately.
- (17 h) Yes, naturally. To every man belongs the territory of land into which he was born, which was his own. By taking away the land, they shook and undermined the whole nation's foundation.
- (17 i) I should only like to observe that, if they returned 200 holds to any former estate owners, that should be more than sufficient. 200 holds should be the maximum to be restored. The rest should be distributed on a proportional basis to working peasant families who would like to till the land.
- (17 j) Yes, of course. This should be done on the basis of reciprocity, as it was done before the war. The peasants helped the state by contributing to the nation's stability and ~~prosperity~~ prosperity, and the state ~~should help~~ ^{should help} the farmers by providing them with fertilizers and by assisting them in the marketing of agricultural products.
- (17 m) You would not have to do anything to them, they themselves would disintegrate soon enough, because they have no future. There should be ~~tractors~~ tractors and other farm machinery, but all this equipment should be in private hands.

- (18) The education of the youth should be completely restored and placed into the hands of the Church. The underlying principle here is very clear-cut and simple: the Church and the people are one. The people elect the government. Therefore, the government recognizes the Church completely, because the people so desire it.
- (18 f) On the elementary school level I should definitely send my children to church schools. On the secondary level, there should be mixed church-state schools. On the university level it is better if schools are under state control, since the Church could not create such good relationships with foreign institutions as can the state.
- (19) The people would take care of party members. I would certainly not advocate sticking them into prisons or mines where no one could see them. I favor the eye for eye, tooth for tooth principle here; I would subject them to the same conditions and circumstances to which they subjected us. I would let them work, make forced deliveries, buy peace loans, purchase their consumer needs for ten times the regular price, etc.
- (19) (Youth League members.) I would let them alone, except if they are guilty. I would take into consideration extenuating circumstances, such as father belonging to Communist party, etc. After all, they did stand their ground and behaved decently in opposing the regime during the Revolution.

- (19 e) Members of the AVH -- every AVH served the regime quite subserviently. They tortured and tormented mercilessly their enemies.
- (19 f) Members of the police -- I don't know what to say. They weren't much better than the AVH.
- (19 g) Communist leaders who turned against the Soviets during the Revolution -- the people discussing their affairs would pronounce their sentence. I am certain that these people would not be sent to the West.
- (20) The Battle of Mohacs of 1526; Hungary defended the West even then. The war of Independence of 1848; already then we fought for our national independence. 1914; we entered into the first World War -- a war which was none of our business, which we did not want. 1919; the date of the shameful Communist reign of terror. 1940; we went to war for foreign interests. 1956; Hungary revolted against Russian autocracy.

Hungary was always Western, not Eastern oriented. If we did not have Russian occupation of our country, Hungary even now would go with the West, not with Moscow.

- (21) We Hungarians are known in foreign lands only as producers of the paprika plant and as ranchmen (csikósok) of the Hortobágy Puszta. But this no longer holds true and there is much more to Hungary than paprika and puszta. We have made great advances in culture. In my estimation, among the peoples of

the Danube-basin, Hungarians are much more advanced culturally than are the Rumanians, Serbians, or the Czechs.

- (21 e) You cannot differentiate classes this way. It always has been Hungary's curse that the upper ten thousand tried to distinguish itself from the people by ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ disassociating itself from the masses and by living a life peculiar to the uppermost class.
- (21 f) Yes. ~~THE~~ Counts and barons lived a life distinctly un-Hungarian.
- (22) I cannot offer my views here. I know only the Horthy government and the Communist regime. During Horthy I lived the carefree life of a youth. Under the Communists I became a ragged, overworked, weary and tormented man.
- (22 f) There was significant social and economic inequality in Hungary before 1945. Counts, barons, and industrialists were over-privileged.
- (22 1) During the five-party coalition government (1945-1947) there was a marked upsurge of economic prosperity. Life was decidedly better then than in 1938. What happened after 1948 should be quite evident to you by now. It was the worst period in Hungary's 1000-year old history.
- (23) Political boundaries certainly would not be necessary if a European union could be established. Such a union would make everything more free.
- (23 ^h a) Hungarians live in a minority status in Czechoslovakia, Rumania,

and Yugoslavia. These Hungarians are craving to return to their homeland just as a child desires to be reunited with his parents. Territories where Hungarians constitute more than 50 percent of the population should be returned to Hungary.

- (24) Hungary's problems could only be solved if a government, free from foreign pressure and influence, could take over the direction of state affairs. Such a government, assisted by long-term loans of other friendly governments, would have to completely reorganize the nation's economy. Hungary would have to assume her role among the nations as an equal partner and enter into bilateral, and mutually satisfactory, commercial agreements with her neighbors and other states.
- (25) Russians are brought up in a decidedly barbaric fashion. Their cultural niveau is extremely low.
- (26) The teachings of Marx and Lenin I never took in my hands. Even during lectures I tried either not to listen to what was said or I agitated against their dogma in my limited circle. I did not believe a word they said, because I saw the realities of life. Neither Marx nor Lenin had any hold on us, their teachings had no effect on us.
- (26 e) No. Tito serves the interests of the people, not those of marxism or of Marxists.
- (26 h) This is a very hard question for me to answer. I am not familiar with Marx's teachings.

- (26 i) Hungary was a democracy between 1945 and 1948.
- (27) It signifies to me a system which strives to eliminate Russian influence, and direct Russian meddling into the internal affairs of a state.
- (27 e) They are completely incompatible.
- (28) The people would not have permitted Imre Nagy to remain our prime minister. We wanted Mindszenty to take that position.
- (28 b) No, he could not have remained at the head of the government. The population would have pressed for his resignation. Legal elections would have taken place and the followers of communism* would have dwindled to quite insignificant a number.
- (29 a) Socialism, where citizens' rights are kept and respected, is good.
- (b) Bad.
- (c) Bad.
- ~~g~~
- (d) Bad.
- (e) I don't know what the term really means.
- (g) Good.
- (h) Good.
- (i) I don't know him.
- (j) I don't know him.
- (k) Bad.
- (m) Good.
- (n) Good.
- (30) Citizens' Democratic Party (Polgári Demokrata Párt).
- (30 a) Mindszenty.
- (?1) a, less; b, less; c, less; d, less; e, more; f, there weren't any, as far as I know; g, more; h, most less, some leaders more; i, less.

- (32) Everyone had it better, except party members.
- (33 a) Interests coincide.
- (33 b) There was a certain aloofness between them.
- (33 c) Interests conflict.
- (33 d) Interests conflict.
- (33 e) Interests coincide.
- (33 f) Interests coincide, except for Communist loyalty.
- (33 g) I don't know.
- (33 h) I don't know.
- (33 i) I don't know.
- (33 j) I don't know.
- (34) We never had any fears or worries in this respect. We constantly kept ourselves informed through the radio and we knew quite well that the many accusations leveled against the United States simply did not correspond to reality and to truth.
- (35) Nobody would fight for the present regime. Not only the Hungarians, but all the other so-called people's democracies would go against the Russians. We expected precisely this to happen during the Revolution. Everywhere 98 percent of the people oppose their rulers. Calm is maintained only by the force of arms.
- (36) No. If I had been permitted to freely express myself in Hungary, I would have replied to your questions there precisely in the same way as I did here.

- (1) No, I can think of nothing at all at the moment.
- (1 a) It will be very salutary indeed if you will offer your findings to all interested in knowing. People will be able to see what went on in Hungary. The Russians sacrifice tremendous sums of money and effort to win the sympathies of the people.

I feel I am discharging here not only an obligation I owe to myself and to my country, but also an obligation I owe to mankind. My answers will form an integral part of a wonderful document, which will admonish people not only of this but also of future generations.

- (1 b) You will be able to collect a tremendous amount of material this way. Especially if you can speak to people who have spent many years in AVH prisons. They can tell you a great deal about how shamefully low the present niveau of Hungarian legality and justice sank. The saddening fact is that the tortures now are raging even more cruelly and even more mercilessly and that we, while safe in our persons, are sentenced to a complete impotency and must helplessly watch while our brethren ^{REN} try to high heavens for help.
- (1 c) I would like to urge you and to ask you to avoid mentioning any names, including my own, the name of the factory, the name of the village, or anything that could possibly identify me. I still have family members and relatives remaining home and the disclosure of my identity would bring the most serious

consequences to them. You should know, for instance, how countless people, identified from magazine pictures taken by American photographers during the Revolution, paid heavily for this ~~is~~ publicity.

- (1 d) Yes, I think so.
- (1 e) We should have discussed, for instance, how was it possible for the Russians to keep Hungary occupied for so long. We were under the impression that once the Russians withdraw their occupation from Austria, they would also have to pull out of Hungary. It was our understanding that the occupation of Hungary was incidental to the occupation of Austria, since ^{the} Russians had to maintain an uninterrupted line of communication to their troops in Austria. But this no longer applies, Austria is free, and yet Russians continue to remain in our country. What is the explanation of this? We heard of Yalta and of Potsdam. But we know nothing definite about what took place there. If the Voice of America explained these points, if it lifted the veil of this mystery, it would be very beneficial to Hungary.
- (2 a) If I find my life's happiness here, and if I manage to learn the language, I do not propose to consider this question for the time being.
- (3) I suggest that you talk to people from various parts of Hungary.
- (3 a) I don't have any and I don't know of any.
- (3 b) I thought of it for some time.
- (3 c) I don't have any.