

- (1) You should know that the borders were watched and guarded by the paid AVH people. Anyone who attempted to cross the frontier was shot down like a dog. The AVH-men received 5-600 forints as reward for each person they caught, dead or alive. They accused those who tried to ~~fight~~<sup>flee</sup> as traitors to their country. To this I say that the Hungarian government is the traitor, but the people are not. That government must be annihilated. We have no use for it whatsoever. It is an extremely barbarian regime.
- (2) The whole thing started at 2 p.m. on the 23rd of October. The youth of Szeged organized the MEFESZ and they went to ~~MMH~~ Budapest where, after some vacillation, the Ministry of the Interior was prepared to permit the demonstration. This was a heavy blow to the murderous AVH catch<sup>D</sup>rolls (gyilkos AVH pribékek).
- (2 a) Yes, there was an ~~HEMUM~~ incubation period. They took László Rajk out of his grave and buried him again, and this whole thing was broadcast to~~k~~ the entire nation and the people got stirred up and became restless immediately. I, and my family, too, participated in this general enthusiasm which was directed against the Rákosi-government.
- (2 b) The youth and the workers of Budapest contributed a great deal to it. The people were completely oppressed and they searched for a way out of this unbearable situation. Not only in

Budapest, but even on state farms, the people became restless and began to move. We, too, helped Budapest in whatever we could, so that the Revolution may succeed. Unfortunately, it was not successful.

- (2 b i) Stalin's death may have contributed to it, and I think Molotov and Beria did, too.
- (2b ii) Yes, Imre Nagy's premiership did contribute to it, well, I should say 50 or 60 percent. The people were very enthusiastic about Nagy. The people were crying when they listened to the Nagy program on the radio. But when we heard Rákosi's speech shortly after that, then we saw that our situation began to darken again. We became disillusioned, though we knew that Rákosi's days were counted.
- (2 b iii) This contributed to it insofar as Tito is closer to the West and is pro-Western in his orientation. Tito intends to destroy the Russian Communists. But he, too, is probably afraid that he himself would be annihilated in the process.
- (2 b iv) I don't know anything about that.
- (2 b v) That most probably did contribute to it. Moreover, after the coming of Gomulka, the Hungarian people, too, began to move. It was shortly after the coming of Gomulka that the Szeged youth organized the MEFESZ.
- (2 b vi) I don't know.
- (2 b vii) The funeral of Rajk contributed to it 98 percent. The people

began to wail and to murmur and to grumble at the same time. At the time when Gerő and Kádár visited Belgrade, the people were already moving.

- (2 b viii) From that time on, we, too, began to move. We felt that we had similar rights and that it was about time to throw off the chains from our necks.
- (2 c) Yes. This was at the time when Imre Nagy became Prime Minister in 1953. The people already then almost erupted. Cries of "Down with Rákosi" were audible even then.
- (2 d) Yes, I felt a change was in the air as early as 1953. At the time of Nagy's premiership. And then again at the time when Yugoslavia and Russia again became friends. The people already then were in a fighting mood, but they were subjected to pressure and were again subjugated.
- (2 e) I don't know. They had no chance of developing because they were held back with pincers. This is true of Péter Veress and of all the others. They took Péter Veress to Moscow and to other places, but he does not feel as the Russians do.
- (2 f) There were such changes in the Ludas Matyi too. Several of its numbers were suppressed and confiscated. There was no appreciable change in the Szabad Nép's tone. In the Sziv Ujság it was felt more.
- (2 g) Yes, speeches made at the time of the Rajk funeral impressed me very deeply.

- (3) The people did not like the XXth Congress at all. The XXth Congress brought about such changes which were designed to prevent our people's disentanglement from Russia.
- (3 a) Because the Revolt came as a result of the Rajk affair and as a result of the Gomulka affair. These two events gave it the impetus it needed to go on its way.
- (3 b) I don't know what to say. All I know is that the Rajk funeral was responsible for all the things that followed. Had it not been for the Rajk episode, Rákosi in all probability would have been reelected. It is true that even before the Rajk affair there were disturbances, and voices of protest could be heard here and there. People demanded to know why does Hungary give assistance to Egypt when the Hungarian population itself is walking in rags. Or take for instance the time of the devastating floods in Hungary. The American assistance was distributed to members of the Communist Party. The poor people have not seen anything of it.
- (3 c) To put an end once and for all to communism in Hungary, and to abolish the Russian system in our country. Everyone wished the Russian system to be thrown into the water and that in its stead the U.S.A system be introduced.
- (3 d) There was a demonstration. AVH-men fired at the demonstrators in front of the Parliament building. That's when it started. The demonstrators seized arms. Life and death did not matter then.

everyone desired only one thing, namely to get rid of the whole system. The Maletar party, for instance, consisted of men who were trained in Russia. But their hearts were Hungarian.

(3 e) Yes, the goals were various: to annihilate the system and to start a new one, based on the Western example. Unfortunately, it did not turn out that way. We are still very anxious to drive the Russians out of Hungary and we are quite ready to accomplish this in cooperation with the U.S.A.

(3 f) Members of the AVH, former chairmen of the councils, party secretaries, party and non-party informers, and well-paid and decorated Stakhanovists. These ~~are~~ were the people who opposed the Revolt. Many of these people fled to Yugoslavia.

‡ Let me give you an example from my own experience; out on the state farm we threw down the red star from the top of the warehouse and we hoisted the Kossuth-emblem flag in its stead. The farm director and the party secretary vehemently opposed our actions. The secretary said: "Don't you think that you will be sorry for what you are now doing?" He said, the red star was the symbol of the republic and warned us that Kossuth was long since dead, and that no one cares for him any more. We did not listen to what he was saying and we chased him away. Also, we openly listened to Western radio broadcasts, tuning our sets on loud, so that everyone could hear. Again, the party secretary came and threatened us, but we didn't pay any attention

to him.

- (3 g) Turncoats were neutral, people who were afraid to make any move, fearing to loose their bread thereby. There were plenty of these. On the state farm, such people as machine-station mechanics and office personnel were non-committal.
- (3 h) Russians, get out! Let's introduce the Western system into Hungary! Later we made a slogan of our own: "Azt hiszitek, ruszkik, hogy lisztből van a lángos, le van tojva Kádár János."
- (3 i) The Revolt was 100 percent anti-Communist.
- (3 j) By anti-Communist I mean a complete rejection of everything that went on in Hungary from 1948 on. The people of Hungary do not need this system, nor do they want any part of it. They take everything away frm the people. They throw people into jail. They beat and torture them. The people are trembling of fear day and night.
- (3 k) Those who did join the party did so only to avoid persecution or jail. These people were in the party and yet they were against the party. I should say that about 70 percent of party members were against the party.
- (3 l) Yes. The chief agronomist on the state farm, for instance.
- (3 m) If Soviet troops had not been brought in, we would have been victorious. We were victorious, as a matter of fact. Many a Russian fought on our side. There would have come a repudiation of the East and we would have moved towards the West. The U.S.A.

system would have been established in Hungary. The U.S.A. assisted Hungary economically, though the goods the U.S. sent us were not distributed justly. Imre Nagy himself was Western-oriented.

(34)

We knew of all the events instantaneously, because we had a powerful radio receiver. We were cowherds, both I and other members of my family, and we continued to work because the animals needed constant care and attention. But we organized our work in such a way that we did have free time, which we devoted to revolutionary activities. My son and other youths went to Bátorsek and got some weapons from there. We, the cowherds and coachmen and other workers from the state farm, assembled in the machine-shop of the machine station and organized. We proceeded to the warehouse building and demolished the two-and-a-half meter red star which was on the top of the warehouse roof. We threw the star down and people below destroyed it completely. Thereafter we proceeded to the administration building, where we knew a Kossuth-tricolor<sup>®</sup> was kept. We took that and hoisted it on the top of the warehouse roof, to the place where the star had been before. The party secretary came out and protested, but we did not listen to him at all. We were listening to the radio day and night after that, putting the receiver set on the window and turning it on loud, so that

everybody could hear it. A day or two later we organized a food collection and we sent a large amount of food to Budapest. Some of us went to the state farm director as a delegation and we asked him to contribute food from the farm stock to the fighters of Budapest. He ~~did~~ refused at first, but after much persuasion he agreed to give both meat and flour. The party secretary refused to give anything at all. The chief mechanic stole a truck and we loaded it with all kinds of food and sent it up to Budapest. The party secretary opposed all this as much as he could, but he did not dare provoke us. He did have two machine pistols and two regular pistols, but I had ~~two~~ six hand grenades, one machine pistol, and several military rifles, so we were not afraid of him. I was going to shoot that dog down, but then again I did not want to have ~~any~~ blood ~~on~~ on my hands. A four-member revolutionary group (one former regular policeman and three others) came to the state farm from B<sup>á</sup>taszék and disarmed the party secretary. The B<sup>á</sup>taszék police force went over in toto to the side of the revolutionaries and they distributed all their arms to the people.

The population on the state farm split into two <sup>u</sup> groups, with the party secretary leading a small group which opposed the Revolution. Other members of this group were the farm director, the warehouse chief, and the chief brigade leader of



the cattle-breeding section. Some people, mechanics and office workers, remained non-committal, and all the rest of us supported the revolution in every way we could.

- (4 a) Four or five Russian tanks were going towards KE Véménd, a village not too far away from us. Their way led through a forest region where several thousand revolutionaries took up positions. The revolutionaries captured the tanks and killed a number of Russian soldiers. Two of the tanks were exploded and one of them fell into an abyss. The revolutionaries captured the Russian commanding officer of the city of Pécs, dragged him out to the Meesek mountains and killed him there. The revolutionaries had a great many cars and trucks at their disposal. They always bought their food and other supplies, paying for all the items with cash. They never once plundered or stole anything.

In Véménd, for instance, the revolutionaries visited a store and wanted to buy eight loaves of bread. The storekeeper, a Jew, refused to give them any. "To the Russians I will give bread any time," he said, "even without money, but to you, scoundrel catchpols, I will not. You ought to perish," he said. The revolutionaries left their money behind in the store, did not take any bread, locked KE the store and took the Jew with them into the forest. I don't know what happened to the Jew there.

In Bátoraszék the revolutionaries carried out all documents

from government offices and set them all to fire. There was a Russian memorial in the city, too. This the rebels demolished and destroyed. In a government bookstore in Bátorfő there was a Stalin-bust. The bust was dragged out into the street and beheaded. Some of the rebels poured gasoline into Stalin's head and ignited it. "Here is the ingenious Stalin" (Itt van a lángeszű Sztalin).

(4 b) In Pécs, Keszthely, ~~Keszthely~~ Kalocsa, Baja, and Kaposvár, the Hungarian army units took the side of the revolutionaries. Army officers let the enlisted men go home, with their weapons and all.

In Kaposvár a large mass of demonstrators marched to one of the military barracks. There were five or six Russian tanks there. The commander of the Russian tanks gave order to his men to proceed against the demonstrators. The leader of the demonstrators, in turn, asked everyone to remain steady and not to retreat one step. The tanks proceeded with full speed against the multitude, but, as the people did not retreat an inch from their positions, the Russians stopped their vehicles right in front of the people's shoes. The Hungarian garrison went over <sup>to</sup> the Revolution soon after that. The Russians retreated and abandoned the ~~city~~ city. Revolutionists proceeded against the AVH barracks and captured the AVH-men. These, however, were freed later by the Russians.

- (4 c) I have not seen any mob violence. A factory worker from Bonyhád came to Moracs (a village close to Bátaszék) by car, assembled the people, and held a big speech, urging everyone to ~~take~~<sup>seize</sup> arms and to help destroy the Russian and Hungarian system. He urged everyone to help initiate a new system, based on the U.S.A. model. Soon after Kádár came to power, this man was seized and executed.
- (5) We were living in the puszta, far removed and isolated from the larger cities. Even the nearest villages were far away. We learned of the Revolution by radio, and we did everything we could to do our share in our own place and way. We demolished the red star and we hoisted the Kossuth-flag. We collected food and sent it to Budapest. We helped to disarm the party secretary and we kept our weapons, ready for any emergency. We put our big radio receiver in the window, turned it on loud and the workers assembled there and listened and applauded and acclaimed what they heard.
- (5 c) We helped the fighters with food supplies.
- (5 d) Yes, we did remove the red star.
- (5 e) We received a few leaflets from Bátaszék. These we read and handed them to ~~the~~ others to read as well.
- (5 f) The revolutionary council was organized in the puszta as soon as we heard a proclamation to this effect on the radio. I, too, was instrumental in its organization. I did not become a

leading member of it, for I have seen how they changed colors under the canvas. Office workers, mechanics, and some other former leaders (Communists) were the principal members of the revolutionary council. They did not want us, grey and obscure workers, because they knew that we would not let them stay if we got in.

- (6) Not applicable.
- (7) I liked Maleter most, because he was on Imre Nagy's side.
- (7 a) I don't know of any.
- (8) In many instances, Russian troops were fighting other Russian troops.
- (8 e) Imre Hegyesi, the revolutionary leader of the XIth District of Budapest, related to us how many Russians did defect and went over to the side of the insurgents.
- (9) I listened to the radio. I also spoke with those who traveled to and from Budapest, transporting food to the capital.
- (9 a) We did not receive any newspapers out in the puszta during the Revolution.
- (9 b) We spoke, for instance, with Budapest youths at the B tasz k railway station. They told us of the events that took place in Budapest.
- (9 c) Yes, I did listen to the radio, both domestic and foreign. I listened to the Voice of America, to Free Europe, to Paris, to Ankara, to Austria, and to Madrid. I also listened to

Magyaróvár, Pest, Miskolc, Pécs, and to others.

- (10) Party organizations were completely disbanded. Revolutionary councils were organized everywhere and the red stars and other Russian signs were destroyed within 24 hours.
- (10 a) The labor unions continued to function, but they, too, were reorganized.
- (10 b) The Party was disbanded and a new Communist Party was organized. On the 25th we organized the revolutionary workers' council on the puszta.
- (10 c) The blue police was disbanded. Many of the policemen joined the Revolution.
- (10 d) The AVH was completely wiped out in many places.
- (10 e) The old courts ceased functioning. Revolutionary workers' courts were organized in their stead.
- (10 f) The army disbanded too. A great many of them went over to the Revolution. In other places the soldiers were sent home with arms and all.
- (10 g) The Imre Nagy government took over the direction of the state affairs.
- (10 h) Local councils were destroyed. Chairmen of the councils were executed in many localities. Party secretaries, too, found a similar fate.
- (10 i) Churches experienced a sudden revival. Mindszenty was freed from prison.

- (10 j) I don't know.
- (10 k) They were the revolutionary workers' councils, the labor unions were reorganized. The Social Democratic Party, the Peasant Party, and other parties were organized anew and began functioning.
- (10 l) We were listening to the radio, we learned of the mood of the nation, and we quickly organized the revolutionary workers' council. We did this with the thought that the Imre Nagy government must be strengthened in every possible way, and in whatever it does we must support it.
- (10 m) An international workers' movement would have emerged. The idea of kingdom did not please the nation. We wanted to introduce in Hungary the U.S.A. system.
- (11) I should only like to say that there will be a change in Hungary yet. The system which was and still is in Hungary cannot remain for long. Only artificial force keeps it now going. I am quite prepared to help and assist with my whole family a movement which the U.S.A. may wish to organize for the purpose of destroying that system.
- (11 a) I think it was a useful thing. If it had not been for the Russians, the Rákosi-system would have vanished completely.
- (11 b) The Revolution did succeed. Only the second Russian offensive and Kádár were able to topple it. The regular Russian force which was stationed in Hungary was beaten. In some cities,

notably in Sztalinváros and in Szekszárd, the insurgents destroyed a number of Russian tanks with the help of high-voltage wires.

(11 c) Yes, we expected help, we expected help in great quantities. We expected military equipment. We would not have needed any soldiers. At most a few bombers would have been sufficient. These would have ~~held~~<sup>held</sup> the newly-arriving troops at bay.

(11 d) The Revolution happened in Hungary because the Hungarians believed in the possibility of destroying the system of the East. The Russians wanted to steal all our uranium ore.

(11 e) I believe that he will be set free. The people would like to see this, too.

(11 f) ~~KK~~ Anna Kethaly was also an important figure.

Maletér -- he was on the people's side. He must be a very good man. He did a splendid job at Kilian and he courageously stood on the people's side.

Király -- I never heard of him.

Aezél -- he is against the Russians. He rightfully belongs to the revolutionary group. He was a Communist for a long time and escaped with a great amount of documents.

Lukács -- I never heard of him.

Tildy -- if he only could have remained in power, then we would never have had a Russian system. The same thing applies to Árpád Szakasits.

Dudás -- I never heard of him.

- (11 g) I would rank them in the following way: ~~XXXX~~ first, youth; second, workers; third, agricultural workers; fourth, intellectuals; fifth, soldiers. I don't know of any irresponsible elements.
- (12) My younger son escaped to Austria in the beginning of December 1956. My older son started out, too, in the direction of Austria and he was captured on December 13. He was taken to Budapest and was held there until the beginning of January, 1957. He was eventually released and the AVH brought him back home. On January 17 he escaped again, to Yugoslavia. We followed him on January 25, also in the direction of Yugoslavia. We were captured by the Hungarian frontier guards between Baja and Rasztina. I had some money and whisky with me, but the frontier guards would not take any of that stuff. Finally they let us cross the frontier.
- (12 a) I wanted to come to the U.S.A. for a very long time. We now had a possibility to escape and I knew we were compromised enough, so we decided to ~~XXX~~ flee.
- (12 b) I discussed my plans with my neighbor, with my brother-in-law, with a German Hungarian, and with a few coachmen on the state farm.
- (12 c) I wanted to flee already in 1950, because my brother and I had beaten up two Russian soldiers and the policemen arrested



us and gave us a terrific beating in Mohácsziget. They called <sup>catchpools.</sup> as dirty American imperialist chained ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
I experimented already in 1939 with emigrating to the U.S.A. My younger brother and I started out in that year and we got as far as Vienna. There they arrested us for illegal entry and shipped us back to Hungary.

The Yugoslav border was about 30-35 kilometers from our puszta. As soon as the Hungarian guard let us go, <sup>we</sup> ~~WALK~~ crossed the Yugoslav border and Yugoslav guards were already waiting for us. They took us to Sombor. We were there for seven days. Then they took us to Macedonia, to a camp near Bitolj. We were in that camp for three-and-a-half months. That camp was shut off completely and the Yugoslavs did not permit any delegations to visit that camp. Once we were told of a Belgian recruiting delegation, operating in Osijek. We expressed our desire to see them and so the Yugoslavs took us to Osijek. From there we went to another camp in Brestanica, Slovenia. From Brestanica we were brought back to Osijek to be presented to a South American delegation. This was on May 28. From Osijek we were taken to Gerovo, in Dalmatia, where we stayed for more than two months. There the U.S.A. delegation called us in on August 23 and we proceeded swiftly to Vienna. And now we are here. Our son lived in a youth camp at Bela Crkva in Vojvodina and he was not permitted to join us until he

reached 18 years of age. Fortunately he was not too far away from his 18th birthday and he was permitted to join us later. My other son escaped to Austria and he went to Canada some months ago and is now living with my sister there who has a tobacco farm there.

The Yugoslavs committed a great crime in that they handed back to Hungary all unaccompanied children who were below 14 years of age.

- (1) In 1945, I received a few holds of land as a result of the land reform. From 1945 to 1947 I was a tobacco-planter (ősdohány termelő). Prior to 1945, I was a cowherd in the employ of Janos Unger, who leased a large tract of land from the bishopry of Pécs. The land was situated around Mohácssziget. Even prior to that, I worked as a coachman.

I received  $6\frac{1}{2}$  holds of land (hold is a Hungarian agricultural unit slightly larger than the acre) in Mohácssziget in 1945. I kept and cultivated this land until 1950, when I decided to give it up and abandon it altogether; the situation was simply unbearable. I decided to go to a state farm in Mohácssziget and seek employment there. The state farm I refer to embraced some 4-5000 holds and it was called Szabadságtanya. More than a thousand people worked there.

- (1 a) My occupation is a cowherd and agricultural laborer. From 1950 to 1957 I worked as a cowherd.
- (2) Up until 1945 I was a coachman and later a cowherd in the employ of Janos Unger. From 1945 to 1950 I was an independent farmer, having received  $6\frac{1}{2}$  holds of land as a result of the 1945 land reform. In 1950 I gave up my land and entered the Szabadságtanya state farm at Mohácssziget. There I worked until 1954. In 1945 I transferred to Károlymajor, another state farm, and stayed there until 1955. In 1955 I transferred again to Borbolypuszta, still another state farm, and stayed there till

August 1955, when the farm director fired me. From August<sup>27,</sup> 1955, ~~XXXX~~ to January 21, 1957, I worked on the Báticasék-Leperdpuszta state farm.

(2 a) While in the employ of Janos Unger (until 1945) I worked as a coachman and later as a cowherd. As a coachman my duties included sowing, transporting, and manuring the fields, and transporting the grain. As a cowherd I was responsible for a certain number of cows, to feed them, to clean them, to milk them, to take good care of the cow stables and to drive the animals out to pasture.

As an independent farmer (1945-1950) I performed all kinds of farming work. Right after 1945 I began to grow and to cultivate tobacco. This did not last long, however, for I became a (nyomatékos) farmer. (Interviewer's note: "nyomatékos" is a term used in Communist Hungary to signify a farmer who must conform to agricultural directives and must ~~EE~~ grow such crops as the government directs him.) They told me what to grow and what not to grow. If someone did not abide by their directives, the police came and took the offender away. The forced deliveries were very high, the taxes became unbearable, and I just could not stand it any longer. I worked like a horse and yet I did not see any results. I decided to give up my farm. I soon found out that I could not sell it, however, and the government would not take it back, either. I did not want any money for it,

I just wanted to get rid of it any way at all. Finally I simply abandoned it and sought employment on a nearby state farm (Szabadságtanya, 1950). During 1951, the Szabadságtanya state farm took care of my property, when, towards the end of 1951, I was lucky enough and was able to get it transferred to my brother. My brother accepted my former property just in order to prevent the authorities from taking me and my family back to the farm I did not want. Later my brother, too, was forced to give up independent farming and he entered a TSzCs cooperative.

From 1950 to 1957 I worked as a cowherd (fejősgulyás) in various state farms; my first employment was at Szabadságtanya, then I went to Károlymajor, and later to Borbolypuszta.

In Borbolypuszta I had a quarrel with a brigade leader and lost my job as a result; the farm director, a former AVH officer, called me into his office, took out his two pistols, and began to interrogate me. He called me a dirty imperialist anarchist and told me that he would take me to the AVH prison, where I would vanish for ever, if I did not have all those children. I was fired instantaneously and had to leave the farm in that very hour. But in my workbook it was noted that I left the job with the farm-director's permission. This happened in August 1955. On the 27th of the same month I got a job, again as a cowherd, on another state farm, this one called Bátaszék-Leperdpuszta.

(The interviewer here asked the following question:  
Could you please tell me all you know about your last place of

employment? This is the reply:)

The place was called [REDACTED] (state farm). The farm comprised about 3300 holds of arable land and pasture. It employed about ~~500~~ 5-600 men. These were steady workers, permanent employees of the farm, living right on the farm's premises. To this permanent labor force contractual day laborers were added, recruited from nearby villages, who worked seasonally as the need arose.

The farm was directed by the farm director, the party secretary, the chief agronomist, and an assistant agronomist, and about ten brigade leaders. Each brigade leader commanded a labor force of about 40 - 100 men.

The director was [REDACTED]. He was about 33-34 years old. The Communists trained him a couple of years for his job, but he did not know very much about farming. The workers constantly had to advise him how to do this and that and why an operation should be performed this way and not the other. The director was responsible for everything on the farm, including the operation of the large farm-office. In the office worked the chief bookkeeper, the treasurer, the administrator, two timekeepers (bérelszámolók), two stenographers, and the party secretary.

The party secretary was the farm-director's assistant when the director was not on the farm, in reality, however, it was the party secretary who gave orders to everyone, including the

~~the~~ farm-director. The secretary's name was ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
He was from Budapest by origin, about <sup>27-</sup>~~27-~~28 years old, a former member of the AVH force. The chief agronomist was a very competent man. He studied in pre-war Hungary, and was about 44-45 years old. His assistant was a young man, about 24 years old, who did not know much about anything.

The director's monthly pay was 2450 forints. The party secretary received ~~XXXXXX~~ 2650 forints, the chief bookkeeper 1700 forints, the chief agronomist 2200 forints, his assistant 1600 forints, the two stenographers received 1400 forints each.

There was also a veterinarian. He had a car and he took care of two state farms. His pay was 2400 forints per month.

About 600 holds of the state farm was laid aside for the cultivation of ~~XXXXX~~ wheat, of which about 60 percent was covered by weeds of all ~~XXXX~~ sorts; another 500 holds was used for the cultivation of corn, another 100 holds for the cultivation of turnip, and another 300 holds was used for the cultivation of animal fodder.

There were about 350 cows on the farm, about 3000 ~~mm~~ sheep, about 600-700 hogs, and about 140 draught horses.

The County Agricultural Section of Szekszárd made the decisions on what the farm is to produce and how much of it. The actual determination of where to produce wheat, corn, turnip, etc., that is to say, the geographical allocation, was

the responsibility of the chief agronomist. The chief agronomist, the party secretary, and the director also had the joint responsibility of assigning the brigade leaders to the various sections of farm production. The brigade leaders were rotated yearly, one year supervising this labor force and this operation, the next year another. The brigade leaders did not work themselves.

Let us now consider the ~~XXXX~~ dairy farm section of this state farm. Work in this section started at 3 a.m. and ended at 8 p.m. Our first task in the morning was to carry out the manure. This done, we scraped the cows, fed them, made preparations for the milking, milked them, and fed them at the same time. One worker was assigned twelve cows, and he was responsible for them in every respect. Our responsibilities also included the calving (borjúzás). The morning operation, including milking, had to be done by 8 a.m. At 8 a.m., we drove the cows out to the pasture for grazing and remained there till 4 p.m. The pasturage consisted of about 50-60 holds. Three hundred cows grazed there, together with the entire sheep flock. At 4 p.m., we drove the animals in again, tied them to their manger, cleaned out the mangers and watered the cows. Thereafter we fed them again, kept the stable in good order, carried in the straw, and made preparations for the second milking. ~~THE~~ We milked the cows again at 5 p.m. Milking had to be finished by 7 p.m.

~~The work day ended around 8 p.m. We left the stables and~~



The work day ended around 8 p.m. We left the stables and the nightwatchman took over. Breakfast or lunch or supper period we did not have, we ate as we worked. We had our lunch out in the open. Four of us, my wife, the two older sons, and I worked, so the cooking was done by my 12-year old daughter. She cooked and brought our lunches out to the pasture.

The cows yielded from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 22 liters of milk per day. The average yield per cow was 6-7 liters of milk per day. Other farm yield averages were as follows: wheat 8-900 kilograms per hold, corn ~~XXI~~ 800-1000 kgs per hold, turnip 30,000 kgs per hold.

The machine station was equipped with 18 tractors (four used for hauling, six of the Kormos-type, six Zetar and two Universal). There were also three combines, four harvesting machines, and numerous lesser equipments.

The average worker's pay was 800 forints. This was my monthly salary too. To this I received 450 forints as family complement (családi pótlék). My monthly gross earnings then were ~~XXXX~~ 1250 forints. My wife performed the same duties and received 500 forints per month. Our sons received 600 forints each per month. The family also was assigned a 1200 square yard homestead, for the use of which we paid 80 forints per year.

Our living quarters consisted of one room (five by four meters), a kitchen (two by four meters), and a storage room (two by three meters). We lived there the nine of us. We had

our own furniture. Each bed was occupied by two people. The baby slept alone in a crib. We paid 30 forints rent per month for our quarters and 60 forints per month for electricity.

We had to buy our own food, of course.

Children were assigned 160 kgs of wheat per year, those past 16 years of ~~age~~<sup>age</sup>, if working, were allocated 200 kgs of wheat per year. Parents received 220 kgs of wheat per year. We paid 97 forints per 100 kgs of wheat.

We used to go to the city of Baja where we bought our clothing in a second-hand clothing mart. We usually managed to buy one suit or dress per year per person.

On our homestead we produced potatoes and other vegetables, and we also kept chicken, ducks, and 16 pigs of varying ages. We were not permitted to keep *GESE*. Forced deliveries there were none, and we were only required to pay 12 forints per month as income tax (kereseti adó). We subscribed to the Szabad Nép, paying 12 forints per month for it, and we also paid 31 forints union dues per month (ten, seven, seven, seven).

The state farm was operated chiefly by steady workers who lived right on the farm. Various seasonal farm operations were done by day-laborers from neighboring villages and to this force at times family members, mostly women and older children, of steady workers were added. Workers on the turnip fields were paid

8-16 forints; those working on the cotton fields averaged 6-7-18-22 forints. Day laborers ~~worked~~ worked in norms and were paid accordingly. They worked 12 hours a day.

State farms were organized in 1949. We became employees of a state farm in 1951 because we did not want to become members of a TSzCs. Life on a state farm was much better than life of an independent farmer and better even than the life of a TSzCs member. There was less terror, we experienced less fear and fright and there were no forced deliveries. From the point of view of production results, private landholdings were far more successful than either state farms or TSzCs's, and state farms surpassed the TSzCs cooperatives.

The state farm had its own warehouses. At harvest time, the seed needed for sowing the following year and per capita allotments for food for the farm population were retained at the state farm and the surplus was shipped ~~to~~ to government warehouses. The money so realized was placed in a bank account, from which the farm drew monthly fixed amounts to pay the salaries of the workers. Payments were made once a month, usually around the tenth or the twelfth.

The sheep flock was in an exceptionally bad shape. There was no fodder available and the shepherds were not professional people, they did not know how to take care of them and how to heal them

if they got sick; 30 to 40 percent of them were sick or died. The sheep were regularly sheared and the wool sold to textile factories. Sick sheep were sold to the state butcher stores (Husért ~~HOUSE~~)

The farm buildings consisted of stables, a machine station and adjoining machine shop, a big field kitchen where ~~daily~~<sup>h day-laborer</sup> prepared their food, a warehouse for wheat, other warehouses for corn ~~gran~~ (górek), living quarters of steady workers, (families), living quarters for single men, ~~where~~ where 20-25 people slept in one room, and the administration building with all the offices. These buildings were old structures which the Communists inherited together with the farm from the Catholic Church. To these a few new structures were added after 1949; there was a nice house where the director, the party secretary, the warehouse men ~~and~~ and the chief mechanic lived. (They were all single people). There was another house built for the brigade leaders. There was still another house, in which the agronomist lived. The Communists also built two new stables, a slaughterhouse, a culture home, and a dairy.

The area of the living quarters was extremely dirty, with weed growing all around. Manure was everywhere, its foul smells penetrating every room and dwelling. Our rooms adjoined the stable, the culture home was built at the end of one of the stables, with the director's house located some 100 meters or so further away.

Further out, the fields were practically covered with weeds. This was especially visible when the weedflowers began to blossom. You could see yellow weedflowers no matter where you turned.

We did have plenty of manure, but they always manured those lands which did not need any. The state farm also used chemical fertilizers, but those in charge of the fertilizing did not know how to do it. They did more damage than good by overapplying some of the <sup>e</sup>chemicals.

We received our water supply from a well. To this well a motor was attached which pumped the water and brought it to the surface.

We also had an elementary school after 1950 on the Puszta. We had a woman teacher conducting the first four grades of the elementary school. In Dolina, a little hamlet some three kilometers away, (population 150), there was another elementary school, with grades five, six, seven and eight. Children from there and from other places came to us to attend the first four grades, and our children walked to Dolina to attend the upper grades.

The nearest village, Véménd, with a population of 2000, was about five kilometers away, and the nearest city, Bátaszék, population around 6000, was about 7 kms distant. The nearest railroad station was at Bátaszék, and the nearest larger centers, Baja and Szekszárd, were 25 kms away from us. Pécs was 38 kms distant.

The farms had a great many difficulties with its machines. Most of the newer machines were the products of the <sup>e</sup>conomic-plan era, and they broke down very often. The ~~newer~~ <sup>older</sup> machines, of German and American make, were remarkably sturdy and strong and well built.


Part of the MILK milk that we produced was skimmed and pasteurized right there at the farm dairy and was shipped away in 25-liter containers. Some of it was only skimmed at the farm and was transported to Véménd for pasteurization. We were not allowed to use any of the milk ourselves. Only children under 6 and people over 60 could get half a liter of milk per day. The latter group only on a physician's recommendation.

We received each year 1200 square yards of land which we could cultivate as HX our homestead. The location varied from year to year. We used this land for planting potatoes and vegetables. A tractor from the machine station ploughed the land for us, a service for which we paid 87 forints per year. If we wanted to sell some of our produce, we had to sell directly to the state farm, at maximized prices. We were also allowed to keep pigs, and to fatten them, but we were not allowed to slaughter them, except by special permission. In that case we were required to surrender a stated amount of lard and meat.

(2 f) It was an average-size state farm, as state farms went in Hungary. I cannot say that it was efficient. Its efficiency was maybe 40 percent. The chief agronomist, a Jew, was a very good man and an expert leader, but they did not give him people to work with. Those who did work were very poorly paid. Once the day laborers loudly demanded more money. But the AVH came out and they were quieted down. Coachment (kocsisok) received 800 forints per month, shepherds got 700 to 800. Day laborers from the neighboring villages got 17 forints per day just before the Revolution. In the beginning of 1956 their daily wage was 8 forints, which was later raised to 11.50.

(3) I liked my job very much.

- (3 a) I liked the animals, I enjoyed milking the cows and taking care of them.
- (3 b) I did not like our low salaries. I also disliked the fact that we, who knew our business well, were ordered around by our superiors who did not have the slightest idea ~~EX~~ about the trade. Needless to say, at the end everything was done in the stables as we wanted it done, not as they desired.
- (3 c) My last job was somewhat better than my previous job at other state farms, because it was more quiet and more tranquil.
- (3 d) We milked by hand. Our equipment was rather deficient. We did not have brooms, for instance. If we complained, the reply invariably was: "He who does not like it here, let him pack his belongings and let him go!"
- (3 e) Our quarters were physically connected with the stable. As a matter of fact, the whole building used to be a stable until a part of it was converted into living quarters.
- (3 f) I worked from 3 a.m. to 8 p.m.
- (3 g) We worked every single day, seven days a week.
- (3 h) Yes, there was overtime. I often worked two hours over a day. They paid me 1.60 frts per hour.
- (3 i) Yes, there were holidays, three days a year. (August 20, May 1, April 4). But we had to work even on these holidays. We received 16 frts extra for such days.
- (3 j) Yes, there were paid vacations, 12 days per year, but we could leave our job only if we could find someone else to do our work. If we did find someone, we got only 50 percent of our regular pay during vacation time. If we did not find a substitute, we did not get compensated for our ~~E~~ extra work, nor did we get the vacation.

- (3 l) Yes, lateness was punished by deductions from pay, by disciplinary action, and after the third occurrence by firing.
- (3 m) Our milking norm was an average of 8 liters of milk per day per cow. We never reached this norm because the cows did not have that much milk and because we did not have the right fodder to feed the cows with. We fed them with straw, 20 percent of the turnip was frozen.
- (3 o) I had the paid holidays, I had medical insurance, and I only paid 50 percent of the medicine.
- (4) We were all alike down there.
- (4 a) These were farming people and people of the pussta.
- 



(4b) People didn't get along very well. The relations with superiors were not too good.

(4c) I did meet one of the *brigade* leaders occasionally.

(4d) I discussed politics with the entire *puszta*.

(4e) There definitely was such a difference. Party members were told about everything, they received decorations, and they got more pay and longer vacations.

I engaged in so much extra work. I was in charge of the calving. They were supposed to pay <sup>me</sup> 135 forints per delivery, and I delivered more than 25 calves per year. I was also first in the milkings, and I did so many other things outside of my regular assignment, but they did not pay me, I lost 3,000-4,000 forints annually thereby.

(4f) They couldn't do anything with the union. The peasants would ~~not~~ pay their dues for a few months and then ~~it~~ they would stop. I have in mind the seasonal workers from the adjoining villages. The steady workers were, of course, forced to pay their dues. Union meetings were held bi-monthly. These were always conducted on a Communist basis, with much denunciation of the USA.

(4i) I never heard of a shop triangle.

(4l) Yes, there was a great deal of such interference. They kept pushing us; "let's go, this is the way you have to do that, not the other way. The Russian system is very good, we cannot go according to the West", etc., etc. The administration put its nose into

everything. They kept reminding us that "we are not living under a Western system now", and "this is not the Horthy regime" and "there is nothing better in the world ~~like~~ than the Russian way".

(4n) The good kaders were those who were members of the Party.

(4p) The Party secretary always went around with his uniform on. The warehouse man was a grand informer. There were several others like him, too.

(5) It was impossible to change jobs. If somebody still insisted on changing jobs, he was simply fired. In such instances the word "önkéntes" was noted in the worker's <sup>work</sup> ~~note~~book, meaning "arbitrarily" to describe the way of his separation from employment. Such a person was unable to secure himself another job for the next six months except in the coal mines.

(5b) If I had been free to chose my own work, I would still have done what I was actually doing. I was in love with my work, it was in the family tradition.

(5c) No, not at all.

(5d) People were trying very hard to get ahead. But they did not succeed. If somebody did get somewhere, he automatically became a kulak or an imperialist or a Fascist who was "bent" on ruling others. ~~He~~

(5e) If I lived under those circumstances, I would have liked to have a good life, to improve my family's living standards, to buy clothes, I would have liked to have lived near a city and go to the movies occasionally. In my free time I would have liked to go to

Canada to visit my relatives there.

- (5f) We did discuss these problems at length at home; we decided to leave the country, to emigrate, to work, to purchase land, and to ~~stuck~~ stick together with the family.
- (5g) No, I would not have wanted my children to continue the same job I did; if I had the opportunity I would have liked to educate my younger children.
- (6) We have lived a simple, ordinary sort of life. I was not able to buy the sort of clothes for the members of my family<sup>1</sup> that I really wanted to. I was forced to spend all the money I had on food, and food was very expensive.
- (6c) We were just about getting by.
- (6d) Yes, I was exploited. No matter how much we worked, we could not possibly<sup>y</sup> get more than did the Party secretary and the others. We were exploited by the state. The state, in turn, was exploited by Soviet Russia. A man was not able to make the kind of money he would have liked to, he had to produce those things, and in such a way, as the government prescribed it, and whatever a man produced was eventually subject to forced delivery. A man was simply not able to live the kind of life worthy of a human being. A man was not able to speak his mind, he was not even permitted to mention his Western sympathies. We all knew what the West was like and yet we were not permitted to talk about it at all.
- (7a) I - I don't know. II - 9,500 per year. III - 9,500 forints per year

- (7b) Ours was an income in the lower medium bracket. They just didn't pay for what a man worked. If somebody earned over and ~~above~~ <sup>above</sup> his category, they simply did not pay him.
- (7d) Four members of my family were working.
- (8) Form is filled out.
- (9) Dwelling conditions were not too good. The building in which we dwelt was moist. We did have gas and electricity but no running water.
- (9a) The amount of time spent waiting in queues varied from one and a half to two, to ~~xxxxxxx~~ <sup>five,</sup> to six hours per occasion. We waited for such items as bread, lard, meat, and ration cards. Very often we waited completely in vain; the first fifty people got something, the remainder got nothing at all.
- (9b) It happened more often that items were not available than the other way around. Those who were close to the fire, received something, the others ~~it~~ suffered. Colonial wares were not available at all.
- (9c) We spent on the average four to five hundred forints per week on ~~fast~~ food. We purchased such items as potatoes, lard, fish, ~~fruit~~ fruit and other items, in government stores. We purchased our clothing items in second hand or junk stores. Black marketing was eradicated lately. The state itself was engaged in black marketing (the prices were much too high).
- (9d) There was a change from 1953 on. Beginning with the regime of Imre

Nagy food items were more abundant, but they were ~~z~~ very expensive, too. Up until 1953 we used Indian corn for cooking and for baking our bread. Bread was very expensive, running at times as high as six forints per kilogram. The quality of the bread was very poor. If somebody complained about these conditions, he was picked up and imprisoned as an enemy of the state. After the coming of Imre Nagy to power, all this became somewhat better; the price of bread then was three forints per kilogram<sup>s</sup>.

- (10) In the <sup>R</sup>akosi era the production was decreasing,~~x~~ and the standard of living was decreasing, and we were of the opinion that this could not possibly go on very long like that.
- (10a) It was not a healthy development at all.
- (10b) They sent out to the state farm people who had no idea whatsoever how to run a farm. They spent all their time on politing and kept on talking about the <sup>E</sup>astern culture. If something went wrong as a result of the ignorance or stupidity of the administrators, they always blamed us, the workers, for the bad results and we were accused of sabotage.
- (10c) The economic system and situation was fairly good at that time. I am not saying that I was in love with that system, things did not function as they should have in those days either. But all in all it was satisfactory. We had no need whatsoever for the introduction ~~system~~ of the Russian system.
- (10c2) The economic situation was improving in that period. Things were

better than before. In Hungary people started to introduce USA methods in that period. The only trouble was that the Germans came in.

- (10d) The changes in the economy ~~eg~~ after 1944, represented a deterioration. The right of free speech was taken away from the people. The living standards suffered a sudden and marked decline.
- (10e) No, I did not hear any such discussions.
- (10f) They began permitting people here and there to open private stores and shops. This, however, was on a very small scale, and people were taxed out of existence. Many an art artisan did not even bother to take out his ~~business~~ license and he preferred to go to a state farm and work there.
- (10g) Things were pretty much the same. In 1946, there was a very small improvement but it was barely noticeable. There was a noticeable improvement in the relations with Yugoslavia.
- (11) Material conditions were very important in this connection. This, however, was by no means the only, or the most important, complaint we had. People opposed the entire regime as such.
- (11a) For me personally material conditions were extremely important. The improvement of material conditions for my family was my highest goal.
- (11b) The destruction of the regime was our highest aim. The ordinary person did not even care to live and longer. They promised everything, but they gave us nothing at all. The people did not care

for the Eastern system and they wanted to have no part in it. The issue of living standards became a secondary issue with us, our most important aim was the tumbling down of the regime.

(11c) This was equally true for the factory workers, for the miners, and for the agricultural laborers.

- (1) I went only to the elementary school and even that I did not finish.
- (1a) I attended school from 1923 to 1925.
- (1b) I attended ~~parochial~~ parochial school.
- (1d) No.
- (1e) Not applicable.
- (2) The situation of my family when I was a child simply did ~~not~~ not permit that I continue my education.
- (2a) I would have like to finish at least the eight~~y~~-year elementary course.
- (2c) My life in all probablity would have been different had I finished elementary school. I would probably have become a skilled industrial laborer.
- (2d) I was an above average student.
- (2e) Generally speaking, I should say that in those days I did have about the same oppertunity as most everybody else. There were very many poor people then. It was a necessity for me that I, too, work with <sup>my parents</sup> ~~them~~ on a large estate, and, since there were no schools on these estates then I just couldn't ~~finish~~ continue my education.
- (3) Not applicable.
- (4) Whatever they did in schools went according to the Eastern system. The children were being indoctrinated into the Eastern system. It was absolutely forbidden to even mention the parish priest in school. We who went to parochial schools certainly did not learn anything bad from the priest or nuns.



- (4b) In my opinion it was not education at all what they were doing in schools. Children were not taught respect, or how to behave themselves well. They were taught only barbarism in schools.
- (5) My father was living in Dusnak and was engaged in curing animals. He was in greater demand than the veterinarian. This activity represented his ~~■~~ <sup>liveli</sup>hood. My father used to be a shepherd up until 1934.
- (5a) My father retired already before 1945. He was living at home and we also helped him from time to time. He is still living.
- (5b) My father was ~~xxx~~ satisfied with his lot and he lived honestly and worked honorably all his life. He ~~now~~ resides with my brother-in-law and ~~xxxx~~ he has some two or three holds of land which my brother-in-law helps cultivate.
- (5c) My father had no schooling at all. He was a shepherd all his life.
- (5e) No.
- (5f) We <sup>were</sup> neither better off nor worse off than others. We were somewhere in the middle.
- (5g) There were eight boys and a girl in our family. Altogether there were eleven of us.
- (5h) <sup>Two</sup> of them died, the rest of the family members are still living. Now I am here in the <sup>S</sup>tates, my sister is in Canada, all the others are living in Hungary.
- (5i) None of my relatives were living with us.
- (5k) My social origin hurt me more than it helped me in the past ten

years. If I may express it in percentages it hurt me about 70 percent.

- (6) Yes, I was married.
- (6a) My wife worked in the same place, doing the same kind of work I did.
- (6b) We were married in 1937.
- (6c) We have seven children.
- (6d) My oldest child was 17 years old in 1956.
- (7) Our relations were good. We understood each other. We were working. The only trouble was that we should have earned much more than what we actually did. They did not pay for our work. It was impossible to save. Even if someone had been able to save something, they surely would have taken ~~him~~ it away from him in that awful world.
- (8) Yes, we did talk politics in our family. We discussed both the Western and the Eastern world.
- (8a) I always told my family not to learn anything from ~~the~~ nor to accept anything off the Eastern system. I told them to refuse to accept anything from the Eastern system, even if they were forced to do so. I always told my family how it used to be in the old system. I always denounced the Eastern system and tried to inculcate into my children the precepts of the Western world. We always had a longing desire to go West. Now, finally, we succeeded.
- (9) We did have trouble, on various occasions, with our children over

their education. Sometimes they were sick and they were not able to earn any money, or at least not as much as normally. Our lot was a very hard one.

(9b) Their friends were all young people. A girl from the *puszta* joined my son, and they together wanted to cross the Austrian border, but they were arrested. On the 26th of December, they were finally ~~xxx~~ released ~~x~~ and were brought back to *Bátaszék*

On the 17th of January my son escaped again, this time to Yugoslavia. Another of my sons crossed the Austro-~~to~~ Hungarian border on December 8. He succeeded in emigrating to Canada and now is living with my sister and brother-in-law.

(9c) Politics did not enter the picture of their lives. I did not permit them to follow the Eastern politics. They accepted this and I always taught them about the Western side. Others constantly wanted to enlist them in various activities but I refused to let them go. We were constantly listening to the Western radios. The Eastern radio was always telling ~~lie~~ <sup>lie</sup>. ~~They~~ We did not like that at all. We did listen to music from both sides but that was all.

(10) No.

(10a) Yes, there was such a competition. We did not permit this competition to become effective, <sup>HOWEVER,</sup> ~~because~~. There were attempts to force our children to attend this sort of an activity and that sort of an activity but, since we knew that if they did go to these activities they would be influenced in the wrong direction, we simply did not permit

them to leave the house. We kept them home and they were working.

(11) Our relations were good and they still are good to this day.

(12) Yes.

(12a) We spoke about daily issues and issues which affected our every day ~~life~~ lives.

(13) No. My parents taught me only good things and I always accepted their advice.

(13b) There was no problem in that connection either.

(14) There was a very good understanding between us. The only trouble was that life was very hard. In 1955 my wife and two of my sons began to ~~work~~ work and were then helping me. Prior to that time, I was working alone and I had no help from them. Life in those days was extremely hard. Very often we had not enough ~~fruit~~ <sup>food</sup> to eat. That was a bitter, gruesome life. The Revolution, too, broke ~~me~~ out precisely because of that. They kept promising us everything but they never kept their word. Even ~~aside~~ aside from these grievances, the Hungarian nation simply did not need this Eastern type of system.

(14a) We were very close. There was no trouble there. It was the children who proposed that we flee the country. I myself was afraid to move with such a large family. When Yugoslavia proclaimed that it would give asylum to refugees, we took a train. We knew the Hungar<sup>ian</sup> Yugoslav border well. We started out with the expectation

that we would be able to continue our journey from Yugoslavia to the United States. The Almighty did help us in that after all.

- (14b) More than half of the families we knew did not understand each other. The ~~manual~~<sup>menial</sup> laborers were very much oppressed. They were never given a day off. The radio kept reminding us that no one should turn to the West for solutions, because solutions that might come from the West are all bad, paradise is in the East. We, on the other hand, kept telling ourselves that we would prefer "bad things of the West", rather than the "good things of the East and paradise".
- (14c) I simply did not have leisure time. At times one of my family members would substitute for me with the animals and would take care of the animals when they were grazing. The five days of vacation I had coming were always taken up with work on our own little homestead.
- (14e) Two years ago the children were in school, my wife was at home and I myself was working in the stable. I was working fifteen hours a day. In the last two years we all worked, ~~together~~ and we all worked together.
- (14f) I would have liked to visit my parents and my brothers and sisters. Unfortunately I never had the possibility to do so.
- (14g) No. See answers to previous questions.
- (15) Family ties have loosened completely.

- (15a) Not even family members could trust one another. If there was a slip of the tongue, the car would stop in the middle of the night and the person thus compromised would be taken away. People were often taken away even though they did nothing wrong. I know innumerable such cases where people I used to work with ~~together~~ were taken away for nothing, just because they happened to say that the Western system was better than the Eastern. Some of these people were taken to the mines, some others were done away with.
- (15b) Family members are more dependent now than before on each other.
- (15c) Many children do grow ~~estranged~~<sup>s</sup> from their parents.
- (15d) This is equally true both of town and country. The process of estrangement began in the towns and was exported to the country also.
- (15e) Yes, there were such changes; parents were ~~unable~~ to rear their children in a way they would have liked to.
- (15f) There were very many divorced people. There were others who hanged themselves or shot themselves in their desperation.
- (16) I don't know.
- (16a) The marrying age of boys is from 18-25 and that of girls<sup>s</sup> from 16-21.
- (16b) Courtship and marriage patterns certainly did ~~change~~<sup>s</sup> a great deal. These have taken entirely new, different forms. People simply aren't able to engage in the old ways of courting. People have neither money nor time and they are desperate.

- (16e) I don't know.
- (16f) The authorities before 1945 were more strict than the Communists after 1948. If the people made out to be dumb and acted stupidly, that was just as bad as if they did just exactly the opposite. 90 percent of the population longs for those conditions prevailing before 1945. They wish they could live in the pre-World War II world. Unfortunately, this is not possible.
- (16h) The lot of illegitimate children was much better before.
- (16i) The status of women has changed insofar ~~as~~ that they were obliged to go and work. They were preaching equality. In reality women were obliged to go to work, it was a necessity to do so. That was not the case before.

This I think is a ~~big~~ thing. It is not for the women to work outside of the house. Let there be such a system where the male is able to earn sufficient amount of money to take care of his whole family. On the state farms today all women are obliged to work at least 80-90 days a year, even though they be pregnant. If one does not satisfy this requirment, he does ~~x~~ not get a ration card.

- (17) Complete immorality and dishonorable life are the order of the day today. The parents were no longer in the position to teach their children as they would have liked to, and once outside, the children are exposed to bad examples and wrong instructions and they tend to listen less and less to parental instructions at home.

In that dirty Communist world one is not even permitted to speak about good morals.

- (17a) I was not able to educate my family in the way as it should have been done. We, when we were children, were not permitted to say anything bad and we were told to respect and honor everybody. This is not so now. Unfortunately, the bad seed has been sown and I believe I ~~would~~<sup>will</sup> have a difficult time readjusting my children now.

The radio kept broadcasting that the state farms would be provided with bath facilities. Unfortunately, this, too, remained just another promise. We were simply not able to keep ourselves clean.

- (17b) You have at least 50 percent more stealing now than before. Many people are forced to steal. People would simply not be able to subsist if they did not steal. Thank God, we were not forced to resort to this practice. I always held that, if I worked honorably, and performed those jobs which were entrusted to my care, I would be more respected. Generally speaking it is the Communists who steal. The packages and other forms of help which the United States government sent to Hungary were all stolen. A high Communist official once stole 6,700 kilograms of wheat which was supposed to be distributed to the flood victims. In ~~T~~ Dávod, for instance, the flood victims received only 40 percent of what they should have gotten and the rest was taken by the Communist officials. The man responsible for all this was Mihály Urbán, Party secretary at Dávod. ~~732 Cs~~

- (17c) Hooliganism does exist. On the state farms and on the ~~SoK~~ cooperative



people are able to buy their vacations. They usually pay wine or money to corrupt officials and these vacations then are taken away from other people.

- (18) I met him in 1937, at Mohács ~~Szeged~~ *Sziget*.
- (18a) He was an agricultural laborer of poor parents, he was drafted into the army in 1945. He later became an officer. He did not like the Communists.
- (18b) My friend was born in 1924.
- (18c) We were having a good time when we were together. We would go to a restaurant or to a movie or would attend a soccer game.
- (18d) Yes.
- (18e) Our friendship never changed. ~~But~~ We honor and respect ~~a~~ one another even now.
- (18f) Yes, we are still friends.
- (18g) I value mutual understanding and mutual love as the most important thing in a ~~the~~ friend. I cannot think of anything else.
- (18h) Yes, it was easy to make friends.
- (18i) With the circle of friends I had, age played no difference. Occupation was of no moment either. There was no looking down upon people. ~~xxxxxxx~~
- (18j) To have a friend did mean a great deal. We would discuss secret things among ourselves and we would then keep the secret. We would also help each other when in need.
- (18k) This would certainly have effected my friendship. I would first try to dissuade him, to advise him to leave the Party. If he persisted in his attitude, then our friendship would break up.

- (181) I did have a few Communist friends but they all threw away from them Communism. They gave up their membership. They did not like it.
- (19) My parents were Roman Catholics.
- (19a) Everybody in my family was Roman Catholic.
- (19b) I, too, am a Roman Catholic.
- (20) Communism did affect religion very much. Priests were incarcerated. Nuns were annihilated in that religious orders were dissolved. Schools were taken away from the priests and from the religious orders. This was certainly not the path of respect. Religion was persecuted. Roman Catholics were persecuted 100 percent.
- (20a) Roman Catholics were persecuted most. We could send our children to religious instruction only secretly. I maintain that God may give, and God may also take things away. They used to say that priests and nuns are devils and those who fight with the cross commit a sin. They also told us that Stalin and Rákosi are our gods.
- (20b) Communists were trying to <sup>USE</sup>~~erase~~ religion for their own ends first and to annihilate religion entirely later. I am a Roman Catholic. I liked to go to mass and I respected the church and the priests. The priests did not teach us anything wrong.

Unfortunately, on the state farm they did not give us the opportunity to go to church and to attend Mass. Those who did go were fired.

- (20c) I don't know what to say about the peace priests. We had no need for peace priests before. We had peace. Now we have peace priests and yet we cannot do those things which we would like to do.
- (20f) No. Communists and people outside of the Party, who were serving as informers, were observing people and those who did go to church were later persecuted. They were called in to various officials, they were sometimes beaten and they were asked why do they go to church? Because they went to church, they were declared enemies of Communism. In spite of all of this, I received my confirmation in 1951, together with two other members of my family. We also confessed our sins.
- (20g) There were very many people who stayed away from church because of fear.
- (20h) I always attended services if I had the possibility to do so. We, of course, did not tell anybody that we went to church, otherwise they would have persecuted us. Even in Yugoslavia we attended church services. I only seldom had a chance to go to church, on occasions ~~my~~ when I was in the village or in the city.
- (20i) Village folk, older ladies went to church more frequently. Workers and young people attended church less frequently. This latter group was observed with an especial care. Very often ~~at~~ the Communists did not even permit the priests to say the Mass. Processions outside of the church were forbidden. The priest of Dáved was

taken away. The same fate befell the priest of Mohacs <sup>sziget</sup> ~~island~~.

(20k) Religion again means most to the people. Religion certainly does not tend to corrupt people. Religion teaches. In the olden days children learned everything in school according to the religion. They were taught to honor and to respect their neighbors and their parents. Such sort of a thing was unfortunately not possible now. In the olden days old workers of large farms or estates went to church using the small railway.

(20l) The church helped the people against the regime. After Rákosi was dismissed, the lot of the church was also somewhat better. The church was no longer so persecuted as in the time of Rákosi.

In 1948, the Prince Primate came to Baja. More than 100,000 people assembled there to hear him speak. The Communists did not permit him to use the microphone when he spoke. Later they gave him permission to do <sup>so</sup> but he could speak only for a few minutes. He was then quickly escorted ~~in~~ from the stand. We walked 25 kilometers to be able to hear him speak.

(20m) Officially there was no religious instruction at all. There was little possibility to do this in secret. The children of today don't know their religion. Our children were first taught religion in Yugoslavia.

(21) If I had such a young person, I would have advised him to become an agronomist.

(21a) My reason for recommending the profession of agronomist is that

in Hungary the best opportunities are in agriculture.

- (21b) I would have advised him to work intelligently and honorably and to execute faithfully all the directives given to him by his employer.
- (21c) Those people who were members of the Party, or whose parents were members of the Party had the best chance to become agronomists. This was equally true of AVH members and military officers.
- (22) Best off were those people who were sitting in the Ministries in Budapest. Next came the engineers, the physicians, the white collar workers, and the directors. These were followed by higher Party secretaries. The worst off were industrial and agricultural laborers and miners. These people were forced to work hard but they did not pay them anything.
- (22a) I was an agricultural ~~laborer~~ laborer.
- (22b) The same as above.
- (23) There are social classes in Hungary today also. There is a middle class and there is also a higher class. The higher classes are very well off. The lower classes are just about existing.
- (23c) I don't think it is good to have classes because the lower classes are kept at a very low standard of living. I don't care personally if somebody else has much more than I have. All I want is that I, too, be able to provide honorably for my family.
- (23d) Class background certainly divides people.
- (23e) People understood each other better before. People were not looked

down upon before. Now, those people who represent the Communists, who favor Communism, these people keep their heads high. People with large families are looked down upon, even though the radio and the newspapers proclaim that families with many members are given preference. In reality large families are the worst off.

Party members and informers are given everything they desire. We were pleading with them that they should at least repair our windows. Our apartment was moist and we had to buy wood in order to heat the oven. High officials did not bother with little things of this sort. All they were interested in was that we worked as much as we could and that we respected their excellencies and their status.

- (23f) This certainly cannot be said to be good. Up until the fall of 1946, things were bad enough. Now things are even much worse than that.
- (23g) One did not have any opportunity to do or to engage in these things. One couldn't dress himself up neatly and to go to Mass or to restaurants. Even if a person did have the time to engage in these leisurely activities, he had no desire to <sup>do</sup> so.
- (24) Yes, the working classes suffered most.
- (24a) I don't know anything about that.
- (25) They took away everything from the Jews. Jews were taken out of their former stores and were put into offices.
- (25a) Jews were fortifying Communism (ERŐSÍTÉK A Kommuniz-  
-must.

- (25b) Party secretaries, chief agronomists, directors, AVH members, and ministers were practically all Jews. Rákosi, Gerö, Marosán, Révai, Kádár, - all these are Jews. Jews could be found in every important position.
- (25c) I did have Jewish acquaintances before the war. After the war I did not have ~~any~~. These were liquidated by Hitler.
- (25d) The chief agronomist on the state farm on which I worked was Jewish. But I must take my hat off to him (*az előtt le a kalappal*).
- (25e) People used to say that all the Jews should have been kept intact or else all the Jews should have been put away. Those Jews, who survived, infiltrated into leading positions and they greatly helped the Communists. This was the general consensus of the people. I personally had no dealings whatsoever with the Jews.
- (25f) No.
- (25g) There was more anti-Semitism after the war because Jews are in the Communist Party and they play the leading roles. These are hated intensely by the people.
- (25h) My opinion is that these Jews should be given some work so that they, too, could work, and would not harrass and persecute people from offices and other places of influence and authority.

- (1) I was interested in Western oriented politics only. Eastern politics interested me only insofar <sup>as</sup> ~~as~~ I tried to dissuade some of my friends from it. This was the extent of my interest. I read the newspapers. Otherwise the regime did not interest me at all. If I would have been able to, I would have exploded them all.
- (1a) I was only interested in Western oriented politics. Russians politics I neither enjoyed nor could I stand it.
- (1c) On the state farm we people always got together and I kept on telling my friends and compatriots which is the better side and which is the worst. I ~~am~~ always listened to the radio and I was just not going to give that up.
- (2a) From 1945 to 1946, I was a member of the Communist Party. You should not interpret my membership in the sense that I liked them, or that I trusted their regime, I became a member so as to avoid persecution, to be tolerated by them, and to be able to tell others what ~~a~~ dastardly acts they were preparing to execute with our country. When the Western nations were persecuted, when they ~~had~~ began <sup>to</sup> propagate that in the West people don't have enough to eat, when they began to tell us that people are unemployed in the West, then I stepped out of the Party, and I ignited my Party book. During 1948 and 1949, I was repeatedly beaten by the police because I listened to the radio. On another occasion I was picked up by the police because a person whom I called dirty Russian Communist had



informed on me. At the police they called me an imperialist, American, dirty, chained dog. I hated ~~ex~~ them from the <sup>t</sup> bottom of my heart. During 1949, I and a friend of mine beat up two Russian soldiers. On this occasion we were again picked up by the police and were beaten by them in turn.

(2b)

No.

(2c)

My political opinion changed completely since 1945. I detest the Eastern regime and I cannot stand it. We decided among ourselves that we would beat to death a Hungarian here if we would discover that he is a Communist.

The Communists do not operate for the benefit of the people. They are dishonorable, they know of no respect. They are exploiters, and people are obliged to go to work on state farms and on ~~task~~ *Task* *Task*'s

(2d)

Prior to 1945, the situation began to vacillate a little bit and things weren't too good. The Russian army moved into the country and everybody was told to represent Communism and to respect it. They promised us many things but they did not execute any of those promises. I was not interested in the Party.

They soon got hold of me in the *puszta*, because I decided to distribute the many animals on the large estates among the people. They took me into the commandantura, and there a Russian sergeant gave me a gun and told me to take care of the Swabians who were held prisoners there and that if I failed I would be shot. So I was

forced to cooperate with them. By the end of the fall of 1946, I was no longer in the Party. With Rákosi other communists also returned from Russia and some of them came back to the village. These people became the masters again. They quarrelled with one another and were in violent disagreement as to what<sup>to</sup>/do. During the time of the wheat threshing, one of them said that no one would be permitted to take home wheat from the threshing machine. Another Communist who was sitting in the village office, violently disagreed with this interpretation, called in his comrade and told him that his procedure was not Communistic at all. We, too, soon learned of this incident. Thereupon, this old Communist who was against confiscation was soon taken away. It was he who said that he abides by Communist principles but that he would never recognize this dirty regime.

From October, 1944 till 1945, the Russians were engaged in requisitioning cows, horses, and carriages. These soldiers raped four girls in Mohács <sup>Sziget</sup> ~~Sziget~~. A similar incident occurred at Püspökparta, where a fourteen year old girl was raped. Similar incidents occurred in a village called Dávod.

In the fall of 1944, I believe it was in November, a British four-engine plane caught fire and nine soldiers parachuted from it. One of the soldiers, a British colonel, was shot to death by the Russians. He was subsequently buried naked. The other Britishers were taken to Pécs and from thereon were transported

to the West. The GPU came out from Mohacs, took hold of the two Russian soldiers involved in this incident and shot them. About a month after this incident, the colonel's relatives came from England and took his remains to London.

- (2f) I was interested in politics, but not in the Russian type of politics.
- (2h) People obey the authorities because they are forced to do so, and the population saw that it had no way out. But people did not obey the authorities all the time. The population tried to outfox the authorities whenever there was an occasion or possibility to do so.
- (3) They were beaten <sup>ing me</sup> repeatedly. They took me to the police on several occasions. Our food was scarce, very often we did not have bread, flour, or other items. We were not allowed to slaughter pigs. People fattened their pigs for slaughtering, but if they were in arrears with their taxes or with their forceful deliveries, they did not get a license to slaughter them. If the ~~man~~ person then paid his tax arrears and demanded his slaughtering license, he would be told that the officials now did not have the time to issue the license. He should come back in three days. If he did go back after three days some new taxes were discovered and he again did not get his slaughtering license.
- (3a) I, VI, V
- (3b) III, IX, XV
- (3c) They were ~~aff~~ affected by all these points.

(3d) I, II, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XII, XII, XIV.

(3e) The same as the answer<sup>wer</sup> to question (3d).

(3f) When a person goes to work and things aren't as they used to<sup>be</sup> or as he would like to see them be, these things can be very offensive and they can make a person quite despondent.

(3i) There were many little incidents which irked me a great deal. We were paid in part according to the amount of milk we could produce and the amount of milk we could produce depended directly on the fodder we gave to the animals. It usually so happened that when the fodder was of good quality, we did not have enough of it, but when the fodder was bad, half rotten away, then we had so much of it that we didn't know where to put it.

Equally important was in this respect the realization, -the acute feeling of inability of providing the necessary clothing for the family. I worked very hard to provide for my family and yet I couldn't earn enough because the regime did not permit me to do so. Also, on vacations, only 50 percent of our wages were paid out to us. If I did decide to visit my relatives on these occasions I was never able to bring enough money with me as it would have behooved me to do. A situation like that is very bad indeed.

(3j) There were little joys and pleasures, such as when my parents or when my brothers or sisters came to see me. The same was true when I was able to buy a few pieces of clothing, or when we were

able to prepare a little bit better food, particularly on Sundays. The biggest pleasure of them all was the fact that we were able to come to the West.

- (4) Before the advent of Communism, the real power in Hungary was in the hands of the Jews. Now again, in the chief positions the Jews were sitting in and they were the ones who directed the Communist Party.
- (4f) There was a very great Communist bureaucracy in Hungary, a bureaucracy which completely exploited the people. The Communists liked to describe the West as overrun by the bureaucrats.
- (4h) These officials were recruited from the ranks of the Jews, of the factory workers, and of the *stakhanovists*.
- (4i) Army officers were recruited from the enlisted men who turned out to be politically reliable.
- (4j) Factory leaders were made up of Jews ■ and of former factory workers.
- (5) I was not interested in the DISZ.
- (5d) No, I was not a member.
- (5e) Not applicable.
- (6) Party members were interested in representing the Russian Communist regime, in praising Stalin and Lenin, in maintaining the People's Army and in going against the West.
- (6a) Such people had to enter the Party who had large families and who otherwise could not secure themselves a job. They entered so as

to be able to make some money.

- (6b) Such people desired to enter into the Party who wish<sup>ed</sup> to fill greater or more important positions, who wanted to work in the offices and who wanted to torture the workers.
- (6c) Among the obligations of a Party member~~s~~ were such things as the maintenance of the state system, true representation of the Russian system, respect the Red Army, and, above all, to keep an eternal watch over Stalin and Lenin and over the Russian Red Star. Also, the discovery of enemies and their elimination, a constant agitation among the population, and the maintenance of the Hungarian regime.
- (6d) I knew very many people who entered the Party. All these people left the Party later. These people beat up the Party secretary on several occasions, they took out Rákosi's picture from the Party offices, hung it on a fence and cut out his eyes. All this happened before 1950. These people became members in 1945, 1946, or 1947. They did not pay their dues because they did not like the system. The Communists were able to trick every ~~strata~~ strata of the population. We worked very much, we suffered a great deal, and we were starving.
- (6e) People generally did not change even after they entered the Party. There were, however~~s~~, some Communists who thought that they could do anything they pleased.
- (6f) People left the Party because the Party constantly denounced the

West and tried to present it in a very bad light to the population. The people knew 100 percent <sup>what</sup> ~~how~~ the West was like. And the persistent Communist falsehoods quickly opened their eyes and they left the Party.

(6h) I was a Party member between '45 and '46. I paid my dues only for two or three months and thereafter lost interest in it.

(6i) I entered the Party on the 13th of March, 1945. I entered the Party to put an end to any further persecution of my own person and of my family. We had a radio and they discovered that we were listening to Western radio broadcasts. It couldn't help it. To me a Western news item meant much more than one hundred Hungarian news items. I simply did not care whether they <sup>know</sup> that I was listening or not.

(6j) See answer to question (6i).

(6k) We didn't really know how the Party looked like. I was disappointed, to be sure, but I was not personally interested in the Party. All I wanted to do was to find out what was <sup>§</sup> going on inside the Party and to prevent, insofar as I could prevent it, the vexation of the good people's in our area.

On one occasion two lady teachers were arrested. A small boy came to me and reported that two Russians and two Hungarian policemen arrested and took away their teachers. I immediately went with ~~the~~ others ~~with~~ to Dávod where some of the teachers' relatives were living and from then on we proceeded to Mohács to the police center.

I went with my deputation to the police colonel who knew me personally. I asked the colonel where the two teachers were. He told me that they were in room number five. But they wouldn't let me see them. There were two guards in front of the door of room number five with machine pistols in their hands. We soon learned that the two teachers were to be brought to Pécs. I went back to the colonel and demanded to know on what grounds, on what basis, did they arrest the two ladies. He in turn asked me why was I bent on saving them. I replied that I thought the two ladies were very good teachers, that they taught the children order and honor. What kind of an honor, inquired the colonel. I replied that the teachers taught the children how to respect their parents. The colonel wanted to know why the teachers failed to teach their children how to respect the state. We engaged in an endless and futile discussion but we didn't get anywhere. So I went to the Party headquarters and lodged a complaint. At the Party headquarters I again complained that the father of one of the teachers used to be a Communist in 1919, and that on that ground alone, they should not take them away. The Party people couldn't decide the issue so they called up higher authorities. Eventually, to make a long story short, the two teachers were set free. I succeeded in doing something for them even though I was no longer a Party member. The two ladies were so thankful to me that they promised to put this in writing whenever I should need such a testimony.



- (6m) During the elections of 1945, I was elected <sup>to be</sup> one of the el<sup>e</sup>ction officials. This was the only official duty I ever had. Otherwise I was not interested in the meetings.
- (6n) The Party center is in Budapest. Shortly after the Russian army entered Hungary, placards advertised the possibility of entering the Party. I assumed that by entering the Party my troubles with the Red Army would come to an end.
- (6e) I never participated in any of the Party meetings.
- (6r) Rákosi, Geró, Morosán, ~~Kádár~~ Kádár and the Red Army directed the Party.
- (6s) I have nothing good to say about them. I hate them just as I hate a dog. These people have betrayed the people and they have caused the people to distrust them 100 percent.
- (7) I was a member of the labor union from 1951 to ~~in~~ 1957.
- (7c) I don't know. I was a member of this organization because I was obliged to be such. One can get no work, no assistance, if he is not a member of the labor union.
- (7e) I was obliged to attend labor union meetings.
- (7g) We knew that everywhere in the world there were labor unions. We knew that in the West, too, were labor unions. We were thus not surprised to see it in Hungary. People, however, later began to say that the labor unions in the USA are different, better than the labor union we had. The Communists, on the other hand, told us that the American labor unions are working against the people.

The Hungarians have had enough of their labor union.

(8) Not one member was a convinced Communist.

(9) It was, for the most part, old Communists, people who entered the Party before the war, or shortly after the war, who became disillusioned with it. They gave back their Party books because the many promises which the Communist Party advertised shortly after the war were not kept. It was these people who made the Revolution in Hungary. We, too, threw down the red ~~flag~~ <sup>STAR.</sup> ~~flag.~~ This was a great event out in the ~~posts.~~ <sup>posts.</sup> I know what we ~~we~~ would have gotten for it had we remained in Hungary.

(10a) They were plundering everything from everybody. If somebody was ~~was~~ talking against them, that was bad enough, but if somebody did not say a word that was equally bad. They were beating the people. They were equally cruel with enlisted men in the army. They did not give us food. They kept talking about the wonderful benefits and advantages of the Russian Communist system. They exposed themselves to the hate and disgust of the population.

(10b) The AVH operated through informers who were recruited from Party members and from non-Party members. These informers constantly observed whom was talking against the Russians or against the ~~the~~ existing Hungarian system. These people were rounded up and were sent to the mines or ~~to~~ to the prisons.

(11e) One method of ~~the~~ enlistment was through the regular army; young men would be enlisted into the army and there they would be exposed

to a political indoctrination in the Russian sense. Those enlisted men who went for this sort of talk were transferred to the ranks of the AVH. If a person refused to become such an AVH member, he was declared an enemy of the state and was arrested and imprisoned.

Single people who knew no authority either of man or of God, - many of them having no parents at all - entered the AVH ranks for the money.

- (10j) The relationship between the AVH and the regular police force was not good.
- (10k) The Party govern<sup>ed</sup>~~ment~~ the AVH. The AVH, on the other hand, watched over the Party. The Party had the greater voice of the two.
- (10l) I knew a police colonel. He was arrested in connection with the Rajk affair. He worked in Mohács first and later became the chief of the county police force in Pécs. I also knew a police captain by the name of <sup>évényi</sup>~~Dawidow~~. He was the chief of the political section. I don't know what has become of him.
- (11) No, I was never arrested. I was frequently taken to the police station but they always let me go free.
- (11d) Those kulaks who actively opposed the regime and who did not satisfy their forced delivery requirements were more often exposed to arrest than others.
- (11g) There was the prison of *Márianostra*, there was the famous prison of *Vács*, the Csillag<sup>börtön</sup> of Szeged, the Markó *vccá* in Budapest, and every larger city had prisons of its own. On an

adjoining state farm there were constantly about 1,000 prisoners employed as farm hands.

(13) I don't know what advice I could give him.

(13a) If a person works <sup>on</sup> ~~in~~ a state farm, and works diligently and honestly, and loudly denounces the West everyday, - such a person is relatively safe. He may even be decorated.

(13b) Being politically active does not help. This would only be helpful if a person were a higher Party member.

(13c) If a person knows a Communist Party member, a Party member who does not betray him, such a connection may be very useful sometimes.

(13f) If a person talks, it is bad, if a person doesn't talk, it is also bad.

(14) The terror was exceptionally great and intense from 1948 until 1953. It lessened slightly in 1953. From 1954 to 1956, it was bad again. From the spring to the fall of 1956, there was again a gradual letdown.

(15) The Soviet Union reduced Hungary to the status of a colony. They wanted the Hungarian Communist Party to achieve those things which it took the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to achieve in 30 years.

(15e) Soviet influence was mostly felt in the ministries in the capital. But there was Soviet interference also in the economic life and in every other sphere of life.

- (16) People couldn't express themselves at all.
- (16c) I could trust a person who saw eye to eye with me, and who, when it came to secret understandings, was capable and willing to keep the secret.
- (16d) One could speak more freely about the Russian system. The opposite was true when it came to discussion of the Western system.
- (17) Yes, there is such a possibility. It is always possible, for instance, to bribe people on the state farms. If the bribery should be discovered, the consequences are very very serious. A person must be prepared to take the consequences.
- (17a) I was once fined by the police and I told them that I did not have money to pay them. On another occasion I did not satisfy my forced delivery requirements. In 1954, I refused to pay 2,600 forints of taxes.
- (18) The strong points of the regime were that the people should produce as much as possible and that they should defend their relation to work. The weak points were that most people did not do what they were supposed to do. They either did not want to do the job, or they did not know how to do the job.
- (19) The people resisted the regime in that they organized themselves and did not do the jobs entrusted to them.
- (19b) Farmers, laborers, agricultural laborers, former land owners and poor people of the pre-war ~~period~~ period opposed the regime most.
- (19c) The ~~Stalin~~ <sup>Stalin</sup>ovists opposed the regime least.

- (191) I read the books and histories and I was very enthusiastic about Petöfi. (Interviewer's Note: The answer to the last question as well as other answers to previous questions are often confused and not always intelligible. Interviewer made every effort at the time of the interview to make the Respondent realize what was actually asked. Unfortunately, because of Respondent's intellectual limitations, some of the questions, particularly the more involved ones, did not elicit an intelligible reply.)

- (1) Radio was the most important source ~~for~~<sup>of</sup> my information. I had a large Telefunken set, a world receiver. Out of some 300 people on the farm, some ten or twelve people were equipped with radios. Five or six of these were world receivers.
- (1a) Radio ~~had~~<sup>was</sup> the most important.
- (1d) Newspapers represented the next most important source.
- (2) Yes.
- (2a) I read the Sziv ujsag, Szabad Nép, Szabad Föld. The Szabad Nép was interesting for us because from it we were able to learn what sort of lies was the regime telling at a particular time. We were able to compare these lies with the radio broadcasts of the Western radios and could then inform our friends accordingly.
- (2b) We did not always read the Sziv ujsag because it ~~is~~ did not always come to us. As far as the Szabad Nép was concerned I was only interested in Western news items which were in it.
- (2c) I was interest<sup>ed</sup> in these newspaper<sup>s</sup> in order to learn dist<sup>in</sup>ctions of Western events.
- (2d) I was only interested in news items dealing with the West.
- (2e) There were no wallpapers in our locality.
- (2g) We have seen Western~~y~~ German ~~publ~~ publications written in the Hungarian language. This was sometime bewteen 1955 and 1956.
- (2j) I had a collection of ten to twelve Western leaflets which arrived in Hungary by means of balloons. ~~The~~<sup>The</sup> caption on one of them was something like this: Rákosi *Mátyás pusztulj a nép elől*

*mert te is a nép ellensége vagy.*

Another of these leaflets contained instructions for those who desired to flee to Yugoslavia. The instructions dealt with ways and means of eliminating barbed wire obstacles.

- (3) Yes, we did go to the movies. We had a local movie, situated about 15 to 20 meters from the ~~st~~ stables. We also had a Culture Hall, seating about 150 people. We usually went to the movies about twice a week.
- (3a) I liked to view Western movies and Yugoslav partisan films.
- (3b) We did not have entertaining films. These were usually films of political nature, instructing ~~x~~ us about the ~~x~~ East. Some of the movies showed us what ~~films~~ "bad deeds" the Western nations, Americans and Germans, committed.
- (3c) Yes, we saw foreign films; we saw Yugoslav, Italian, French, and American films.
- (3d) The title of a Yugoslav movie was something like the History of Little Mukk. Other Yugoslav films had the partisan fights as *their story*. ~~they were seen~~. We have seen some French love films. Another French film had to do with kings.
- (3e) I never went to the theater.
- (4) Yes, I did read books ~~x~~.
- (4a) I read about 15 books a year.
- (4b) Some of these books had to do with the history of the first world war, another was entitled *Aműveltség útja* (A Road to Knowledge). I also read the *Tolnai* World Lexicon and the works of János



*Arany*, Sándor Petőfi. Others had to do with 1848's revolution, biography of Kossuth, the history of Imre Bogár, Robinson Crusoe. I read another book, The History of the United States. We did have a library in the ~~posta~~ <sup>puszta</sup>, containing some three-four thousand volumes, but all these were Communist books. Most of the books I enumerated above were books we purchased in nearby cities in antiquarian stores.

- (4c) I was interested in books. Old books interested me most. These could not be had from the library we had, so we purchased some of them from antiquarian stores.
- (4d) Yes, I did have difficulty getting the books I wanted because those books were forbidden. I could get hold of them only in secret. AVH members dressed in civilian clothes and other investigators often checked people's packages in the cities and if they would have ever discovered the books we bought there, we would have been punished severely.
- (4e) Petőfi, Kossuth, *Táncsics*, Arany, Vörösmarty, Veres, Peter.
- (4f) I couldn't get hold of any books written by Western authors.
- (4g) Yes, there were a few; *Rejtélyes Sziget* (Mysterious Island) for instance, or Robinson Crusoe. Another one, entitled *Öt hét Léghajón* (Five Weeks on a Zeppelin) we purchased in an antiquarian store.
- (5) We listened to music and plays broadcast by Budapest radio. Our favorite program was *Istálló-mester*, (Stablemaster).

- (5b) I had a Telefunken world receiver.
- (5d) We listened to music, gypsy music, and plays.
- (5e) We listened about two hours a day, usually in the evening after work.
- (5f) We listened to the radio in our own home.
- (6) Yes.
- (6a) We listened to the Hungarian broadcasts of the Voice of America, Free Europe, Tokyo, French stations, Rome, London, Ankara, and Madrid. I was very interested in these broadcasts. They were excellent. I liked particularly the jokes and the Free Europe program entitled "Reflector".
- (6b) I listened to these programs late in the evening, very often after midnight.
- (6c) I got the impression that the time ~~was~~ would come, that the time would come soon, when the Hungarians leaders would meet their fate.
- (6d) I was thoroughly convinced that the foreign radio broadcasts were telling us the truth.
- (6e) Quite a few people were arrested for listening to a foreign radio broadcast and their radio sets were confiscated.
- (7) Yes.
- (7a) Information received by word of mouth had to do for the most part with rumors, that the situation would soon change, that Communism wouldn't last long in Hungary, or that they would soon do away

with Rákosi.

- (7b) Some of these rumors I heard from the agronomist, others from the people taking care of the fodder.
- (7c) Sometimes I received quite reliable information.
- (7d) I recall the rumor spread around once that Russia would have been able to defeat the United States during the Second World War but that she chose not to do so.
- (7e) I heard rumors in the restaurants and out in the open where I worked. Other rumors were discussed during the threshing period, still others I heard from <sup>Rail Road</sup> ~~very old~~ men.
- (7i) I don't really know. Policemen and AVH members are usually in these places.
- (8) Information published in the Hungarian newspapers and dealing with the Eastern part of the world I did not read at all.
- (8a) I believed in such things as, for instance, ~~the~~ the announcement that the food rationing system would end, or that the trade with the Western world would begin again.
- (8d) I was trying to analyze news items and was thinking about them a great deal to discover ~~if~~ whether or not such and such a thing were possible.
- (8e) Foreign radio broadcasts were considered more trustworthy than domestic radio broadcasts.
- (8f) No.
- (8g) I read the Szabad Nép daily. The Szabad Nép did not speak the truth

and we did not believe in it. It always denounced the West.

- (8h) No.
- (9) Yes.
- (9a) Very many people.
- (9b) Those who were members of the Party.
- (10a) I read about the Atomic Bomb episode. There were three bombs dropped, I believe. The Szabad Nép wrote that even now very many people are dying as a result of it.
- (10b) I was very interested in that. I know quite ~~much~~ well that the Russians started the Korean War, because they wanted to liberate, and then to subjugate, the people.
- (10c) Radio Budapest and Szabad Nép told us that American airplanes were dropping these germs. We were told that these germs would destroy the people. This, I knew, was not true at all. I thought the opposite might be true.
- (10d) Szabad Nép wrote that the United States is re-arming Germany very fast, very quickly. It was said that even former SS soldiers are being rearmed. The United States, if it permits the re-armament of Germany, so I reasoned, ~~It~~ certainly will be able to completely annihilate Russia if and when it comes to a war. I was in complete agreement with such an eventuality.
- (10e) I have seen once seven or eight such flying balloons. Soldiers were trying to shoot them down. The Budapest radio announced that Hungary was officially protesting against the balloons. One of

the balloons fell down in our immediate vicinity, about one kilometer from where we lived. We made a raincoat out of the material.

- (10f) I knew that the people by the thousands are leaving the <sup>Ea</sup> ~~Western~~ zone of occupation through Berlin into the Western zones of occupation.
- (10g) I know about the Summit Meeting. It lasted about three weeks.
- (10h) I know about émigré activities through the radio. Even the Budapest radio referred to them occasionally. It was said that ~~in~~ these émigré politicians have established an army of their own in the West and that they want to use that army for <sup>the</sup> ~~a~~ destruction of the "beloved" Hungarian government. I did not know if the referrence to the army was true or false, but I thought to myself that the sooner they come the better.

- (1) I would first of all eradicate the entire system and would get rid of the Russians.
- (1a) The land reform instituted between 1945 and 1947 was a very nice, very beautiful deed. That I would keep.
- (1b) I would permit the free sale of bread, I would eliminate the system of forced deliveries and I would eliminate the system of food coupons.
- (2) There is no need for the continued existence of the Communist Party. Those parties, which ~~work~~ work for the benefit of the people, and the Christian parties should be kept.
- (2a) ~~I~~ If they do it in the way it is done in the United States of America, then yes.
- (3) People should be free, and I mean everybody, to speak their mind without any limitations whatsoever.
- (3c) Such regimes, as they obtain in the United States, if they were transplanted into Hungary, - denunciation against such regimes I would not allow, because such regimes, after all, work for the benefit of the people.
- (3d) Yes, people ~~xxx~~ should definitely be forbidden to say things which are against the state.
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Not, if their purpose is to attack the government.
- (4b) Armed uprising against the government is fully justified if the state proceeds to execute some injustice against the people. If

the state works for the benefit of the people, then such state or government should be helped by everybody by all means available.

- (5) The present system must be eradicated and a new system must be established which works for the benefit of the people from every point of view.
- (6) It all depends, - I don't really care whether you have nationalization or not as long as the government puts everything on the market so that there is no difficulty for the people. Nationalization is not really a necessity.
- (6b) Some of the factories, such as the ~~xxx~~ liquor factories, textile factories and many other factories should be restored to their former owners. I favor restoration of these factories because these factories, when they were privately owned, paid higher wages to their workers than was the case after the nationalization. In nationalized factories the state determines the monetary value of work and he who is not satisfied with the working conditions ~~does~~ thus laid down is simply arrested.
- (6c) I am all for private ~~xxx~~ profit. I don't have here in ~~my~~ <sup>mind</sup> great accumulation of wealth, but the possibility given to all people to accumulate some small means which allow a good life.
- (6d) I prefer private banks. In private banks it was much easier to get credit than in nationalized banks. One could not even talk about getting credit from the state banks.

- (6e) I was never interested in these questions.
- (7) Such factories should not be nationalized.
- (8) Government planning, in the form as I knew it in Hungary, I decidedly disapprove of. State planning as such may be a very good principle but the Communist principle of planning is not a good one.
- (9) Yes, there are such areas. The state should not interfere in private life and should not tell me what I am to sow or what people are to produce in the factories. In former times people were producing more and came up with better quality goods than now in the factories.
- (10) Yes. A citizen is obliged to defend and to respect the state.
- (10e) Yes. For instance, I was on a state farm. It was my obligation to represent the state's rights.
- (11) There wasn't much of an improvement.
- (12) People in Hungary do have more opportunity today to go to the movies, theaters or to attend concerts. People, however, did not have a high opinion of these increased opportunities. All these places were state institutions and the proceeds from them all went to the state. Also, people were forced to see just one type of program and they were actually tricked and betrayed by the state.
- (13) No, decidedly not. The people eat about 70 percent worse than they used to before the war. They take everything away from the people.
- (13a) It is worse now than in 1946.
- (13b) It is not better now at all than it was in 1950.



- (14) The clothing situation now is much worse than before the war.
- (14a) It is somewhat better now than in 1946. This, however, is due only to the fact that in 1946 you still had destroyed factories as a result of the war, and there was no trade. The situation now is just a little better than in 1946. The clothing requirements of the population are certainly not satisfied.
- (14b) The same as (14a).
- (15) Yes, industrial production did increase in Hungary since 1945, for the benefit of the state. As far as the people are concerned, there was no increase at all. In many cases the situation now is even worse than before.
- (16) Every worker has his own activity, and all the workers should be permitted to go about their business freely. They did not produce as they should have been producing, even though much force was employed. They didn't pay enough. Much material was produced but most of it was no good. I would rather have two good tractors than six bad ones. A Western tractor that we had, out-worked ten Eastern tractors and even then it did not suffer a mechanical failure. They sent out ten tractors, for instance, to a state machine station, not because there was any need for these tractors, but just in order to keep the factories going.
- (16d) The people should manage the factory, those who are competent, who are experts. And they should pay the people well.
- (17) I don't think collective farms are any good. They are no good at

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all. The ~~is~~ is not good either. People are forced to enter these things and they simply don't have the desire to work. It is here where the people are tricked and betrayed.

- (17a) They are all bad.
- (17b) In Hungary state farms are no good. There, too, they want to achieve everything, and they are not able to achieve anything at all, because there is a directed production and because they don't pay the people well enough. The people would work, to be sure, if they would only pay them well enough.
- (17c) Collective farms should be abolished and the land should be distributed among the peasants. After the Revolution a great movement was started in this direction. Unfortunately, the AVH people came and beat the people and arrested some of them.
- (17d) All collective farms should be disbanded. People now employed there, the members, should receive the land, or these people should be asked whether or not they would want to continue the collective on a voluntary basis. This would be a voluntary and free farm association. I can imagine ~~at~~ some groups who would probably want ~~to~~ to continue on this basis but I doubt it very ~~g~~ much. If a group should decide to continue the collective, they should enjoy complete autonomy.
- (17e) All the land should be distributed among the members.
- (17f) Yes, there should be a limit to land holding. 25-50 holds of land should be allotted to a family depending on the number of family

~~number~~ members, and depending on the ability of the family to work the land.

- (17g) All the land should be returned to private ownership. The former owners of large estates should not receive anything at all. They should receive only as much as they can cultivate themselves.
- (17h) Every smallholder should receive his land back up until 50 holds per family.
- (17i) No owners of former great estates should receive their estates back. They should give back some land to the bishops, an amount necessary for the <sup>maintenance</sup> ~~main~~ of the churches and of the schools. A reasonable amount would be 5,000 holds per county. I am not at all against the church. They taught us many good things.
- (17j) These should be distributed among the population in a certain ratio. The buildings should either be dismantled and the material distributed or a village should be built around them. I would not give the Communists anything at all.
- (17k) If some people would want to establish cooperatives, on a voluntary basis, then, naturally, yes.
- (17l) If the state would leave agriculture alone, then such state aid would not be necessary. The best help the state can possibly give is to refrain from interfering into the activities of agriculture, and if people are free enough they will produce enough from which everybody will benefit in the long run.
- (17m) I would disband the tractor stations. I would assign a machine

to five-ten smallholders. The machine would belong to them all and they would then decide how to use it and in what order.

- (17p) Machines which are good and ~~use~~ useable I would give to the people. I would not give these machines away free of charge but would have people pay ~~for~~ them through a period of years.
- (17q) Yes, mechanization of agriculture is desirable. The work becomes much easier then and one produces more thereby.
- (18) The church should have a voice in legislative matters, in order to safeguard the peoples' interests.
- (18a) Yes, churches should be completely independent of the state.
- (18b) The different faiths should all be on equal footing. They should all be equal.
- (18c) Yes, churches should receive financial support from the state. Such aid is necessary because they took away everything from the churches. They took away their schools, they were completely subjugated, and because the young people today are so bad we want the churches to be supported.
- (18d) Yes. Churches should ~~a~~ have a word in public education to the extent of 40-50 percent.
- (18e) Yes. This is necessary because the people have completely lost their desire to live. They do everything on the Russian pattern. This, of course, must cease.
- (18f) I would send ~~my~~ my children to parochial school.
- (18g) The church should get back about 5,000 holds per county. Also as

many buildings as are necessary for the maintenance of the 5,000 holds should be returned to the church. Also all these schools which were taken away from the church should be returned to them.

- (19) Those Party members who behaved themselves very badly should be made responsible for their actions. They should be made to suffer for their deeds.
- (19a) They should not all be treated alike. Depending ~~z~~ on the role each one of them played. The obscure little Party members I would exempt completely. These people did not assist in the establishment of the Russian system.
- (19b) The leaders should be brought to an uninhabited island and should be permitted to live there. (Ministers, Party secretaries, and high functionaries.)
- (19c) I would talk to these people and would try to lead them back to life. They did not know most of the time what they were doing and they did not act on their own.
- (19d) I don't know what was the purpose of the rank and file members.
- (19e) Those who committed some crimes should be sentenced to ten to fifteen years of ~~imprisonment~~ imprisonment or should be tortured in exactly the same way as they used to torture others.
- (19f) These people, too, should be brought to trial. Those who have committed<sup>d</sup> a crime should be punished, and after they served their penalties they should be set free.

- (19g) Members of the police force should be forgiven, I think.
- (20) Hungary contributed a great many things to the Western culture before the war. This contribution was interrupted and was prohibited after the war, and people were not so much as permitted to think about the West.
- (2021) Yes.
- (21a) No, it did not differ before the war.
- (21b) Yes.
- (21c) Yes, it does differ from the American. We were under-developed.
- (21e) Yes.
- (21f) Yes.
- (22) The era of Francis Joseph was the best.
- (22a) Very well.
- (22b) People emigrated because there were very many unemployed in Hungary. They had the possibility to work and <sup>to</sup> save in the West. Things got pretty tight and the people were pushed to the corner under Horthy also. Yet it was far better than it is now. People emigrated to the West in search of a better <sup>e</sup> livelihood.
- (22c) We considered the Russian system to be feudalistic, not the West, or the Western system, as it was told us by the Budapest radio.
- (22e) <sup>2</sup> In 1919, - I remember that very well, at that time <sup>we</sup> he did not have a Communist regime but a republic, a red regime (*Vörös uralom*.)  
At that time they took away the land from the great landowners as well as the wheat which was at their disposal, and they began distributing these amongst those who did not have any. Those people

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did not commit atrocities and murders as they do it now.

- (22e1) The situation was about 70 percent better at that time than it is now under the Communist system.
- (22f) There was much social and economic inequality in Hungary before 1945.
- (22g) They did not persecute the people under the Horthy regime. Everybody was able to go wherever he pleased. If somebody wanted to go to the United States or some other place, he was permitted to do so. Things like that did not matter at all. They called the Horthy system a feudal system but that ~~feudal~~ system was not bad. They also say that there were very many unemployed under Horthy. But we were a very <sup>large</sup> ~~great~~ family and yet we had a good life. Those who wanted to work could work. My father received money and land on account of his large family. Hungary did not have the right policy during the world war. Hungary should never have gone against the West.
- (22i) The period 1945-1948 compares favorably to what we had before, it was about the same things. What happened ~~x~~ after 1948, was much worse. In 1953, it was somewhat better. From 1953 on up until 1956, (spring of 1956) it got a little better again.
- (23) I don't think border lines are important.
- (23b) Yes. Hungary can rightfully claim ~~x~~ Transylvania, the Hungarian territories now in Czechoslovakia, the Hungarian territories in Yugoslavia, and the Sub-Carpathian ~~region~~ region.

- (23c) Yes, I believe Soviet Russia does threaten Hungary's territory. But if our knowledge is not incorrect, then Hungary already is one of Russia's colonies. This great sin has already been committed.
- (23d) Yes, <sup>there</sup> ~~that~~ is a natural conflict between Hungarians and Russia.
- (23e) The two states are in agreement and the two peoples do not hate each other.
- (23f) The same as above in (23e).
- (23g) The Hungarian people have a very profound respect for both Austria and for the Austrian nation. This attitude is not shared by the Hungarian state.
- (23h) The two peoples rather like each other. But the two states do not seem to get along very well.
- (24) I don't see any possibilities of improving Hungary's situation as it stands right now. Hungary ought to be given back her territories.
- (24a) A federation would be useful. This federation should not, however, be based on the Russian system. It ought to be built according to the Western ~~at~~ system.
- (24b) This federation should include Western Germany, Austria, Italy, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, France - the whole of Europe. I would even include Russia, but not the Russian system.
- (24c) Hungary would participate in the production activities of this federation.



- (24e) They ought to leave people alone. If a person was born at a certain place, he should be permitted to stay there. All people should have equal rights.
- (25) The Russians are a good people, but the Russian system is the world's worst system.
- (25a) Yes, there are the Cossacks, there are the Mongols, the *Kirgiz* people, and the Ukrainians.
- (25b) Yes. The only thing is that the Russians are very backward and they are not being taught well. The Russians ought to be taught the Western culture, not the Eastern culture. I am quite certain they could be educated.
- (25c) No. *25d* → Yes, I knew some of them quite well. This was during the war.
- (25e) We received them with love, those who were good, that is. What we hated was the regime.
- (25g) We felt that it was a bad thing that the Russians came to our country. They destroyed Hungary.
- (25h) We felt that the Russians should leave us, that they should leave Hungary and should let Hungary become an independent, neutral state. Unfortunately, this did not come about.
- (26) The ~~Marix~~<sup>xist</sup> system probably would have been better. Unfortunately, we never knew what sort of a system ~~where~~ they to bring about.
- (26a) The fact about Marxism, that it is of English origin, appeals to me most. Otherwise I don't know its history.

- (26b) What I dislike in it is that even though it is of English origin, it was not the system of Marx that was actually put in effect.
- (26c) Neither Lenin nor Stalin were good Marxists.
- (26d) Stalin was even less of a Marxist than Lenin.
- (26e) I ~~know~~ can't say anything good about Tito either. Still, he was flirting with the West and he divorced himself from the Russian system. This fact caused the Hungarian people to be enthusiastic about ~~k~~ him.
- (26f) I am unable to discover any good Marxists among the Hungarian Communists.
- (26g) In all probability, yes.
- (26h) Yes.
- (26i) In Hungary they only talk about democracy. But the Hungarian brand of democracy does not even approach the true thing.
- (26j) They say, for instance, that a good democrat is he who is a good Communist and is in love with the Communist system. This, I believe is the meaning of the word, but I want to have ~~no~~ part of it.
- (27) National Communism means trading with the Western powers. Tito is a man who entered into trade agreements with the West~~x~~. His state pollyicy is not as barbarian as that of the ~~West~~ rest.
- (27a) Yes.
- (27b) Communists of the 1919 era were against the October Revolution. The aim was to prevent a possible return of the untenable system of very great land estates. There should be a good life, peace, good

relations with the West, but there should be no kingdom. Europe should be united.

- (27c) Perhaps he is playing a turncoat politics. Perhaps he started out on a good road and couldn't make out and now is obliged to continue cooperating with the Russians. But sooner or later he is going to go with the West.
- (27d) He is not a good Communist.
- (27e) Communism and Hungarian patriotism may be compatible, if everything proceeds justly. This does not prevent Hungary from having good relations with all and everybody.
- (28) Things would have proceeded according to socialistic principles and the development would have been in the direction of socialism. Everything would have proceeded according to the Western principles and according to the pattern of the Western system.
- (28a) See answer to question (28).
- (28b) I certainly would have hoped that he would have remained in power. I don't think that the situation would have been worse.
- (29a) Good.
- (29b) If they are good to the people, good, if they mistreat people, then bad.
- (29c) Good.
- (29d) As it was in Hungary it was not good.
- (29e) They used to say that in the West <sup>there</sup> ~~that~~ is imperialism. My answer is: rather imperialism than Soviet paradise.

- (29g) Good.
- (29h) They didn't bother me, it was good.
- (29i) Good 100 percent.
- (29j) I don't know him too well.
- (29k) ~~g~~ Good.
- (29l) I don't know.
- (29m) Good.
- (29n) Good.
- (30) It would be either the National peasant Party or a Christian party.
- (30a) Péter Veres would be the most popular leader.
- (31a) Less.
- (31b) Less.
- (31c) Less.
- (31d) Less.
- (31e) More.
- (31f) More.
- (31g) Average Party members less.
- (31h) There was no private trade.
- (31i) They only began operating after 1955.
- (32) Farmers, factory workers, and white collar workers were better off. Who were worse off? I don't really know. ~~xxxx~~ Those who worked on the large estates.
- (32a) Coincide.

- (33b) Conflict.
- (33c) Conflict.
- (33d) Conflict.
- (33e) Conflict.
- (33f) Coincide.
- (33g) Coincide.
- (33h) Coincide to about 60 percent.
- (33i) There wasn't much of an issue between them.
- (33j) Conflict.
- (34) My chief concern was that the good <sup>G</sup>od would permit me and my family to come out here to the United States and that Communism should cease existing the quicker the better. I was praying so that the USA may prosper. *This is all that I have to say to answer your question.*
- (35) The Communists, and the bureaucrats working for them, would be fighting for the present regime. Otherwise the entire population would be against them.
- <sup>3</sup>  
(26) I don't think my ~~my~~ opinion has changed since I left Hungary. I held pretty much the same views there.

- (1) I should like to ask you if it is possible to send in an article to the press here? I should like to write into the press and tell them how badly misled we were when they told us that we would receive very bad treatment here, that <sup>they</sup> would give us bad apartments, etc., etc.
- (1a) I have no particular opinion about this interview. It was quite long but we have time after all.
- (1b) Yes.
- (1c) I don't think I have to protect you.
- (1d) Yes.
- (1e) You didn't ask me how we were living from day to day. During Harvest time, we were working very hard and yet we were living on potatoes. (This was in 1951-1952) I told them that we cannot work if we don't get enough to eat. One of my fattened pigs <sup>d</sup> died and I buried him. Later we excavated the pig, took his bacon and meat, and we ate it. At that time we received two kilograms of bread per week for the nine of us. I went to the ~~farm~~ farm director and I complained. His answer was that he couldn't help me. I went to the Party secretary. He told me that he was not interested, and that I should drop dead. (*dögöljenek meg.*) I went from Pontius to Pilate (*mentem fűhöz-fához,* my children in the meantime, were waiting for me at home just as the little pigs are waiting for their mother. This went on for weeks. The situation was very bad up until June, 1953. Imre Nagy made

the sale of bread free. The sale of bread actually became free with <sup>in</sup> seven days and Imre Nagy launched a protest against the large scale exportation of meat to Soviet Russia. This was one of the reasons why they got rid of him. We were not able to get bread anywhere. Policemen were beating the people and were trying to disperse those who were standing in line for bread. If and when we did get some bread, it was impossible to eat it, so bad was its quality. If people were saying ~~the~~ <sup>that</sup> Rakosi was responsible for all this, then they were arrested. What a terrible, brutal world it was.

- (2a) I don't ever want to go back to Hungary. All my life I've always wanted to come to the USA. From 1945 on I kept on dreaming about this day and night.
- (3) I am going to write to you yet, I assure you.
- (3a) I have no knowledge of any documents or of pictures.
- (3b) Yes, I think I could write a very interesting book about my experien
- (3d) No.