

- (1) The Revolution was not a counter-revolution. It was made by disappointed people. This is its essence. It was made by people who were followers of Marxism after 1945. It was made by members of the Communist Party, by Social-Democrats, and by the Peasant Party. These three got followers because they helped to carry out land reform. Many believed in the possibility of building a state which can truly be called a state of the people, a popular state. They believed that at least the workers who were the majority of the people would live better. The Social-Democrats and even the Communists had Western connections before World War II. An example of this is György Pálóczy-Horváth. To democrats and Social-Democrats the only question was whether Hungary should follow the democratic example of the United States, of France, or of England. The Soviet example had no role except perhaps as the secret hope of some of the communists. When democracy was mentioned in the press before the liberation, the Western example was the one that was talked about. As for the Soviet example the Davies Book about the Soviet Union was known. Through it was spread the possibility that the Soviet Union could become a democracy. It was published in 1940. This was extremely influential as far as the intelligentsia was concerned because it was written by an American, by a Westerner, and therefore considered important. The result, however, was a system

of terror. And this is why these people were disappointed. Hitler and Soviet dictatorship in Hungary can be equated. After all they were ^{both} dictatorships. The ideas of this ^{and} older group started to spread, the young ones began to follow ^{them} ~~it~~. They read the books of this older generation of leftists; Pálóczy's book about ~~the~~ America was an example of this, his book about the Roosevelt New Deal. Another book which was popular was László Németh's A Minőség Forradalma. This was ^{quoted} ~~mentioned~~ by the young people. It was published before 1944 and since then it was not republished. But in spite of this it was a well-known thing. My private opinion is that there was such a thing as an allowed, a permitted revolution. Before the 23rd of October there was talk about changes. The trouble is that this spread farther than the regime expected it ~~to~~ to spread. ^{It was in} ~~the~~ 1953 ^{that} ~~the~~ ^{of} criticism ~~against~~ the government ^{began} in the program of Imre Nagy. One could practically see the barrel organ stumble; the state could not go. It was halting. There began a stream of criticism which was not so-called constructive criticism, that is constructive criticism as defined by the party. Then this process was stopped because Rakosi wouldn't allow it. ^{There} ~~there~~ was a tremendous struggle ~~with~~ between Moscow and the local opposition. In 1955 began the intellectual preparation of the revolt in newspaper articles and other publications. This did not appear to be organized criticism against the party, it appeared more like a process of criticism within the party. As for the economic process

which preceded the revolt: after '53 ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{small private}
 artisans and tradesmen were allowed to operate again.
 This was when the newspapers kept talking about economic ^{the}
 change ~~idea~~ in Yugoslavia. The Tito example was especially
 interesting for people in its economic ramifications
 not so much in its political ones.

(2)

The Polish events were extremely important. To show how
 important they were, ^{and} how much people connected the Polish
 events with Hungary, ~~was the only thing that was ever said in~~
^{supposedly}
~~XXXXXX~~ at the time of the uprising there was a sign say-
 ing "Down with Rákosi". Apparently this was supposed to
 have been in ^{a sign} ~~XXXXXX~~ the Hungarian language.
 The meeting of Geneva was probab-
 ly a negative event which returned people from opposition
 or from revolt because the feeling was that the Geneva
 conference approved the Soviet occupation of Hungary.
 But on the whole people knew very little about it. If
 anything, people knew only about the Eden plan. As for
 Stalin's death this was a great joy for everybody and of
 course the foreign radios gave the impression that this
 was the time for something to happen, that is, the death
 of the dictator should be the time for a change. But
 there was no thought or idea of revolution. The feeling
 was that the June uprising in Germany could not ^{have} taken
 place in Hungary because in Hungary there were too many
 informers. People ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{did} not trust each other enough,
 whereas one could just give orders to the Germans/ ^{which} They
 they carried out obediently.
 were better organized. The Soviet 20th Party Congress

was of great importance. As for Rákosi's fall, that was a very important event but I think that the burial of Rajk was an even more important event. This was the time when the Party disavowed itself, ~~was a total disaster~~ and members of the Party were totally discredited. ~~was a total disaster~~. Until then people argued with them. After this they wouldn't even bother to argue with party members. As for Gomulka, little was known about him.

(c) ~~I think the turning point was~~ As for the turning point the reconciliation with Tito and the 20th Party Congress ^{be called the} could ~~be called the~~ politically ~~the~~ turning points. But of course these two are connected.

(e) As for the role of the writers it seemed to a sceptic like myself that the writers revolt was ^{launched} ~~launched~~ by the party. By mid-October, however, there were ^a few reports in ~~the~~ Irodalmi Ujság and ^{Ivan} ~~the~~ Boldizsár's Hétfői Hírlap especially which were ^{truly} ~~truly~~ comic because of the caricature they presented of the regime. Thus I think that the writers role was a part of the revolution which was ^{launched} ~~launched~~ by the regime. The change came after the funeral of Rajk when the party and its leaders were held responsible for their deeds. In 1953 there was disagreement over the role of Imre Nagy; ^{the question was} whether the Imre Nagy debate was only for the sake of appearances or whether it was a real program. But when Rákosi fell this was changed. I realised that the writers were really opposed to the party. I felt this especially strongly when one week before the revolt the letter of Déry and his friends was published about the

personality cult of Rákosi. This letter was
~~they wrote~~ ^{written} ~~extended~~ last December, I think.

- (f) In Mosonmagyaróvár where I lived I read Művelt Nép regularly also Szabad Nép and Vigilia, a Catholic periodical. In a small town like the one in which I lived the press was more, important, probably in informing people than in larger towns. The changes we noticed, for instance, were articles in Művelt Nép which began openly to fight against the hard line of Rákosi. In 1953 one of the signs/^{of change} was that ~~among~~ among the news items there were some objective Western news reports. For instance, at this time they mentioned Paul Claudel. This was quite unusual. In 1955-56 I remember especially a series of articles by Aczél about (N. Nagy Község), "the village N." ~~which were~~ significant. When there was an article about the party secretary of Csorna who called somebody a kulák unfairly. But I did not trust such articles; I was sceptical about them. I don't feel that they contributed to my mental or spiritual development. I can remember a short story or rather a literary report published in 1956. It dealt with the deported daughter of a major of the pre-war army. She was deported to a state farm. Here she was humiliated and raped by various workers of the farm. But throughout she maintained a remarkable ^{dignity} ~~stinty~~. The very facts mentioned in this article were remarkable. The implications were even more so. The idea seemed to be that the old class remained victorious after all, vis-a-vis the proletariat

The old upper class with its pride and dignity, was after all superior. That was the conclusion one could draw from this story. It was quite interesting. We discussed these articles, these changes, on Sunday afternoons. We were quite cynical about it all. What we could see was that the tremendous organization of the party was shaky. But we didn't consider it terribly important. Irodalmi Ujság did not get to the provinces too much. A copy occasionally came to us, and one copy was circulated ~~among xxxxxxxx~~ in our circle. The interesting thing about it is that ~~xx~~ ordinary workers also discussed it. It seemed a clever idea, a successful thing, that this prepared revolution was spread through Irodalmi Ujság to the workers in such a way, although of course it was not successful. It went too far. The 50 year old carpenter was interested because it caricatured ^{the} people whom he met daily. Each issue, each copy was circulated until it was in rags. I can remember especially a report called Strange / ^{People (Különös Emberek)} Vigilia was a window to the West. Under the circumstances it was one of the best Hungarian periodicals. It was not a widespread periodical. It came out in about 8,000 copies a month. It had a Catholic character ^{and} ~~but~~ was edited by Sándor Sik.

- (3) Around October 8th the government issued a general travel restriction. The excuse was the shortage of oil. Of course the idea was to keep people home. I think they

must have expected something then. There was a ~~mood of~~ ~~waiting~~ waiting mood. Not only the people but the regime expected something, too. There was a definite division between the regime and the people. One always knew who belongs to each. There were no secrets. We had the feeling that it was ⁱⁿ somebody's interest to drive this revolution beyond its planned limit. It was certainly not to the advantage of the West. It was certainly not the West that wanted this. As for the debates of the Petöfi circle, they were known only in Budapest. Szabad Nemzet did not come to the provinces. News about it spread through the grapevine, however. But we knew little about it until the Szabad Nép communiqué stating that the Petöfi circle was harmful because it would develop into a second Poznan. I thought then and think so now that to drive this revolution beyond its planned limit was in somebody's personal interest. I thought perhaps it might have been Rákosi who wanted to show Moscow how much he was needed. In other words the revolution seemed suspicious to me. For instance I distrusted the Györ revolutionary council. I distrusted them because they were old communists. I thought they were not sincere, that they were just making a pretend revolution in order to channel discontent. ^{In Mosonmagyaróvár with} There was bloodshed, ~~more than~~ 80 or more killed. The AVO took the weapons of the army. It took a long time to arrest and punish those who were guilty. ^{There} ~~It~~ was plenty of time for them to escape. The whole

situation in Mosonmagyaróvár showed that there was plenty of reason to distrust the revolution, and to be careful with regard to the revolution. After what happened in 1953 we wouldn't even believe it if Eisenhower came to Budapest by parachute, after the disappointment of 1953. There was for instance a great deal of distrust towards the Győr revolutionary council. For instance a friend of mine disarmed some members of the AVH. The council took ~~for~~ these ~~xxxxx~~ weapons ~~and~~ they ~~xxxxxxx~~ simply disappeared. There was a distrust of the council. We didn't know exactly what side they were on. Many of the police and AVH detectives wore extra large red-white-and-green armbands to prove that they were on the side of the revolution. All those people who formerly followed the party line tried to prove how loyal they were to the revolution. Such things were suspicious. In Győr they denied that they had any arms, that is the Győr revolutionary council denied that it had any arms. It seems that only those had any arms who belonged to the pretend revolution, ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{to} the revolution staged by the regime. In this sense there was quite a considerable difference between Budapest and Győr Sopron County. We distrusted the revolution until the 3rd of November. On the 3rd the Soviet Union agreed to remove its armies from Hungary. By then Attila Szigeti and Imre Nagy cleared themselves before the country. By then we trusted both.

- (a) Perhaps the biggest problem the communists had was that after 1953 even the party people couldn't see clearly. They couldn't feel any unity behind them. I saw a report in Művelt Nép that a "Káderes", who was a day-laborer under the Horthy regime said that he had ~~xxx~~ ^{felt} fine under Rakosi because ^{then} he had no doubts. People like that, people who thought primitively, uneducated people, who belonged to the regime, had troubles from 1953-56. The situation was too confusing for them.
- (b) The control system in the provinces ~~xxxx~~ ^{functioned} perfectly. In Mosonmagyaróvár, for instance, the destruction of the police and especially the AVO was only an apparent thing, ~~xxxxxxx~~. I think it actually existed under cover. Incidentally the biggest trouble of the revolution was that its news service was not very good. Only the railroad telegraph brought news from the Capital and other parts of the country.
- (c) Since I was in Mosonmagyaróvár I knew only that on the 22nd Szabad Nép wrote that the writers' association will not hold a demonstration to celebrate the events in Poland. On the 23rd we heard László ^{Piros} on the radio saying that the demonstration was forbidden. There was this constant change regarding the demonstration. It will be allowed, it won't be allowed, it will be allowed. It was obvious that everything is shaking and cracking. But in the provinces, in the country it didn't look as ~~xxx~~ ^{though} anything would happen. I know nothing further about the true aims of the revolution since I was not in Budapest. In

my town nothing much happened. Even the students were inactive because the local colleges ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ had a very careful head.

(f) There were many arguments whether this is the right way or the wrong way. But there were none who opposed it. When the Soviet Union decided to discuss the removal of its troops we said that after all it was the good road. Beyond that I don't know. I left Hungary on the 7th of November. I am rather cynical about the entire revolution. I suppose this cynicism was necessary. It's the only way we could tolerate living in Hungary. This turning inward was quite typical.

(h) Free elections, neutrality, and the Russians should leave the country. These were the most popular slogans.

(i) Oh, yes. The revolution was definitely anti-communist. Also there was a feeling that after the revolution the communist party would not have very much to say in deciding about the future, but we also felt that Imre Nagy can remain the sort of communist that he proved himself to be. I believe that after the revolution the country would have been converted, the revolution would have ~~turned~~ ^{turned the country} into a ~~bourgeois~~ bourgeois democracy in its Western, and more noble form. Workers didn't care to whom the factory belonged ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ all they wanted was free and independent trade unions

(n) Some say that ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the system that would have developed would have been an interesting transition between Titoist socialism and the German regulated capitalism which is

directed from above.

- (4) On the 23rd I worked. Beginning with the 24th we went to the factory but we didn't do any work. We just sat, talked, debated, and listened to various radio stations from London to RFE. There was one communist among the fourteen who worked in my factory. They debated with him and so the days passed. It was a cooperative enterprise (Szövetkezeti üzem)! So we discussed the various problems facing ~~the~~ the cooperative. There was a demonstration in Mosonmagyaróvár; on the 28th, I believe. We participated in this although we arrived late. There was a big debate as to whether we should participate. Nobody dared to take the responsibility for giving the order or the suggestion ~~to participate~~ to participate in the demonstration. In my town the following groups participated in the demonstration: The workers of the agricultural machine factory, the workers of the alumina factory (a földgyar), building industry workers, and students of the agricultural college. The whole ~~thing~~ ^{revolution} consisted of one demonstration ^{in my town}. The police was passive. One section of the police and the army maintained order. Officers could not be seen.

(7) I have no information about this.

(8) On the 2nd of November ~~the tanks~~, the Russian tanks, occupied Mosonmagyaróvár. Until then we had no contact

with them. At that time I heard second-hand, but I believe the information was reliable, that the Russians arriving were looking for the Suez Canal. I think it was quite interesting or characteristic that they sent only tanks. I felt that there must be some international or other reason for the fact that they sent only tanks. After all it couldn't be that they sent these tanks to fight the revolution in Mosonmagyaróvár. You can't fight ^a ~~the~~ revolution with tanks and with artillery fire. You need machine guns or flame throwers. I had the feeling that there was no reason to fear these Russian tanks since they were obviously not sent against me or against the people. We didn't know why they were sent.

(e)

No, I don't know of any such case.

(9)

We listened chiefly to the various radio stations. We listened to Vienna as well as to RFE. We had a fairly fresh and good news service. Vienna was good because it was obviously not directed towards Hungarians and therefore we knew that it was not propaganda. Of course the most perfect was the BBC. We should thank the BBC in a special letter for its wonderful service. It had sensational commentaries. It stated dryly and precisely that there were three possibilities regarding the Russian note. One, that it isn't true and two other possibilities which were equally pessimistic. Other things which were good and had a Western tone about ~~it~~ them were CS. Szabó's essays on Sundays. Of course it's absurd to say that RFE caused

the revolution.

- (a) I saw one ^{or two} newspapers during the revolution. The October 27th Győr Sopron County Hirlap confiscated by the AVH. I also saw one of the revolutionary papers. I cannot remember whether it was Nemzetör or Szabad Honvéd. Anyway it is not important. The Austrian Bildzeitung came in. It was read to pieces. People ate it up. It was interesting because it gave news of Budapest and showed pictures. It was wonderful to see the good Budapest public gaping in the moments of the siege. It was such a good Budapest phenomenon!
- (b) We talked with ^a few chauffeurs and travellers going through our town.
- (c) Of the domestic radios Győr was a very colorless one. We listened more to the foreign radio stations. We did not listen to Budapest much, only to be angry. At least until the Free Kossuth Radio was formed.
- (10) The AVH ~~sympathizers~~ ^{simply dis}integrated although at the time we believed this was only apparently so.
- its phrase occurs repeatedly*
(b) The local council organization remained with a new president.
- (b) The party did not exist. The party functionaries did not go to work. By the 27th and the 28th the party functionaries caught something that I might call a motor-ing mania. They left town ~~x~~ just as the Gendarmerie left town in 1945.
- (f) The army simply disintegrated.

- (i) The church did not show great activity. The local parish distributed Red Cross shipments. But that was all the church did during the revolution.
- (j) The local university organization, the student organization, was used by the freedom fighters. But I had no college friends and therefore I do not know much about that.
- (k) There was no time to form new organizations. The small holders and social-democrats put up signs and established headquarters, but that was all.
- (l) The workers' councils were ~~immediately~~ democratically elected in the factories. If a man had been a party member but had behaved decently then he was eligible for membership. The council discussed local working conditions and sent delegates to the revolutionary council of the town. The town revolutionary council did everything and as a result its work was very chaotic. There was no significant new policy established. There was no time. The town revolutionary council established a national guard, regulated border traffic, and spent much of its time trying to convince the peasants not to beat up the local delivery collector.
- (m) I think if Hungary were allowed to develop freely it would develop into a bourgeois democratic republic.

- (11) Yes, I do think of it.
- (a) From the point of view of eternity, ^("sub specie aeternitatis") yes, I suppose it was useful. Our country is just like a sparrow in God's universe. I suppose it was also useful from the point of view of practical politics to show the West that co-existence with the Soviet Union is impossible. But this usefulness in this sense will not be measurable within the next hundred years. Perhaps then, in a hundred years, we will be able to tell how useful our revolution was.
- (b) At the time developments showed us until November 3rd that the revolution did win, that it was victorious. It was a wonderful feeling. Looking back at it now, ^{we predicted} ~~was~~ an international constellation; that ^{is} we expected support from the outside. If Hungarians had had the feeling of being deserted then they would not have made the revolution.
- (c) Yes, we did expect help from the West. We expected ~~the~~ a UN police force. We definitely believed that the West would help.
- (f) Maléter was an old army officer. He was very skilful and managed to stay in the communist army. Béla Kovács would have been a significant and reliable person but ^{he} ~~did~~ not have an important role in the revolution. As for the personality of Mindszenty a great many people insisted Mindszenty should participate in the government. This showed a characteristic naiveté. Mindszenty was important because he proved that it is impossible to compromise with the Soviet Union. The role of Mindszenty between 1945 and 1948 engendered a lot of debate in Catholic circles.

Some said that he should have compromised with the communists. Some people felt that the communists were not too distant from the evangelic^{al} spirit, because ~~because~~ of their labor ethics. They pointed to the French MRP as an example and felt that both marxism and catholicism opposed capitalism and therefore they could find a common ground of agreement. This feeling was very wide-spread. In 1947/48 Mindszenty insisted on his aristocratical role as a magnate of the church and demanded the maintenance of all the privileges of the church. A great many people, however, wanted a separation of church and state on a free and democratic basis as in the United States. Even the bishops were in disagreement with regard to Mindszenty's role. Grösz, for instance, was against these pretensions of Mindszenty. Question: but what do you think about Mindszenty's role in the revolution? Answer: I think his speech during the revolution was quite good. I approved of it.

(g) In Mosonmagyaróvár the workers led the revolution, that is, the workers' councils in heavy industry. Next to them came the youth. In the worker' revolutionary councils the leading role was taken by intelligencia of working class origin but among the leaders was included the old intelligencia also. They served as advisers. As for the administration during the revolution the old mayor of the town who was military commander at the time the Russians entered after the second world war, became the leader during the revolution. He organized the

national guard. He was useful because he did not collaborate either with the Fascists or with the Communists.

- (12) I decided on November 6th in the afternoon to leave Hungary. I left on the 7th with a group of seven or eight. I felt that as soon as the revolution is defeated the regime will start to look for scapegoats. Those convenient scapegoats will be members of the old social classes, meaning the middle class. As a member of the old intelligentsia I was afraid that I would be chosen to be such a scapegoat. In addition I also thought that if I went abroad I would be able to get my parents out of Hungary.

- (1) I attended Péter Pászány University for three years, from 1944 to 1948 approximately with a few breaks in between. In 1947/48/49 while attending ~~the~~ university I was also a voluntary apprentice in the museum of applied arts in Budapest. In 1949 I lost this position for political and other reasons. I realised that I would have no opportunity to get a job in my field, even if I finished the university, and therefore I left. I decided not to continue my studies. I first became a railroad worker, a day laborer, for about half a year. Then I worked as a warehouse man in a dairy for one and a half years. Then I had a clerical job on a state farm and my last position before the revolt was ^{in a} ~~in a~~ ^{machinist} producer's ~~in a~~ ^{cooperative.} ~~in a~~ ~~cooperative.~~ Q: What do you actually consider yourself? A: I consider myself an art historian.
- (2) My first job was voluntary apprentice in the museum of applied arts in Budapest. I worked here from 1947 to 1949. I had no particular specialization. I had to help out in various departments. My chief job, however, was appraising antiques, porcelain, and silver belonging to emigrating persons. I was also collecting material for my doctoral dissertation on bronze work, bell making, and other crafts in Hungary. I received ~~no~~ ^{only token} payment in this position. After I left the university I worked for half a year in 1949 and 1950 as a day laborer for the ~~the~~ Hungarian railroad. Our job was to repair the railroad tracks. I left this position because I had the

opportunity to become warehouse man in a dairy concern. I worked at this job for a year and a half from 1950 to 1952. This was a small experimental dairy which later was merged into the Győr Sopron County Dairy Trust. I did not like this position because I was only making 500 Forints a month and because as a clerical worker my position ~~was~~ was more insecure. The clerical worker is always more fearful for his job than a technical worker or a skilled factory worker. We had to work long hours and therefore I left the job because I was unwilling to work overtime. My next position from 1952 to 1954 was machinist in a factory manufacturing agricultural machinery. This was the Mosonmagyaróvár agricultural machine factory, the former Kühne factory. I attended a course which trained me as a machinist and iron turner. I felt that as a skilled worker I would earn more money and have more job security. Then from 1954 to 1956 I worked on the Mosonszolnok state farm as an inventory and payroll clerk. From the beginning of 1956 until I left Hungary in November I worked as a machinist in a small producers' cooperative in Mosonszolnok producing barrels.

(3) I did not like my job at the dairy partly because there were party people who watched the workers, and this was very unpleasant; also I was not making enough money and I had to work very long hours.

(fg) I am unable to say how many hours per day I worked. It usually depended on the season. In general wages were

extremely low at the dairy. This fact resulted in a very high percentage of thefts. The amount of dairy products stolen was really fantastic. Each worker was allowed one liter of milk per day in addition to his wages. The result was that instead of one liter everybody took at least a can. It was in the interest of the entire dairy that this should be allowed. That is why people got away with it. Milk had greater value than money and therefore people were willing to work for lower wages. Cheese especially had very high resale value because it was very expensive and produced only for the AVH and other privileged persons. Only a small portion of cheese was allowed to the towns in general.

Agricultural machine factory

At this factory I worked on fairly complex machine parts. The factory also tried to manufacture munitions but without much success because the machinery we used was antiquated. My wages were 600 Forints a month plus a bonus for production above the norm.

- (d) The working conditions at the agricultural machine factory were very poor. The washroom in the factory had no warm water. In the winter it was very cold, in the summer ~~in~~ the factory ~~it~~ was unbearably hot. The health conditions were all right at the factory. The accident prevention program worked quite well because the managers tried to avoid paying too much sickness or accident benefits. The food in the factory was fairly ^{satisfactory} good. We had a sports and cultural program but this did not mean very much.

Methods of production; just before I left the factory they introduced the cyclical ^(ciklusos) method of production. This meant that one group of workers manufactured ~~the~~ Whole machine, ^{and} went through each step of production. In 1952 or 1953 they also introduced the dispatcher system. Nobody could quite understand why. It was a system by which the factory managers knew from moment to moment what was going on in each part of the factory, how the factory stood with the plan. By 1956 this system fell apart; it proved to be too chaotic. It just did not work. I think now they will stop it completely. The quality of production was very poor in the foundry. The foundry ~~was~~ received very poor raw material. This was part of the reason. ^{The} ~~Rejects~~ ^{situation was} ~~not~~ too bad. This was partly due to the fact that since we were manufacturing agricultural ~~machines~~ ^{precision} machinery the ~~requirements~~ ^{requirements} ~~regarding~~ ~~ing~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ were not too high. The chief faults were in the casting.

- (f) We worked eight hours per day including lunch, six days a week. We could work on Sunday, too, if we wanted to and receive overtime wages.
- (o) We did have some advantages in the factory, chiefly at the time when we ~~still~~ still had food coupons. It was very advantageous to work in the factory because we could get bread when other people couldn't. Health benefits were the same in the factory as for every one else. We did have vacation benefits but I didn't take advantage of these. I could have done so but I just don't like

going on vacation with a large horde of fellow employees.

State Farm

At the Mosonaszolnok state farm where I was inventory and payroll clerk I earned \$ 906 Forints per month. I had to work very hard as clerical employees usually have to in Hungary today. It was very hard work, especially in the summer and the fall. During the winter it was easier. We had a great many problems here. One of them was that the Council of Ministers promised needed machinery but we did not receive it. One of the characteristics here was a fantastic disregard of waste. The managers of the state farm were unable to control this. Of course, I think we should take into consideration that this was after 1953, ^{and hence} a very confused period of the regime. The state farm had 3,000 holds of land. It was formerly a large private estate. The soil was poor and we had a yearly deficit. However, it is very difficult to say whether it was truly a deficit. The workers were told that this was so. I think that perhaps on the national level this was not truly a deficit. Part of the trouble here was that the ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ investments required were very high.

Producers' cooperative manufacturing barrels.

At this factory where I worked until the revolution I had the greatest individual freedom. I was a machinist and the job enabled me to earn about 1,600 Forints per month. The time we worked was irregular. We worked very long hours, about 65 hours per week. Overtime wages could be calculated

so that the worker gained the greatest possible benefit. Since this was a local, not a centralized national industry it was supervised by the local functionaries who knew nothing about the building of barrels. In Mosonmagyaróvár they had no experts. Therefore the old owner was left as manager of the cooperative. He arranged the work so that both he and the workers got the greatest possible benefit out of the factory. This ~~required the cooperation of~~ twelve or thirteen people. ~~xxxxxxx~~. The labor norms were established so that we could make a very good living. As a result of our cooperation we got away with it. Four of the workers in the factory were members of the old owner's family. Two others were workers who had worked there under the old owner. I was very lucky to have gotten ⁱⁿ /but this type of arrangement was not rare. In older factories so-called "money earning associations" were formed in 1955 and 1956. This type of thing existed before 1955 also, but in those days it was only for party members. For instance, there is the Stakhanovite movement which was organized to benefit party members in a fraudulent way⁽⁴⁾.] [When I was a day laborer on the railway I was first very careful with regard to my fellow employees. It was my first job as a manual worker. I felt that all my fellow workers represented and talked in the name of the working class. This was my first experience with such people. They came out of two strata. Partly they were day laborers living in the neighbouring villages who worked as harvest workers during the summer. They did not consider me as an enemy,

however, They were sorry for me and also they showed some respect ^{for me} because I was educated. They did not show distrust towards me. Later when I got to know them better I also warmed up towards them. At ^{the} Dairy Trust I was on very bad terms with the party kader bosses in Sopron. They were loyal followers of the party line, even their faces and expressions were unpleasant. My relations to my fellow employees here were not too unusual. We trusted each other to ^a great extent. It was quite different at the agricultural machine factory. Here there was no solidarity because there was definite stratification among workers. There was a very great difference in the lowest and highest wages received by the various workers. Also the various managers and foremen formed groups around themselves, interest groups ~~which~~ ^{which} benefited by cooperating with him. These groups ~~including~~ included relatives and friends. At the state farm where I worked after the changes of the Imre Nagy regime things were much easier. Relations between bosses and employees became more informal. When I was hired by the personnel manager he asked me about my political opinions. My answer was that I couldn't tell him because I didn't see whether Rákosi or Nagy was right. The personnel manager just shrugged his shoulders although he was a militant kader. At the workers' quarters people's mentality was very bad, living conditions were very poor. These were workers who took seasonal labor whenever they could, ~~had~~ had no settled place of residence and therefore were very difficult to control. Their principle was to

break everything that could be broken because it did not belong to them. So they broke furniture and burnt blankets. I myself lived in the economist's house ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ by the other managers of the farm and acted as a supervisor of the workers' quarters.

(b) In general the relations between the ~~m~~ workers were good although this is not true in every case. Upward relations were bad, especially in my case. I didn't try to please my bosses too much. There were arguments and debates over the fact that I was a bad kader. In 1949 my middle class origin did not yet mean that I couldn't get ahead. At that time I could have entered the party and become a good kader. But anyone of my origin who was left out then was left out for good. Therefore in my own case I just took it for granted that I would not be popular with the party functionaries and managers where I worked. It was, of course, different in the cooperative/^{cooper shop.}~~shop.~~ See above question (3).

(c) In general, although I was always trying to be friendly with my fellow workers, I stayed aloof from them. I didn't make close friends with them. The most contact that I had with them was ^{drinking} /an occasional beer ^{with them} ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ at the local pub.

(d) We did discuss politics with our fellow workers. We usually knew whom we could trust. After 1955 we had greater trust in each other than before.

- (f) The trade unions didn't do anything to help the workers. They simply collected the membership fees from those they could get hold of. Their cultural function was not very important. The trade union in Mosonszolnok, at the state farm, had a cultural group which I led to improve my kader status somewhat.
- (i) There was none.
- (l) They stuck their nose into everything. We could debate with them but that didn't mean that you ^{didn't} ~~must~~ have to obey the order.
- (m) Between 1950 and 1952 you couldn't answer back, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ but after that things went a little easier.
- (n) In theory the good kaders ~~xxxx~~ were those who came from the lowest strata. It was best for those who were cowherds before and became party members later. Social origin was very important, ^{though unqualified} ~~then~~ acceptance of the party line ^{also} ~~xxxxxxxx~~ counted. A bad kader, above was some one who had been an officer in the interwar army ~~or~~ or manager on an aristocratic estate. If he was the latter he may have been used as an expert in his field but his son could not attend the university. Persecuted races or minorities were also good kaders in some cases. Gypsies were used in supervisory posts in various cultural fields. As for some of the peasant boys and cowherds and similar so-called good kaders they attended technical courses specialising in some narrow field so that they could manage to run some sort of factory with the help of older experts under them. Very often these newly

trained people just could not manage their jobs. In that case they fell back to the level from which they rose, that is, went back to the village or became workers again. I have met many such people. Most of them did not resent the fact that they didn't make good. In many cases, however, the re-education of this new stratum was very successful. My own boss in the state farm knew Horace and Huxley. He was a communist party member who had been a long shoreman. This type was not satisfied with the regime in spite of the fact that he was a success. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ In 1948/49 after he had been working as a long shoreman he was admitted to the university when he was about 25 years old. He became a Communist Party member and quickly rose ~~xxxxxx~~ under the new system. But he was an unusual case. Of a hundred people of his background there were maybe four of his caliber. Under the Horthy regime a man like that would have been lost ~~and forgotten~~.

(p)

On the railroad there was no AVO. At the dairy there was an AVO department which tried to make me an informer. They reasoned that I was ^{that I} declassé, ~~xxxx~~ had to work in a menial capacity, and as a result was dissatisfied with my environment and therefore would gladly inform on ~~xxxxxx~~ my fellow workers. This sort of thing was very difficult to refuse. The AVH tried to blackmail people ~~xxxx~~ to become informers in the factory and other places. I managed to get out of this, however, fortunately. Some times it was very difficult to know who was a member of the AVO. There were some AVO members

who took jobs as regular workers and acted as informers. A typical way of placing such a worker in the factory was for an AVO member to apply for a job and say that he was fired from the secret police and ~~xxxx~~ ^{would} work as a menial worker from now on. Most of the time, however, we knew who the informers were. The formal AVO organization was included in the factory police. They didn't have a very noticeable role. During the revolution they joined the workers against the regime to some extent in spite of the fact that the workers didn't trust them even then. The chief reason for disliking them was that ~~they~~ their job was considered a sine cure. ^(5b) [Until 1949 I wanted to work as an art historian in the museum. But living in a people's democracy for ten years I ~~xxxx~~ ^{realised} that the best thing for me was to work as a factory worker. I could not have borne the pressures ~~z~~ which go with intellectual work in a communist country. I can lie for five or six minutes but if one's entire work requires constant lying that is too much. One must swallow too much in such jobs. Every ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{scholarly} article must mirror ~~that~~ the marxist point of view. I didn't mind being a factory worker. I got my work down to a routine and did it automatically and meanwhile my mind was free and I could think about art or literature. ~~xxx~~ After work I was free for my own intellectual work and study. Factory labor did not exhaust me mentally. As for my choice of occupation I chose art history as my field because of my interest in art and against the desire of my family or against

family traditions.

(5)

(e) I would like to be independent and work as an art historian, and perhaps make cultural movies about art.

(g) If I had married in Hungary I would have tried not to have children at all. You can terrorize people through a child. I feel this way in spite of the fact that I am a Catholic.

(6) In 1949 my family and I appraised the situation. We gave up our big apartment and took a smaller one which included one room, kitchen, and pantry. This was a very good solution for two reasons. First of all we were not subject to political attacks because of having a big apartment and secondly it was easier to keep it clean without servants. We didn't buy clothes, and wore clothes which our relatives sent to us from America. My family consisted of my parents, my sister, and myself. 1956 was a great year, we bought a washing machine among other things. My mother contributed to our earning by making nylon handbags out of quilted material. This was a very good business, and is very characteristic of the way people try to make a living in Hungary. She bought diaper material for the bags and ^{sewed} sewed them up herself. Other people made lumberjacks out of baby blankets. There was a great deal of this sort of thing going on. People figured out tricks for getting the materials needed for their little businesses. We had no debts contrary to a

lot of other people. We were able to buy a fairly good radio in 1951. It cost 1,450 Forints. We had two bicycles. My sister had one and I had the other. I bought a very good old bicycle for 600 Forints. My sister bought a new luxury bike which however was very poorly made. It cost 1,000 Forints. This was what we were able to buy from the results of eight years of work. The food was not ~~mind~~ ~~on~~ the level to which we were used, before the war. Only ^{at} Christmas and Easter time did we have a few meals which compared to the pre-war~~y~~ times. We were unable to afford coffee though we would have liked to have it. As a result of our small income we were unable to entertain as we used to though social life existed. Families of the intelligencia still got together. We, however, didn't. This was partly due to the fact that my father didn't like company and partly it was due to the fact that we had only one room in which to receive our guests. At these parties the men brought the liqueur and the ladies of the house prepared the food. Dinner parties were unknown. No one ^{could} ~~was able~~ to afford to give a dinner~~y~~ party.

(7)

(a) 1947 700 Forints per month, 1952 between 150 and 600 Forints, 1955 from 900 to 1,450 Forints per month.

(8)

(a) It is easier for me to give my income per month instead of per year. In 1956 it was 1,450 Forints per month.

- (b) 1,200 Forints per month approximately.
- (d) Deductions monthly: 40 Forints for peace loan, 56 Forints approximately for childlessness tax, 14 Forints for income tax, and 30 Forints for membership in the cooperative where I worked. The latter sum was deducted because everyone who entered the cooperative without bringing in some machinery or equipment had to pay about 3,000 Forints per person. This was deducted in monthly sums. Earnings of other members of the family: All members of my family had some income. My father was a cashier and received 650 Forints per month. My sister made 800 as cashier and typist, and my mother earned indefinite sums with her sewing .
- (e) I had some savings. In October 1956 I had saved 300 Forints and spent it on a trip to Budapest. My father saved 70 Forints in half a year. My sister had no savings.
- (g)
- (a) 25 Forints per month for rented apartment for entire household.
- (b) In our apartment of a room, kitchen, and pantry my grandmother and I shared the pantry. It was 2.50 by 4 meters in size. My parents and my sister lived in the room. The room had a wash basin. The kitchen didn't have running water. We had to go to the well for water. We bathed in the laundry of the apartment house and in the summer we bathed in the Danube.

(c) My family spent about 2,000 Forints monthly for food. Of course ~~We had to queue up for~~ ^{groceries} ~~foods~~. Sometimes ~~we~~ lemons were available. We had to stand in line for those or for a certain poor quality of rice which people demanded because it was cheap. We had to stand in line for certain cuts of meat and certain types of meat, cold cuts were especially hard to get. Various luxury sausages and meats were available but the prices were too high for us. The same applies to canned hams and other foods which were left over from exports and put on the local markets. Beef was the easiest to get, pork was almost as easy as beef, veal was extremely difficult to buy unless the calf was killed on a ~~mine~~ ^{some-} where on the border. I can't understand what happened to all the veal, perhaps it was exported. As for flour we used some sort of artificial flour because Hungary exported its own native wheat. We called this artificial flour "French" though I am not sure that it came from France.

(d-m) The following figures are the monthly ^{expenses} ~~expenditure~~ of my family: (d) almost nothing, (e) 180, (f) 230, (g) nothing, (h) indefinite, (i) 40, (j) 150, (k) prescriptions 20, (l) 50, taxes 300.

(10) When I was in Bratislava, Czecho-Slovakia, in the summer of 1956 I realised that very small changes could make Hungary a far richer country. The Czech standard of living was twice as high as the Hungarian. The price of

~~The industrial goods~~ of consumer goods, was considerably lower. The price of food was approximately the same except for rice which was much cheaper in Czechoslovakia. Shoes were good and cheap. One of the differences between Czechoslovakia and Hungary was that the Czechs allow instalment buying so that one could buy cars on time payments.

(In your opinion what are the small details which could have raised the Hungarian standard of living? Well, for one thing Hungary could have introduced instalment buying. Then, Hungary's investment policy could have been changed. We could have produced more consumer goods instead of concentrating investments on heavy industry. The rate of investment in Hungary is far greater than in the United States. This is absurd for a small country.)

(c)

I have a very poor opinion of the pre-1941 economic situation. Very small changes could have put Hungary on her feet. An independent, ^{domestic} ~~independent~~ and foreign policy ^{ferdal} ~~policy~~ would have helped. Hungary was a semi-~~autonomous~~ country. There was possibility for ~~extension~~ expansion, for development, for change. But the problems were burning problems and slow development could not solve them. There was need for land reform, for instance. But the regime made only perfunctory moves in this direction.

(d)

In 1945 the government was supported by waiting and expectant people. There was a feeling in the air that now a new life will be started in Hungary. Economic conditions improved until the communists took over.

(f) In Mosonmagyaróvár in the last few years grocers, shoemakers, small tradesmen, and other small service industries were allowed to go over to the private sector. These were people deserving of respect. These small artisans and tradesmen were ^{helping to develop} ~~in the development~~ of a middle class element which had been lagging behind in Hungary for centuries. If their sector could develop in larger numbers the country could base a democratic political development on them.

(g) The situation was better. A larger number and better quality of consumer goods was put on the market. Textiles improved in quality and shoes with raw rubber soles were also available. These were very popular. Shirts and similar articles of clothing also improved in quality. I especially appreciated the improvement in the quality of books. The printing and paper was much better than before. Also they were very cheap.

(11) About 50 percent. Personally, free air means more to me than the question whether I am eating brown or white bread. In general even the lowest worker demanded certain rights. The right to strike, the right to practise his religion freely, the right to fight for higher wages and free trade unions. At the end people could give up a great deal. They no more had hopes of buying land and a house as did the older generation. It was the small things which annoyed people. The monthly arguments about wage deductions. People got more angry over the fact that they had to offer some of their wages for the peace loan than they did over much larger issues.

(1)

(a) I attended gymnasium from 1934 to 1942. I graduated in 1942.

(b) I attended the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Cistercian order's St. Emery gymnasium in Budapest.

(c) I attended Péter Pázmány university for eight ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ semesters from 1943 to 1948 with a few breaks in between. I did not graduate.

(d) In 1951 I attended a technical course ~~xxx~~ which ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ trained me as an iron turner and machinist.

(e) Yes, I could have finished the university if I had wanted to, however, I lost my job in the museum because my ^{of} class-alien status. I realized that I could never get a position in my profession once I was fired from the museum. Therefore I left the university voluntarily. I subsequently applied for rehabilitation but was refused it.

(3) No, I attended the university too early for that. These courses came after my time.

(4) The ~~pu~~ purpose of communist education was to develop a new Soviet man with a new Weltanschauung.

(b) Communist education could probably have been effective with the youngest children who started school under the new regime. The new regime could have made itself accepted by those who did not grow up under the old regime. At home there was no talk about politics before the children. There was no warning against the regime because parents

tried to give their children the opportunity to get ahead and therefore didn't want to ~~make them~~ incite them against the regime. The children therefore received only the regime's picture of the world and they hated it. I don't quite understand why this was except that the children perhaps felt the lie of the regime instinctively. People didn't even listen to Western radio stations when children were there. It was little things which made a difference. I think it is visual not mental concepts which affect children. For instance, they saw foreign cars and looked them over and admired them. At the same time ~~we~~ ^{they} heard the regime attack the West, ~~saying~~ claiming it had low living ^{standards, etc.} These cars proved to the children that the regime propaganda was a lie. Little things like this proved that the regime was lying. Books also contributed to the formation of this attitude. ~~For some time old elementary~~ For some time old elementary text books were still in circulation. These told Hungarian history in story form and ~~taught young people~~ ^{taught young people} patriotism. Youth literature of Western countries was also republished. Walter Scott, Uncle Tom's Cabin, and similar books were very popular. ~~They had the opposite~~ They had the opposite effect from the expected. I remember a High School poem about the teacher who in the days of oppression after the 1946 revolution talked to his students about Carthage and the way it was defeated by the Romans. All the students in the poem knew of course that Carthage meant Hungary. There was the same sort of dualism in everyone regarding ~~communism~~ communism. When there was talk about freedom we

knew that it wasn't there.

(g)

An 18 year old under the new regime was more progressive than I myself or my friends at that same age in 1942. In 1942 an 18 year old was more profound and better informed. Progressiveness and superficiality are in some way connected. I think ~~xxxx~~ extreme progressiveness leads to lack of depth.

(What is your definition of progressiveness? I think progressiveness means ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{the most farreaching} social organization to ensure social security. It means a definite break with the past. In this sense I think youth was superficial. For instance, they accepted some of the marxist theories. They accepted the concepts of formalism and cosmopolitanism. I know of one girl, for instance, who believed in these concepts when she graduated from gymnasium. But later on she lost them. These young people had very definite opinions about economics, the past, and history. However, there were counter influences, too. I realise now in talking with young people how much László Németh affected them. That László Németh knew he ^{read} was ~~xxx~~ was obvious from an article in Művelt Nép which appeared in September or October 1956. In this interview Németh said that he was working on a novel dealing with Hungary from 1945 to the present. He said he was writing it for Hungarian youth, that he was dedicating it to Hungarian youth. He also stated that the end of the book will be written by the young people of Hungary and not by

him. His book "The Revolt of Quality, A Minőség Forradalma" had a very great influence on youth. One of the theories in this book was that the proletariat should be raised to the middle class^{status}. Young Hungarians believed in this.)

Thus marxism and ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Populist literature both effected youth. The result did not ~~xxxxxx~~ crystallize; it had not yet crystallized.

The effect of populism was apparent on the youth which was ~~xxxxxxxx~~ active in Nékosz. Around 1948 Nékosz looked like the agricultural branch of the communist party. It was not ^{wrong} that Dózsa was their ideal. Dózsa was right and Verböczy was a sinister figure. The trouble was that they believed that the true good Hungarian could only come from the people, that he could only be the "son of the people". These views were very exclusive. They excluded many people from the leadership of the country; people who could help the country. It also meant a stand against Europe, against the West. The fact that Nékosz was opposed to the West meant, that the communists could use it for their own ends. Some of the Nékosz people were ~~xxxxxxxx~~ careerists, and ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{ed} work for the regime. ^{for this reason} But many of them were forced by the regime's opposition to them to behave with character. An example of this is László Kardoss who in 1948 was one's enemy but in 1956 became almost a comrade in arms. He learned on his own skin that communism must be opposed. It was naive to suppose, these people learned, that one can argue with communists. There is no compromise

of ideas with communism. They will never accept your own ideas.

(What percentage of these young people accepted these populist ideas and followed them? Only a very small percentage I believe but they were the vanguard of youth.) About 60 percent of the young people said, we are in-
different. This was good because it meant ~~passive resistance~~ ^{passive resistance} to tyranny. The trouble is that it is difficult to use these passive young people in constructive work in a free society. About 15 percent of the young people followed the populist line, chiefly among the intelligencia, among university students. I think the reason they followed László Németh was that his books served up a complete thesis for these young people. Marxism develops in people the willingness to accept ready made theses and theories. I think the young people who made the revolution were followers of Németh. Youth also liked Kodolányi, Kosztolányi, Babits, Tóth, Lőrinc Szabó, Josef Erdélyi among the Hungarian writers and poets.

I also heard about another group of young people, probably a very small percentage of the young people, who tried to develop a Catholic Weltanschauung. I heard of the arrest at Budapest university of a group of Catholics.

As far as I know was not a Christian political ~~mishmash~~ ^{mishmash} movement or similar ~~mishmash~~. It was not even a Neo-Catholic movement but a somewhat mystical contemplative movement. They were arrested in 1955 and I know very little more about them. I remember that it struck me

somewhat, there was a demand for this sort of thing. The communist effect on non-communist youth manifested itself partly in making them indifferent to modern Western literature.

~~XX~~

~~XX~~
~~XX~~ I had a friend who was interested in the West but he was incapable of understanding books by Virginia Wolf or Huxley. He was educated to like so-called realist literature and these Western writers were completely strange and foreign to him. Politically the communists had no effect on most of the young people except to the extent that the young people had become ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ a "liberated" crowd. They were not bound by tradition.

You could not influence them by such old-time historical clichés, as for instance the doctrine of the ~~XXXXXX~~ sacred crown.

All groups and strata of youth developed a strong social or sociological attitude. They believed that the goodness of life was determined by the social organization of a country or society. This is definitely a monistic philosophy and I do not believe in monism.

- (5) My father worked in the ministry of agriculture as an estate manager till 1948. In 1948 he retired with the rank of ministerial councilor. In 1951 he lost his pension.
- (a) In 1951 he got a job in Mosonmagyaróvár as a clerk in the national bank. He worked there for one year but lost his

job
/ at the end of that period because he was "not suitable".

Then he became a cashier and administrator in a small producers' cooperative. Now he has a pension of 500 Forints, having retired from this job in 1957.

- (f) I think we lived better ~~xxx~~ than the average when I was a child.
- (g) Four members.
- (h) They are still in Hungary.
- (i) With my two parents, my sister, and grandmother.
- (k) It hurt me.
- (6) I am unmarried.
- (11) We got along well with our parents. My relationship with them was normal, as far as it can be called normal for an adult man to live with two old people.
- (12) I discussed politics with my parents as well as other matters. I often argued with my father. We did not disagree in our opinions. The only difference was with regard to deadlines. For instance, we had different ideas about when communism would come to an end etc.
- (13) I was educated absolutely liberally. I could grow freely like a weed.
- (a) My family opposed my choice of profession chiefly because of the financial side of it. They would have wanted me to be an agronomist. In the old Hungary being an estate

manager would have paid very well. In the new Hungary agronomists were not paid quite as well.

(b) I never had any trouble with my parents over my choice of friends. My mother sometimes disagreed about my choice of girl-friends, but this is typical of any mother with a son.

(c) I had no political disagreements with my parents.

(14)

(b) Our family was quite close but we didn't spend a great deal of time together. We got together only about once a week to talk things over. As far as our family was concerned this was the same before the so-called liberation. In general though people got tired later on. There were just no subjects to talk about, so we had routine conversations about routine matters. My parents and I were interested in different things. I didn't talk about work at home because I liked to forget what happened at work. My father on the other hand talked about nothing but his work. It was interesting to note his distrust of the outside world in these conversations. This distrust of the family towards the world was quite typical of communist Hungary.

(c) I spent several afternoons a week visiting people. I also spent several afternoons or evenings dating. I spent my evenings and other free afternoons on various hobbies. I invented new hobbies every year or so. When I was at the Mosonszolnok state farm I tried to set up a

puppet theater to popularize Shakespeare, various operas, Faust, and so on among the peasants. This didn't work out. I saw the limitations of amateur theater among uneducated people like these. I realized that one should begin educating them by reading poetry and prose with them and explaining it to them. Another of my hobbies was an aquarium which I built. I also tried to read. I read professional literature, world literature, and then I read all my old books again. I also went to the movies and the record concerts at people's homes.

(g) Yes.

(15) There was a definite loosening in family ties. This is quite natural, I think. Parents had less time for their children and children started to be independent sooner as a result of this.

(e) Children were not reared at all. They were more independent since they were always among grown-ups. They became extremely ~~ill-bred~~ ill-bred. They also became more insolent. Children's minds opened sooner. They showed interest in all directions much sooner than before.

(16) Both boys and girls and the relations between boys and girls have changed within the last 15 years. Today's boy wants a different girl than before. In the past he wanted a homeloving, flattering, old-fashioned type of girl. The "I-am-the-master-of-the-house" attitude has

disappeared. The girls wouldn't accept this attitude anymore. This is partly due to the economic change, to the fact that girls now work in greater numbers. In general, relations are more open and less constrained between the sexes. This is not always good but at least there is no emphasis on sex as there is in the West. I find this sensational emphasis on sex rather boring.

(b)

Courtship and marriage have been speeded up as compared to the pre-war pattern. This is partly connected with economic insecurity. These marriages often turn out quite badly, more so than they did in the past. It is especially the women who find more problems in these marriages because they believe in marriage more, because marriage means more to them than to the men. Little things determine the success or lack of success in a marriage. Courtship is more casual these days. It is no longer a social production as it used to be. In those days mama or a chaperone used to sit in the salon watching the young people's courtship; a rather embarrassing procedure.

(e)

There certainly was prostitution but it was not the organized open prostitution as in the West based on the idea of buyer and seller. It was more concealed. People took a girl out to dinner and so on. In the factory one could hear someone say: "there is a typist for 100 Forints, she'll even sleep there". There probably wasn't much change in this sort of thing during communism. As an ^{ended} institution prostitution ~~was~~ in 1950 when the houses of

closed
prostitution were ~~discussed~~. The girls were used by the party as informers, taxi chauffeurs, etc. The party praised them, saying that it liberated them from capitalistic ~~exploitation~~ exploitation.

(f) At first there was a great deal of freedom given to the young people with regard to sexual matters, however, in 1949 the party realised that free sexual life was not in keeping with the party line. In 1953 on the state farm where I worked at the time this was taken quite seriously although unmarried mothers were told to be proud of giving birth to their illegitimate children. After 1953 this stopped. The slogan didn't seem to work. Young women just weren't proud of their illegitimate children. ^{The} A communist attitude became more strict, or perhaps more hypocritical.

To concentrate on the important tasks that is the aim of communism. That is why communism is limited; communists are not whole, complete people. This can be seen in their attitude towards art, ^{and} literature, as well. This attitude is empty since without feelings, without emotions, without passions life is not complete; sexual vitality also belongs to the completeness of life. In Hungary they were not successful in inculcating this attitude.

(h) The pre-war regime ~~was~~ was more strict regarding illegitimacy. I think this was an unchristian attitude. Under communism children were not stigmatized socially because of their illegitimacy. This was easier especially

for the child because people accepted it more and realised that it was not his fault. Earlier it used to be shame for the child to be illegitimate.

- (1) Yes, the status of women has changed, politically, socially, and economically. They now have the right to do a man's work.

(Did women prefer to stay at home or to go to work?)

An educated woman needs something outside of her home to keep her interested. In marriage she has the problem of having to do a day laborers work although she is ~~an~~ a cultivated and educated person. I suppose the answer to this is to introduce automation in the home.)

Under the communists women found it more easy to get a job for two reasons: ~~xxx~~ First of all they were the symbol of past oppression. The communists were proud of having liberated an underprivileged social group. Also, they wanted to put more women into economic life in order to facilitate total mobilization in case of war.

Women didn't appreciate ~~xxxxxxx~~ this new attitude towards them because it was done by the communists although ^{it enclosed} many women ~~xxxxxxx~~ to be independent. In some cases this independence caused a crisis in the family because the wife made more money or had a better job than the husband.

- (17) The state of morals is about the same. On the whole, ^{with regard} though, ~~xxxxxxx~~ to sexual relations, young people appeared more to run after each other, sexual interests were emphasized. I think this was because this was the

only field in which a person could work as an individual, everything else was collectivised.

- (b) Theft was an accepted and natural thing. If something wasn't stolen that was because it was ~~not~~ nailed down. Everyone participated in this including the communists, except that a communist could get papers ~~from~~ to legalise ~~it~~. Theft from the state was not considered immoral. Lying was also accepted.

- (18) I have two very close friends. We were together much of the time. We went to parties and other social events together. All three of us were bad kaders. That was one of the things we had in common. One of them was a bad kader because of his behaviour, because of his dislike of all collective activities. The other because of his origin. His father was a doctor in a ministry. ~~XXXXXX~~

- (c) We visited friends, we went to record concerts at people's houses and we drank together.

- (g) Loyalty and reliability. And by this I do not ~~mean~~ mean political reliability.

- (d) Yes, we did discuss politics. It was almost impossible to get around this since everything was politics in Hungary. Even the fact that you listened to a Menegger record was a political act. In general we agreed about politics but ^{not} necessarily about ~~XXXXXX~~ nuances.

- (i) My circle of friends consisted of middle class families like our own. We got together frequently at parties ~~at~~

at one of their homes. Such parties were not pleasing to the authorities unless there was an informer among them. The purpose of getting together was not political only social but we also discussed politics. When I went to work in Mosonszolnok the entire crowd was exploded. This was done by refusing the members jobs in Mosonmagyaróvár or by similar means. At that time the structure of our social circle changed.

(k) No. I would know whether he was sincere or not regardless of party membership. But anyway this could not happen since I was very distant from party circles though I did move on the periphery.

(19)

(a) My parents were Roman Catholics more ^{from} ~~xxx~~ habit than belief.

(b) I, too, am a Roman Catholic but although I read Vigilia, the Catholic periodical, I didn't attend church since 1952. I was annoyed by the fact that people went to church simply to annoy the regime and not because they were true believers. I also thought the role of the church regarding the "peace priests" was immoral. At the parish I heard about deep plowing and the peace loan. I distrusted the church. In Mosonmagyaróvár the priests collected to restore the church tower. I know this was done only because Mosonmagyaróvár was on an international line and the regime wanted to show foreigners that it did not neglect the churches. Otherwise the

regime would have allowed the church to collapse. To me religion is a road. I know religion has truth in it but I have not yet found an unlimited faith. One of the problems is the role of God in history. One can either consider it too ~~mystically~~ ^{mystically} or to practically. The mistake one can make ~~in~~ in the latter case is to ask why didn't he interfere?

(20)

- (b) The communists' permissiveness toward religious life is only superficial. They know the church is a spiritual power in spite of the fact that the church almost scared away its followers between the two world wars with its feudal attitude. Actually the communists want to exterminate the church. That is why the person of Mindszenty is attractive. He realized that there was no possible compromise with communism. He is attractive because of his resistance, because of ~~his~~ his absolute nay-saying. At present the communists simply want to exploit the church for their own purposes.
- (c) See question (19b) above. I knew one of the peace priests, Richard Horváth. He was a clever man. I don't know why he did it. Perhaps because he had a mind which doesn't tolerate the narrower limits of the monastery or the parish. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ They used his desire for attention. In general the peace priests were ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ unprincipled and without honor. They tried to degrade the provincial priests with alcohol and other means. In

general alcoholism is a good tool for disintegration of all sorts. Especially when it concerns the member of an organization which is strongly attacked. It is easy to break an alcoholic.

- (f) In general everyone went to church regularly. There was no change in this throughout the years. This church attendance was not entirely an unpolitical demonstration. It was difficult to tell how much was true religion and how much political demonstration.
- (g) People didn't stop to go to church because they were afraid of political repercussion. But they did stop to give their children religious instruction because this was considered a more serious matter. Or as a political demonstration against the regime some people insisted on giving religious instruction to their children. ^{Although} They were not the churchgoing type.
- (i) In general young people didn't like to go to church. But this was always so. Socially the intelligencia went less than the peasants or even the workers.
- (k) The old conventional religion or religiosity means nothing to the young people. But the renovated more personal religion means a great deal.
- (l) They allowed cultural evenings in the church at which there were concerts of Bach, Kodaly and other music. Politically every year when school began a ~~xxxxx~~ ^{new} struggle started for the right to have the children receive religious instruction. Although the priests were not behind this actively, the influence of the priests ~~was~~ was certainly

felt. As for a more concrete political opposition the church's tactics were not to talk about politics, which was a political opinion itself. Silence meant a negative attitude towards the regime.

- (21) I would urge him to choose a practical job, to become an automechanic or an electrician. If he could go to the university he should choose a technical field or perhaps chemistry. I would urge him not to be a historian and not to choose literature as his field.
- (b) I would tell him not to show open opposition to the regime. Inside, yes, but outside I would tell him to play along because it is not we who make history. I felt this before the revolution. ~~the revolution~~ That's why I was sceptical about the revolution. A characteristic of this political situation is that not all nations meet when important decisions are made but only the "big four". Therefore the little man and the little nation can do nothing.
- (22) The following were the worst off: First of all the old people. All they wanted was peace. They were especially badly off in agriculture or in office work. Nobody cared about them. Secondly among the workers the following are the worst off: Workers in the building industries because they are badly paid and have to live in barracks, next workers in agriculture, their situation is a little ~~better~~. less bad because at least they can work with their families. Among the industrial workers the unskilled factory workers

are very badly off. And next among the intelligencia the small office employee is very badly off. He gets the same pay that he got 25 years ago. He can never improve his position. The following had the best conditions: Physicians, artists, factory managers, party functionaries, ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{the heads} of state farms, veterinarians, engineers. Engineers earned less than veterinarians.

(a) I belonged among the skilled workers. My situation was middling bad or relatively good. I had to work too hard but that is another story. On the other hand I was left in peace. Nobody int~~er~~gued against me.

(23) Basically two social classes exist today. The first is the regime which includes the council of ministers down to the lowest AVH corporal. It also includes people like movie managers who were all party people. It also includes the old intelligencia which worked for the regime. The second class is a fluid, ~~blurred~~ ^{blurred} ground. There is a certain stratification though the old social lines have been ~~blurred~~ ^{blurred}. For instance, university graduates do belong to this different group even though they do not actually form a social class. There is a feeling of belonging among them because of their schooling but no feeling of superiority. The peasants and workers are still members of different groups. Social stratification does exist but not necessarily social classes.

The old classes still exist to some extent though not as they did under the Korthy regime as closed systems. The

gentry and army officers were used as yeast among the workers. The effect was that the former officer lost his superior manners and the worker realised the humanness of the former upper classes. This dispersal meant a rapprochement, too. If a man did good work he was respected for his work and his intellectual ability. No one held it against him that he had belonged to the former upperclasses. But as far as friendships are concerned it was very difficult for them to make real friends with the workers. Among the youth intermarriage helped to blur the lines between the classes.

- (d) In Hungary social stratification was not a problem, since the stratification was between the regime and us. One could sense this anywhere, on the street, in public places, one could tell which class someone belonged to. Whether he meant it when he gave the greeting "Freedom" or not.
- (e) More equal.
- (g) There was a considerable change in manners. Manners became more informal, visiting among people more free, less bound to etiquette. The old stiffness in manners was gone and this was good. But sincere good manners were rare, used only on Sundays and holidays. There was a great deal of rudeness but actually manners were relatively good, even in the factory. One always offered a cigarette to a friend, offered a light, etc. With regard to women the old courtesy had changed because they were considered equals.

- (24) Yes, Kulaks, ~~family~~ families of old army officers, and families which had been connected with the management of large estates. Among the national minorities the Swabians were expelled and ~~also~~ ^{those who} were left, were not treated very well although they were not persecuted openly as the Germans. The communists were sensitive about the using of nationalist slogans. They would never persecute these people because they were Germans but accused them of listening to Radio Free Europe etc.
- (a) Among those who received benefits under communism were gypsies, former servants on large estates, as well as Jews. The latter was only natural and fair because one should help people who have been persecuted. Later some of the Jews made a political advantage out of this fact. These Jews were usually not the ones who had been in concentration camps during the war. It is difficult to generalize about the Jews. Some who had been in Mauthausen ended up in Reesk. This is ironic.
- (25) After 1945 the Jews wanted to get rid of all vestiges of the Horthy regime from which they had suffered. They wanted to make a tabula rasa of the old regime. Actually between the two world wars the Jews did quite well until 1943, especially in literature, in industry, and the free professions. It was only various state jobs that they could not get into. Of course, it was annoying to be discriminated against because ^{of} one's parentage. However, the Hungarian people were not anti-Semitic en bloc,

not even in 1944. 1944 was a horrible year for the Jews but it was not so bad before that. In 1945 the Jews rejected anything that was rightist because this would have led them back to what existed in the past. At that time it seemed impossible that marxist parties should be anti-Semitic. The Jews trusted the Marxists, especially the Social-Democrats. The fact that they turned to the Marxist parties was due first of all to fear not to political careerism. As for the Communist kader policy they considered the good kaders ~~xxxxxxx~~ those who had been oppressed in the past. As a result of this the Jews gained. They became liberated but only politically not economically. In general when one met a Jew one became distrustful because one didn't know his political stand.

(c) I had a number of Jewish acquaintances and was much among Jews. I felt that they were a lively minded group but this liveliness gave their environment a certain mental unevenness, a lack of stability.

(g) Hitler's racist anti-Semitism does not exist. There is a form of social difference ~~but~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ with regard to the Jews. Jewish groups are afraid of change because: ~~xxxxxx~~ "How can we tell what will come of it, Mr. Kohn? Is this good for us?" Jews as well as non-Jews ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ the regime. Anti-Semitism as such does not exist. Nor does Hungary want to hold the Jews collectively responsible for the sins of the regime. However, there is anti-Jewish sentiment. There is ^a dry, unemotional acceptance of Jews today. People realise that many Jews

are oppressed by the regime together with many Hungarians.
Hence there is a feeling of ^{common} ~~collective~~ suffering.

(h) I think quite a few will emigrate. Others will stay.
Jews as well as others should be protected from individual
revenge by an international police force.

(Is it true that there is a great percentage of Jews
among the AVO? Yes, this is true and those who were
tortured by them naturally don't feel any too kindly
towards them.

(1)

as time goes on
less and less /politics tires me. I am decreasingly interested in politics. I was extremely interested in 1942, in 1945, in 1948. I was always vehemently in opposition. The problem was always to find some one to vote for. After the war I thought the small holders party would have a future. I thought I could vote for them because people like that wouldn't become dictators. My only political activity was as a university student when during the elections at the university we made a progressive Catholic movement without the burdens of the past. In 1947/48 there was an attempt to cooperate with the Communists but this proved impossible.

(2)

(a)

I have no sympathy for any party and was never a party member. In Hungary it was typical at the smallest movement in foreign policy, in international politics, to jump excitedly, to watch international politics like a mother watches in the ninth month of pregnancy. I looked at political developments this way: As an individual, how much ~~xxxx~~ am I a target of a collectivized regime? Looking at it as a historian one can get some distance from daily politics. When I read Szabad Nép I always wondered: "how are you trying to fool us, what are you trying to feed us which seems all right but is only a well wrapped lie?" Any healthy political development was impossible. Hungary was like a frost-nipped tree. I realised over the years that the terror was deepening and

that I must try to find a field where I won't clash with the regime's cage. I didn't really develop politically, or ~~xx~~ change politically at all except to the extent that in the past I was politically indifferent and then I switched to a definite dislike of politics and politicians, beginning with our own Communist politicians and ending with Western politicians including Roosevelt, in spite of my sympathy for Roosevelt's New Deal. I began to dislike him because he gave in to the Russians.

- (b) No.
- (e) In 1945 I showed no distrust of the Communist Party. Later of course I realised ^{that I} ~~xxxx~~ should have known what their aims were.
- (f) (iv). Since 1948 I don't agree with anything done by the Communists but in 1945 I expected solidarity towards the other parties and I expected them to play according to the rules of the game.
- (g) Other university students felt the same way.
- (h) I beg you pardon. If I had a machine gun behind my back I would do it, too. If Dulles had a machine gun behind his back he would sign what they wanted of him, too. Why shouldn't Peter Kis do so?
- (3) I felt that I was an unwanted person in a society. I felt the way a Jew must have felt in 1939.
- (a) They are all important. They all flow together.
- (b) Taxes. Fear: One became quite deadened regarding fear. **Strong** ~~xxxxx~~ emotions are impossible for a long time, Drabness

dullness:
 and ~~xxxxxx~~ This was an individual problem. Dullness existed but it didn't matter if one had an internal life. The opportunity to get ahead: This was no problem, ~~xxxxxxxxxy~~, because if I had had a job in my own field I would have had to swallow too much. Soviet troops in Hungary: This was not too noticeable, until they were not needed they were not seen. They were treated with infinite contempt. Overwork: Overwork was general but it didn't touch me personally.

(d)

Taxes.

(j)

Small things: The fact that one could get away earlier from work on Saturday, or that one could pay less for the peace loan ~~xxxxxxxx~~ than was expected ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~. Things like that.

(4)

The party didn't ^{function} ~~xxxxxxxx~~ well. It had buildings but no real members. The highest power consisted of the blue and green AVO. Even the ministries were careful regarding them. It looked as ~~xxxxxx~~ though the ministry actually led things but even the ministries had AVOs in them. The AVO was probably led direct^{ly} by the Russians. The party and the AVO were intertwined. But I believe that the party was not always higher than the AVO. On top was the Akadémia Street headquarters of the party. The agricultural head of the party's central committee or whatever you call it was a bigger lord than the minister of agriculture. The execution of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{decrees} was the job of the AVO. Then there was a council of ministers to

make the picture complete. I know nothing about the Polit Bureau. I learned about it in a seminary and I tried to forget as soon as I heard about it. I know it was important and said the big Amen to the resolutions and decided who would be emper^{or}/but that is all I know.

All along it appeared that there was no difference of opinion in the Polit Bureau. Later I saw that there was a difference between Nagy and Rákosi. I realised this a few months before the revolution. I didn't believe it in 1953.

- (f) Yes. There was not so much a state bureaucracy though that existed, too. But bureaucracy was rampant chieflyⁱⁿ/the factories and shops. There was a great deal of paper work although in the old days a big estate needed only a small notebook kept by the estate manager. The state bureaucracy was fifty times larger than before. First of all the people were not trained and therefore were inefficient and secondly the state distrusted its own people and therefore needed supervisory organs to watch its employees.

- (5) This was a bluff organization. It had state secretaries, who got their jobs for various reasons, chiefly nepotism. They were not convinced Communists and youth leaders. They merely enjoyed ~~xxx~~ a sine cure. They did not even realise the significance of cultural work. The word "culture" was not liked by Communists except as a slogan

DISZ membership for the West. In secondary school ~~membership in DISZ~~ was automatic. It had its advantages. It developed hypocrisy to its highest possible degree in Hungary. That's why we needed the revolution in order to see who belonged where. Even the regime wouldn't believe the approval of the people. That's why it couldn't be maintained any longer.

- (c) I could have been a member of DISZ. It was a simple question of a rubber stamp. In Mosonszolnok I led a cultural group which was based on DISZ.
- (6) People didn't like to join if possible although lately in the last three years membership did not necessarily mean a Communist Weltanschauung. Very few Communist Party members really believed in Communism. They joined for the advantages: Jobs, apartments, etc. Membership did not necessarily mean that a man was a materialist, or opportunist but it did mean that he had to be friends with a lot of very doubtful people.
- (f) Some people joined the Social-Democratic Party out of conviction and then were carried along into the CP when the merger took place. I am trying to think of a convinced Communist but I don't think I knew any. Sometimes it was very difficult to tell if a man believed in Communism or not. There was a very shrewd game which consisted of telling your criticism while pretending to be a convinced Communist. Otherwise one couldn't criticize at all. This was especially common after the

20th Party Congress.

- (h) No. I decided in 1947 not to join.
- (i) According to gossip in Hungary Rákosi was not the real leader of the Communist Party but Emil Weil. Weil was the head of the Physicians' trade union. I believe that this gossip may be true. Also I heard that Gerösz was not simply what he was but that he may have been a supervisor of the Czech and Rumanian Communist Party as well.
- (7) I belonged only to trade unions. This didn't mean anything.
- (g) They were not interested. These organizations were lifeless, useless, routine.
- (1) They had constant difficulties with their membership. They were not living, active organizations. You couldn't drag people to their meetings unless you forced them to attend.
- (m) They didn't take them seriously.
- (8) One to two percent I would say. The danger came not from the convinced Communists but from those who tried to outbid them. That is why Szabad Nép was more readable than Magyar Nemzet, because it really believed what it wrote and didn't just try to pretend that it was something it wasn't.
- (9) First of all DISZ was never ^{one of} the pillars of Communism, and secondly criticism was only possible in a Marxist-

Leninist wrapping. Thus one could demonstrate for a free Hungary through DISZ. See Pál Szabó's article about DISZ in Művelt Nép, in 1953, at the time of the Imre Nagy regime.

(10)

(a) The AVH was a typical terror organization. The green AVH was selected from regular army recruits. The officers were more carefully selected. A small percentage was forced to work in the organization through blackmail, and then got so involved in the organization that there was no road back, only forward. Many were selected from AVH informers.

(j) They often appeared to be working together although the police feared and the army disliked the AVH which was superior to both of them.

(k) There was a warm friendship between the AVH and the party. I believe the AVH was stronger.

(11) Friends of mine were arrested for spying and for illegal border crossing. They tried to cross the border as a group and were arrested in 1948/49. One was interned in Reesk.

(b) I feel the intelligencia was in the greatest danger but this may be just a personal feeling since I was a member of it. They were watched the most although without reason since they were helpless since 1945.

(g) No.

- (13) Not to speak, not to see, not to hear. Then perhaps one can avoid trouble with the secret police.
- (c) Personal connections are useful if they are good.
- (d) When a man is convicted ~~with~~ of a crime his class background is taken into consideration.
- (f) See (13) above.
- (14) Yes. Until 1953 there was unlimited terror. After 1953 the AVH improved and legalized things somewhat. For instance, they kept minutes of arrests and proceedings and used witnesses.
- (15) Everything was decided in Moscow. It is very ~~characteristic~~ ^{width} characteristic that the ~~width~~ of the harvesting machine used on Hungarian state farms was decided by Soviet experts. According ~~to~~ the Hungarian experts a narrower harvester would have been all right on the Hungarian terrain. But the Soviet experts vetoed this. This happened in 1953.
- (e) There were Soviet advisers in every field or else the minister himself was the Soviet Union's man. For instance, ^{edition of} if even an ~~additional~~ Shakespeare could not be published without the names of Soviet Shakespeare ^{scholars} ~~experts~~ in the ^{preface} ~~preface~~ and footnotes. Sometimes if some book was popular it was okayed by the Soviet and thus it was made acceptable.
- (16) To some extent one could. Whatever was not from the

Soviet Union was praised, for example, Western movies. This was a form of political opposition. It was impossible to sell Soviet literature in the last ten years. At soccer matches people gave vent to their feelings by whistling at the Soviet team.

- (c) One could sense where people ~~might~~ belonged after watching them for a while. This had nothing to do with the occupation of a person. He could be a doctor or a priest or a party member. Sometimes a party member was trusted more than a priest or a doctor. This was a question of ~~experience~~ experience with people.
- (d) One could freely criticize American foreign policy and the Horthy system. Actually one could tell from the press in what direction one could criticize according to the party line because the party started criticizing the same subject or field.
- (17) One could get around the official economic decrees which touched people in some way. For instance, one could get rid of property to which a decree referred such as cattle or a house. ~~There was~~ ~~taxation~~
 For instance, if there was a decree according to which one person could not have a certain amount of land the land was transferred to a friend or a family member or else the owner got a friend to rent it so he wouldn't be forced to rent it to just anyone. In my own home my mother's nylon bagmaking was subject to tax. We ~~simply~~ simply got around it by/not reporting it. A friend of ours had

a large woolcarding machine and he didn't report it for twelve years.

(c) Personal connections would help in a case like this.

(d) A worker could fight with the factory in order to be allowed to go. Till 1953 this was quite difficult.

(e) With hypocrisy.

(18) The ~~strength~~ strength of the regime was material. It also appeared that it had a very well organized informer system supported by the reputation of the AVH. The AVH had brought its methods of investigation to a high perfection with the use of psychology. At least this informer system appeared to be a strength until October. Among the weaknesses of the regime was the fact that it helped to develop hypocrisy in the people to such a high degree of perfection that the regime was unable to tell who was on whose side. It was impossible for the regime to get a clear picture. People learned to play games with the regime, how to give informers the right answer, how to pretend that one had a good -natured, constructive attitude without being a Communist Party member and without showing that one knew that he was an informer. People became very sensitive and felt tricks at a distance. Some people of course made a mistake and were fooled by some agent provocateur.

(19) To some extent opposition could be expressed by nothing doing, by the refusal of plus demands. For example in

the evening when there was ^atenant meeting in my apartment & I made a point of staying away from home. I also know of some cases of opposition in the villages. When I worked at the Mosonszolnok state farm there were two or three collectives in the neighbourhood. The members of these collectives were former day-laborers on large aristocratic estates who had been transported to the village to take over the land of the expelled Swabian peasants. In the spring of 1954 or 1955 I participated in a mass meeting which was organized by the party but somehow went wrong. At this meeting some of the members of the collectives stood up and told the party secretary that at the present moment they lived so badly that if they bought fuel for the winter they won't have any food or vice versa. They asked the party secretary in what way socialism was better than the conditions of 1933 or 1935.

(What happened to these people? Nothing happened. The party secretary somehow explained the situation away. There were some other expressions of protest at this meeting but no one came to ~~y~~ any harm.)

(b) Those groups showed the greatest opposition to the regime which had the least to lose. For instance, foundry workers. They couldn't be punished because conditions were so bad that they couldn't very well do worse than they were already doing. An accountant, for instance, could be punished.

(c) There were no such groups except those who gained material-

ly from the regime.

(g) I know of some "injured" groups of the party on the local, that is the county and city level. But I know of no crystallized opposition. The sort of thing I mean is when party secretaries in the village felt that they were not sufficiently recognized and suddenly made statements against the regime. I know a case in which the son of a party official who had been pushed aside by the local party organizations made a statement that when his mother went to Russia as a ^{Stakhanovite} ~~Stakhanovite~~ she was sent to a kolchos from Moscow in a curtain^{ed}/bus. It was difficult to tell whether he was really griping or whether he was an agent provocateur. If he was really griping he only did so after he was pushed aside by the party. But I don't know of any organized opposition within the party.

(l) The Petöfi circle was formed because the party had to have a forum where trade marked Communists could tell their constructive criticism. Mefesz was established because of the contempt students had for DISZ. I had no personal experience with either.

(m) I felt that the ferment of the writers and intellectuals ^{launched} was ~~launched~~ by the regime

I felt that it couldn't be taken seriously. We all felt like telling them: "How come you are just discovering all this now when everyone knew about it since 1946?"

It looked as though they had opened their eyes because ^{and not the writers} they were ordered to do so. But it is true that if I had ^{uttered} ~~uttered~~ the same criticism in Spring 1956 I would have been arrested.

- (1) I read the domestic press and I checked its veracity by listening to foreign radio stations.
- (a) The radio, of course.
- (2)
- (a) Szabad Nép, Művelt Nép, Vigília, Béke és Szabadság.
- (b) Yes.
- (c) I read Szabad Nép because it was the easiest and simplest way of finding out what the party line was and in addition to that it was more attractive to listen to true Communist double talk than to listen to ~~ka~~ a non-Communist who is forced to meethe the Moscow line.
- (e) Yes, but no one read it.
- (g) Lettres Francaises was available in Győr. In Budapest one could get Humanité. I was interested in these publications even though they were Communist because one could see and feel the different tone and different tactics of Western Communism. These papers had Western forms. They had ads and so on. The non-Communist foreign press was not available in Hungary.
- (j) No.
- (3) Once a month.
- (b) Entertainment.
- (ac) I preferred the Italian neo-realist movies as well as some French movies such as Gerard Philippe in "Fanfan le Tulipe". I tried to see English movies as far as I could. Before 1953 I couldn't go to the movies at all

because they were so bad. The new Russian movies were not too bad. There was a Shakespeare comedy I remember as well as "Othello". Then I liked the early Russian movies. These were really good. Movies by Kurovkin and Eisenstein. Movies such as "Potemkin", "Circus", and so on. These are a part of movie history. The rest of the Russian movies were untalented, dull, dishonest.

- (ef) After 1949 I went two to three times a month. I remember a Venetian story by Stefan Zweig "Volpone", a play by Schiller and a Russian operetta which was rewritten and completely refurbished by Hungarians and thus made acceptable to European eyes. It was quite amusing.
- (4) I read a great deal since most of my free time was spent on reading. Until 1953 I reread my own library five times because I couldn't buy new books.
- (e) My favorite poets were Árpád Főth and Lőrinc Szabó. I liked Karinthy's novels and my favorite writers were Krúdy and Móricz. I also read studies and memoirs of Aurél Bernáth, the diaries of Rákóczy, Széchenyi, Bethlen, and the diary of the founder of the school of Nagybánya. These were some of my favorites. Of political literature I read Széchenyi. But on the whole I didn't read much political literature.
- (f) Of foreign writers I read the classics partly because they were available. Of the older masters I read Merimée

Maupassant, and Zola. My favorite novel is "the Sin of Therèse Raquin". I read the moderns who were available, among them T.S. Eliot, Thornton Wilder, and Virginia Woolff. The newer ones are unknown in Hungary. But I did read Mauriac's old books, Gide, Claudel; nothing new. I don't like Shaw very much.

- (5) I listened to the Hungarian Radio on Saturday night, maybe, if there was nothing better to do. I turned it on for the variety program, (tarka műsor) etc. I listened to some things just to get good and angry. The theater programs, however, were good; "A Tragedy of Man", "Othello", and Chekhov's plays.
- (b) An Orion törpeszuper.
- (e) Eight hours weekly.
- (f) Partly at home.

- (6)
- (a-d) I listened to the foreign radio stations about half an hour daily. I listened to RFE because it had a constant repetition of its program and one could hear ^{it} at any time of the day. At night I listened to the news when I couldn't sleep. I especially liked RFE cultural programs, or the movie and book reviews. RFE was the easiest to receive. I didn't listen to it regularly or for any length of time unless it rained and there was nothing else to do. At such times I may have listened about an hour. The standards of RFE were good about three years ago. Since

then it has deteriorated. We listened to RFE during the revolution because it brought fresh news. People listened to RFE when something happened, for instance, during the June uprising in Germany. But RFE was chiefly good for creating a certain mood or attitude in one, for making one good and angry. I listened to BBC every Tuesday to hear Andrew Martin although I couldn't get it very well on my own radio. Every second Thursday I listened to the "Popov Espresso" which was a humorous program with Comrade Bircsik and Dr. Fülöp. It was extremely funny and very good. On Sundays I listened to CS. Szabo's essays but I didn't listen every Sunday. BBC was the foreign radio station which one could believe one hundred percent. The facts were dry and well presented. One knew that it was true. I listened to BBC news although not regularly or daily. I heard the Paris Station once or twice but I didn't like it very much.

- (7) No. News which came this way was usually untrue. However, I did receive information by word-of-mouth when I went to Budapest once a year. There I knew people who were close to certain circles.
- (8) The information in the newspapers was absolutely unreliable. Even the opposite was not true. I read it in order to get news of something like Eisenhower's speech and then I listened to the foreign radio stations and that way I was able to tell how a speech could be turned upside down and

distorted. It was a lesson in technique.

- (d) Nothing was reliable. Even production results were untrue. There were merely empty numbers.
- (e) BBC was absolutely reliable. The Voice was often not too different from RFE in its commentaries. It was also difficult to receive. Since 1953 from some reports and articles one could get a faint glimmering of the truth. For instance, Szabad Nép published an interview with Gyula Illyés in which he discussed his experiences in Moscow. The way it was written and the way things were not answered was quite ~~revealing~~ revealing. One could laugh at it. Then there was the time when ~~an~~ a Hungarian delegation, perhaps led by Geré, went to Moscow in 1955. At that time Voroshilov said to them that you have things on a higher level than we. We can learn from you in ~~some~~ certain ways. We don't expect un-praise critical ~~from~~ from you. The Hungarian answer was not criticism but further bootlicking. This, too, was rather revealing.
- There was no single paper that was more reliable but there were few reports here and there in various papers which were believed, in Szabad Nép, in Bátor és Szabadság, in Művelt Nép. People picked these items up, spread them, and discussed them.
- (f) When it first appeared in 1952/53/54 I bought it a few times. At the time it was ^a third-rate newspaper and there was no literature in it. After 1955 it began to pick up. After 1955 I read it about twice a month. Those articles

which signified really big changes were read by everybody, even by people who didn't buy it but only got the paper from friends. After 1955 it wasn't third-rate anymore. The standard was higher. Before it consisted of dry, Marxist-Leninist discussions of imaginary problems. But I still found it I was suspicious ~~because I thought that it was simply a trick of the regime.~~ that it improved after the 20th Party Congress. ~~Therefore I thought it was simply a trick of the regime.~~ Therefore I thought it was simply a trick of the regime.

(h) I read two issues. It was only available in Budapest. It was a good, well-edited paper. It attacked the regime with satire, and that is the most painful thing. But we were unable to get it in the provinces.

(9) The situation was ~~approximately~~ approximately the following: People read Szabad Nép and believed the opposite. People did try to keep up with events. And of course they hoped.

(10)

(a) There was a war and therefore a bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. The Japanese got what they asked for.

(b) The North-Koreans, of course. America start something? God forbid! America missed her chances all along. She could have liquidated China. The United States is too careful in trying not to offend the Soviet Union. I think that if the Americans don't take the stand they did

in Korea the Russians would have occupied Yugoslavia. This is proved by the fact that there were many tanks collected in Hungary along the Yugoslav border. This was also evident in the anti-Yugoslav propaganda in Hungary which was directed from Moscow.

(c) It was nonsense. Perhaps Méray believed it. Did they fool him? A man like that shouldn't become a journalist.

(d) We believed in it. Finally, we said, they are doing a sane thing. ~~But~~ After all there is a big hole in the middle of Europe; well, ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{so} they probably did rearm Germany. When we passed the border ~~or~~ ^{after} escaping we expected huge armies to march back and ~~forth~~ ^{forth}. The actual truth was a disappointment.

(e) They didn't make much sense. It was too great a risk to get a year in jail for this sort of thing. ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{I saw} one or two ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{with jokes} about Rákosi etc. It must have cost a lot of money and didn't have much sense. It was an irresponsible thing. I knew that the so-called national resistance movement didn't exist, that these pamphlets were printed in Munich, but simple people didn't know it and thought that it did exist. Many people believed and were imprisoned for having the leaflets.

(f) Everyone talked of it with respect, everyone said: "Only the Germans can do it. They are capable of setting up an organisation which can give orders and has no informers". It proved to be a form of popular vote. The majority of the regime was represented by Russian tanks.

- (g) It was suspicious that the foreign radio stations said nothing about it or very little and that the home press was triumphant and sure of itself. We knew it couldn't be that Communist opinion had won at a conference, but ~~later~~ later we heard that Eden presented a plan for an observation belt in the Carpathians equipped with radar. ~~Basically~~ ~~Essentially~~ we expected that Geneva would settle the ^{the situation} problem of Hungary on the basis of/1945/with a multi-party system.
- (h) The domestic press published revealing articles about them and in this case it was impossible to believe the opposite. We imagined that the emigre politicians abroad had ~~a~~ roles, had relations with Western politicians and powers, and had the opportunity to express their ^{about} opinions. We heard ~~from~~ the National Council from RFE. I knew that these people were eating ~~exquisite~~ the bitter but buttered bread of exile.

- (1) I would change the whole thing from the ground up. I would introduce free elections, a multi-party system, civil rights, a Magna Charta you might say with life without fear etc.
- (a) I would keep the land reform, naturally. I would keep the separation of the church and state as well as the socialization of heavy industry. I would keep the key industries nationalised.
- (2) Yes. A multi-party system assures that a dictatorship won't be established. This, plus a free press. Any ^{established} limitations of freedom would be ~~xxx~~ by parliamentary laws and by the constitution.
- (3) Freedom of speech in my opinion means that one should be able to say anything that one can prove and that one should be responsible for one's statements. By this I mean that the civil laws should provide safeguards and not that the police should punish people for saying the wrong things.
- (c) No.
- (d) Again a man should be held ~~xxxxxxx~~ responsible for his statements. For instance, if a state is neutral and the Prime Minister says that we would like to be part of the US or Soviet sphere this is irresponsible and hurts the state. Such a Prime Minister should fall in Parliament. This sort of thing can be corrected by keeping the rules of the game without police methods.

- (4) Yes, naturally.
- (a) Yes.
- (b) Even tyrannicide is right if it is in defense of natural human rights, if a dictator establishes terror and breaks the constitution. It is not an intelligent way out but the right to commit it exists.
- (5) In agriculture there should be free cooperation. Small artisans, if they want to, should be allowed to do the same. Heavy industry should be nationalized. The future economic system should be a supervised mixed capitalism. Each state has a right to do this. See the Adenauer solution and the New Deal taxation system. Aside from this, of course, in America you have free enterprise and private capitalism. I do not want this in Hungary because for this one needs a stable social system and trained reliable men. In Hungary this wouldn't work. In Hungary you would get the unfavorable, destructive side of the spirit of enterprise. The change to this free system should be gradual.
- (6) Yes.
- (b) Yes, naturally. Those factories employing from 100 to 500 people. ^(a) It is good if there are safeguards.
- (e) No. Monopolies don't allow the choice; they are a form of dictatorship. The essence of nationalized industry should be ~~xxx~~ that the state is the owner and the managership and leadership of industries is in the hands of experts and

the workers' councils. Workers' councils should handle
norm and wage problems not ^{the} business aspects.

(6) They are disgusting.

(7) This is a difficult problem. In Hungary light industry
should be developed by giving private initiative an
opportunity. I don't think it should be nationalized.

(8) It is absolutely necessary to have plans but not to the
degree to which Hungary has them. A plan is to be a
budgetary plan and not an all-inclusive production plan.
In Hungary, for instance, there will be a problem of
placing the labor surplus which will be liberated from
heavy industries. There are three ways of placing this
labor surplus: 1) Emigration, 2) Road building, 3) The
building of homes. The last two are very beautiful
programs but they would not provide sufficient employ-
ment for all the surplus laborers. They would only
place about one to two percent of these workers. Thus
planning will be needed to provide jobs for these workers.

(9) Yes. The state should not interfere in intellectual or
religious life. The church and state should be separate.
In this future regime the Communist party can exist, too.
I don't believe that five people will vote for it. The
country should be broken down into autonomies which
should decide their own problems. ~~xxx~~ The future elections
should not be according to party lists. People should

vote for individuals and not party lists.

- (10) Yes, of course. The same way as in the West. The citizen should have to pay taxes. The army, however, should be voluntary because in the future state there should be no need for a draft. I see no sense in it. The new state will be founded on international guarantees of neutrality, and therefore its safety will not depend on an army.
- (e) The government should insure personal freedoms and also provide social insurance: The right to work, old age insurance etc.
- (11) Medical care had improved to the extent that health insurance was widely extended, generally to almost everyone. In such a general extension it is only natural that standards became lower through levelling. Physicians made an attempt and did their best but hospital space was reduced due to the influx of new patients and the regime did not build new hospitals.
- (12) Yes, more. The Communists have built a tremendous ^{cultural} ~~material~~ apparatus which doesn't function because: 1.) the people involved are not experts, 2.) the party can change programs at its will and as a result people don't bother and are not interested. Movies are easily available, concerts are more difficult ^{to get to}. Budapest and some of the towns have a concert public but in small towns, because

there is less interest, there is almost no opportunity to attend concerts. If, however, there are some special concerts from Budapest there is interest but these are very expensive. The theater is also expensive. In Budapest there was a system of subscriptions which were available through trade unions but in the provinces the theater was expensive and had no such system. Actually in the provinces cultural life began in 1953 ^{with} by chamber music concerts and so on. Till 1953 there was the greatest possible stagnation. I don't know the reason for this, perhaps it had something to do with the state budget, or perhaps it was considered a luxury by the party before this period.

(b)(e) People do use these opportunities if they feel that they are not propaganda. If a man has a family ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{can} and has to work harder, he ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{can} go somewhere about once a month. People did take advantage of these opportunities but the plays had to be classical Hungarian or foreign plays or else modern plays by Western authors, otherwise they were not interested.

(13) No, worse.

(e) Worse today than in 1946/47. 1946 marked arising tendency.

(v) In 1950 began the fasting period. 1950-1953 was the worst time. One week before the Imre Nagy speech peasants didn't go to the harvest because they didn't see any sense in it. Harvest workers drank only sugarless tea.

for breakfast. That's why the Imre Nagy speech seemed suspicious. It was so well-timed.

- (14) There appears to be a rising trend as compared to the pre-war period. Silk stockings and light dresses are more general. Even in the countryside people dress in a more cityfied fashion. But quality is poor. Practical, lasting materials, a good flannel for instance, do not exist. The task is simply to fulfil the selling plan. Life was colorless. The clothing standard was poor and colorless. Mass production makes things look drab. For instance, 20,000 so-called lodan-coats or else red ^{ccolie} ~~xxx~~-coats were thrown on the market and everyone had to wear them because it was too expensive to buy anything else. The not-standard things are too expensive and the standard styles are of a poor quality. One ^{pull} needed ~~xxx~~ to get better clothes; for example, from the export surplus. Artisan labor was better than in the West but too expensive.

- (a) As compared to 1946 mass produced clothing is more easily available but it is not better in quality on the contrary.
- (b) Before the revolution small artisans such as tailors and shoemakers were allowed to operate again. This improved the situation somewhat but the general standards remained the same.

(15) It did, of course.

(b) It was detrimental considering the situation of the country. In Hungary heavy industry is without basis and background. The quantitative increase was greater than the qualitative. Since there was no new machinery to replace the obsolete equipment they have to exploit the manpower to keep up with Western production rises.

(16) Workers' councils should have a part in deciding wages, hours, and working conditions.

(a) Expert managers and workers' councils.

(17) They are all right if they are really voluntary.

(c) If they are voluntary they should continue but ~~their~~ ^{their} continuation ~~will~~ ^{will} involve property rights because most of the collective farms were not formed on the land of the members. This will be a very complex ~~problem~~ ^{problem}. A ~~modus vivendi~~ ^{modus vivendi} will be very difficult ^{to find}. The same is true of the compensation of estate or factory owners. We must ~~restore~~ ^{restore} ~~normal~~ ^{normal} moral standards whether we take from ~~the~~ ^{the} Esterházy or Manfred Weiss. People said that this was all right since they didn't take my small shop or farm. This started a process of disintegration. We must establish moral standards ~~as~~ ^{as} the basis of living together in a civilized fashion.

(f) The state is entitled to do this. After 1945 it was 500 holds. This appears to be realistic.

(h) Naturally he has the first right against the collective

farms.

- (1) Big estates must end, of course. ^{I do not know whether} / middle-sized land holdings should ~~be established~~ be established. This will depend on the mood of the country, on elections, and on parliamentary laws, not on decrees. It should also depend on plans ^{and} ~~the~~ decision of experts.

Interviewer's Note: Respondent was vague about this.

- (1) The state must help agriculture because it won't be able to stand on its own feet otherwise. The state should help with loans like the Germans and the Austrians do it. The state will need people who understand a new system of credit policy.

- (m) I suppose that the private sector will own tractors and will rent them out to farmers. One can also suppose a cooperative which also rents out tractors. The question is whether both can exist. The future will show if this is possible. The present ~~tractor~~ tractor stations will be easy to transfer to a private cooperative. The framework exists but the machinery is obsolete and the country has no experts. We must train these experts from the people who will be transferred from ~~the~~ heavy industry.

- (18) I believe in the separation of church and state. All churches should be equal vis-a-vis the state. No single church should have so-called historic rights or privileges as the Roman Catholic church used to have in Hungary. Of course, if Parliament decides that this should be so I will accept it but personally I don't

approve.

- (c) Yes, depending on Parliament.
- (f) I would send my children to denominational school because the standards are higher. This is understandable because a teacher has less problems and more time to spend on the student.
- (d) Whether the Roman Catholic Church should get back all its property or whether it can undertake all its responsibilities from church taxes alone will depend on the situation in the future. However, I think the church should not get its land back. As for schools they should be supported from church taxes and state help. It is not necessary to return all the schools to the church. I think in Hungary there will be a great demand for more and more denominational schools. In 1948 the workers of Csepel established a school and invited the Benedictines to teach there. But I would be very careful about returning all schools to the church or having only church schools because of the resulting lower standards of instruction which would result in such a case. The church would not be able to handle such a ^{sudden} great influx of students ~~xxxxxx~~
~~xxxx~~
- (19) The fact of party membership is not a sin in itself although to be a party member meant a great many advantages and privileges and those who used these advantages against the people should have to defend themselves before a screening committee. This committee should be as

just as possible without personal interest or motive of revenge. During the revolution the fact that someone was a party member didn't necessarily mean anything. Those who were dictatorial were thrown out of the factory. In the Mofém factory the manager was an old party member and a very interesting man. Some respected him but disliked him. He visited Budapest during the revolt and on his return he recounted his experiences with the workers there. He was weeping. The workers kept him as head of the factory although he was a party member and a Jew. He was very much touched by the events in Budapest, because he was a convinced Communist. He said that the people's voice was the voice of God and the revolution therefore was justified.

- (b) The answer is obvious. They should be tried in a court of law and allowed defense by lawyers and other legal safeguards.
- (f) Same as (19b).
- (g) The same as (19b). In general there will be a need for international police to supervise these trials.
- (h) They should be allowed to participate in the future Communist Party if they want to. Imre Nagy as well as others were Communists but in the given moment they behaved more decently than the Horthy General Staff did in 1944.
- (20) Hajjaj! Nándorfehérvár because finally we were victorious here. Unfortunately I know of nothing, of no case where

we offered Europe something original without having been previously influenced by Europe. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ We are truly the shield of Christianity against the Turks and other invaders. We are not alone in this, however, but share the honor with the Rumanians, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Austrians. One could say that Europe never demanded of us to stop the Turks at Buda. What did we give to Europe culturally? Small nuances determine this. In my profession, for instance, there is an argument as to whether Turkish artistic influence reached Europe through Venice or through Hungary. These are ^{subtle} ~~delicate~~ questions and we Hungarians are bound to overestimate the importance of our history in the general history of Europe. This is a regrettable fact. I have often argued with friends and acquaintances about this. Naturally our history has had tremendous ~~gras~~ ^{grasp}. The Hungarian Middle Ages is Western in standards because of its political conception and its economic life. That doesn't mean that we gave it to Europe or that we initiated Europe. But the importance of it is that we could accept European standards and it meant that we were able to join in the universality of European culture and history without giving up our personality. We were able to find ourselves a place in Western culture at this period. In the Middle Ages the strong peoples of Europe affected Hungarian culture in this order: France, Italy, and Germany. At the end of the nineteenth century the most important cultural effect on Europe was French although politically it was Germany that affected us most.

(21)

Yes. The most characteristic of the Hungarian national character ~~is~~ is the lack of speculative or contemplative elements. This is a negative factor. This means a realistic, sensible attitude in such fields as literature and art. At the same time Hungarians are politically ^{not} ~~hard~~ ^{hot} ~~headed~~ ^{crators}. They are influenced by "fiery ~~extremists~~" etc. See Lajos Prohászka's "A Vándor és Bujdosó", "The ^{and} Wanderer ~~in~~ the Exile". He says that the exile, the wandering exile is typical of the Hungarian character. This is unfortunately true of our life, too. This is true not only of those who are abroad but those who live at home under the regime.

(b)

~~The~~ Hungarians have a different sense of humor from the Russians. The Hungarian sense of humor is almost detrimental down to earth as compared to the Russians'. Hungarians are definitely on a higher intellectual level. At least this was the general opinion at home. It is not very noble to look down on another nation but it is done at home. This is probably due partly to their behaviour in 1945 and after. This attitude did not exist before 1945. Until then Hungarians had no personal contact with Russians and even intellectuals had only the literally contact. On the basis of this they tried to imagine what the Russians were like. They thought that the characters of Chekhov, Turgenev, and Tolstoy resembled the Russians of our own era. Some of the Russians I met had a devil-may-care attitude about life. They just didn't take things seriously though they did their job as soldiers.

These were all soldiers I met in 1945. They had a completely casual, unheeding attitude. I think the person I am thinking of was a typical Russian figure. This don't-care-a-hang attitude spread to Hungary, too, in the last ten years though it seems special ~~xxxxx~~ then.

(e) The old middle class which consisted of estate owners and civil servants was a supposedly cultivated group but it lacked initiative. This was due to its lack of opportunities. Its existence was limited economically. It depended either on the state or on its land. This class suffered much, especially the small civil servants who were part of it. Schooling for the children and creating and assuring a suitable environment for the family was very expensive and their income was very low. This probably explains why they were more cowardly.

The workers. I didn't know the workers before and I was pleasantly disappointed in them. In the past I knew the workers only from the newspapers, from Népszava and expected every member to act like a personification of the working class. When I saw these workers as individuals I realised that although they were somewhat limited in their point of view they were not exclusively materialistic in their outlook. They were not merely interested in wages nor was the stereotype working class fist-raising typical of it. The workers did not ~~xxxxx~~ want to be proletarians but wanted to become members of the middle class.

Peasants. In this connection I want to tell a personal

experience of mine. In 1943 I went to the Bácska to a ^{threshing} 3,000 hold aristocratic estate as a supervisor of ~~season~~. This was the first time I was in such a place. There I was asked by the workers who my father was. I told them he was in the Ministry of Agriculture. It was very typical that these small peasants, these day laborers, looked at me as if I were not a supervisor but a fairy - tale prince who was sent down ~~from~~ ^{by} the government. They had a religious faith in the government and believed that it meant well and ~~it~~ tried to do its best to help them but that it didn't know what was going on. It was terrible that the government did not fulfil this faith. Then around 1943 I read "The People of the Pussta", "A Puszták Népe" by Illyés which was first published in the thirties. It was an irresponsibility and unforgivable that ~~this~~ ^{at a time} when this book ~~appeared~~ revealed the troubles of the peasants, ~~and~~ ^{that} nothing was done about it by the government.

- (22) I can't answer it this way. You can't put it this way. Hungary had no good government in the 20th century. Some people in the existing governments were ^{better, or} ~~more interesting~~ interesting personalities. Other factors were important, too. István Bethlen was an interesting personality although his name is connected with corruption. His attempts at liberalism are to be commended. The only true Hungarian statesman between the two wars was Paul Teleki. His suicide was a symbol, ^{that} /There is no way out, the spirit must die. He became a symbol in Hungary:

He showed the only road Hungary could take. Before the war there was a possibility for a more constructive development for Hungary, without Germany. I do not mean the so-called populist way which was very strong among young intellectual circles, among university students. (The village explorer groups). The ruling caste should have changed. Paul Teleki would have started a more healthy development if he had been given a freer hand. He started the ^{system of} people's ~~secondary~~ ^{colleges} ~~secondary~~ (Népfőiskola). This was a good step and should have been carried out on a non-denominational basis. By 1944 there was a great deal of ferment in Hungary. Something should have been done about it. The Hungarian caste spirit should have been ~~discontinued~~ discontinued.

- (e) The Károlyi revolution was a typical Hungarian thing though, of course, it was not really completely Hungarian because it was carried out by a Budapest bourgeois party. But the fact ^{was} that Hungary waited so long with the burning problems facing her that they were so numerous by the time the revolution came about that they couldn't be solved anymore. The revolution came at an unfortunate moment when Károlyi had come to seem the only answer to Hungary's problems. It was a typical and terrible counter-selection (kontraszelekcio). Károlyi was surrounded by an a-political group. I have a very low opinion ~~about~~ of Károlyi. I think he did what he did out of hurt vanity. (On what do you base your opinion? On Szekfu's "Three Generations", on Kosna's "The First Few Years of the

Counter Revolution". This is quite a level headed book and Fratz's "The Age of Revolution".

- (f) Social and economic differences were considerable. Hungary was a fantastic social offspring. Only in Hungary could such things go on. A German friend told me that he visited Hungary in 1956 and ^{felt} ~~found~~ as though he had entered the Middle Ages.
- (i) The period of 1945 to 1948 was one of hope and expectancy. We hoped that Hungary would be given the opportunity to take a more favorable role on the stage, and to remove everything that pulled her backwards. There was a definite economic upsurge. I know from a friend who was a physician and visited the workers' quarters how great an improvement there was economically in clothing and furniture.
- (h) Now we know that Hungary couldn't do anything. The Anglo-Saxons didn't choose to sit down at the same table with us. Hungary wanted to do so and as a result there ^{was} ~~was~~ no choice left. We had to continue but not out of our free will. In 1944 German troops were needed to keep ~~the~~ Hungary in the war. Hungary did what she could. Of course, she should have changed her foreign policy before the war but once we got into the war it was too late.
- (23) I don't know. I have my own personal opinion but I have had many arguments with my friends about this. What degree of revision? I know that Hungarians ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ Slovakia don't live a completely human existence. The Rumanian

Hungarians would prefer to live in Hungary, too.

Hungarians in Rumania, that is Transylvania became Communists in order to save themselves and thus they are hated because they served the Rumanian regime. Irredentism between the two wars was stupid and insane. The fact that Hungary had lost a good part of her territory was used as a scapegoat for all the social and political mistakes and troubles of the regime. Meanwhile it was forgotten that those Hungarians who returned to Hungary as a result of border revision at the end of the thirties returned from a more democratic state. I am not a revisionist because in a united Europe revisionism means nothing. I do think that Hungarians should have a right to be educated in their native language, however. It is not correct to disturb the boundaries. It is not the most important problem. First we should put ourselves in order. We should try to get allies and not enemies among our neighbours in so far as ~~the~~ a Rumanian or a Czech can be an ally. I never saw such a tremendous nationalism as among the Czechs and Rumanians. It's fantastic! I always thought ours was bad!

(d) No. Unfortunately the Czechs have no sense of humor. People who lived in the monarchy say so. They are also proud according to the Slovaks in Bratislava.

(24) The solution would ^{be} a United States of Europe. What I have to say about this sounds a little like Wilson's twelve points; it is a pretty plan. When one gets down ^{tacks} to brass ~~tags~~ national psychology interferes. A rational

solution is difficult within this smaller region. The ideal solution would be a Danubian federation belonging to a European federation.

- (25) If the Russians are disliked it is their own fault. I have heard of people who had met Russians who disliked the Communist regime. They do have a technical expertise though their experts are not as good as ours in the new Hungary, or in the old, or in the West. Their experts have blinkers on according to general opinion; they are not objective.
- (26) Marxism is an outdated and obsolete theory. Its criticism of capitalism was all right especially for the 19th century. But its concept of the class struggle is obsolete today and people talk of it only out of habit.
- (a) Marxist criticism of capitalism was an important development in ^{sociology} ~~marxism~~. It was necessary to point out these problems. I don't approve of American capitalism although I think it works because of the goodness and talent of the Americans. Capitalism and free enterprise ^{causes} ~~causes~~ a structural dislocation in people. They ^{tend} ~~tempt~~ to run after money and time as a result and this is wrong.
- (b) They are not good Marxists, they ^{are} ~~are~~ Leninist-Stalinists.
- (f) The Social-Democrats are Marxists.
- (c)(e) No. They developed Marxism further according to their own ideas. If their ideas were based on Marxism, Communism would look different today. It would not necessarily be

better but it would be more sincere. They would have realised the mistakes of their own capitalism.

- (g) One could be both at the same time if a Marxist party were successful at a free election, though there would be a danger of dictatorship if this were elected as the sole ruling party. But there is no basic contradiction between Marxism and democracy.
- (h) Not to differentiate between people on the basis of racial or national origin or ~~or~~ religion.
- (i) I don't remember such a time. Never.
- (j) Tito is not only a Marxist, he talks of Lenin, too. This is the danger of Marxism in terms of ^{domestic} ~~international~~ politics: Although the Yugoslavs have more freedom than the other people's democracies they do not have a multi-party system and therefore this is not an ideal situation.
- General comments on Marxism and Leninism-Stalinism:
 Leninism-Stalinism is not Marxism. It means a further development of Marxism by Lenin and Stalin based on a definite historic situation in order to support Russia's ^{for} ~~strivings at~~ world power. Marxism equals dialectical materialism. It is a nonistic philosophical system. Its basis is accumulation of capital etc. It is an economic criticism of capitalistic society. It bored me. The Marxist theories about socialization ^{to prevent} ~~xxxxxx~~ capitalistic exploitation are all bluff although they are an interesting intellectual discovery. The worker doesn't get the total value of his labor in a socialist society either. In today's Hungary it is the state and not the capitalist

which exploits the worker. The classical economic laws of Adam Smith and others are applicable to the socialist state as well. Stalin himself admitted this in his article. I realised this, too, sooner. Socialism didn't solve the problem of prices and wages. I think the British are the most advanced with regard to this. The trade unions work according to gradations. I heard when I was still back in Hungary that the British trade unions receive ~~the right~~ ^{a rise} in wages according to the ^{rise} ~~right~~ in the cost of living index.

From

(~~through~~ what sources did you find out about Marxism?

I knew of Marxism from the Marxist Small Library (Marxista Kisönyvtár). I also had to go to seminars, I read brochures, I argued. Most of the stuff was very dull.)

(e)

Today there is no such thing as a convinced Communist who is also Hungarian patriot. Today being a Communist means treason to Hungary. Even the Italians and the French will have problems regarding this. Before the revolution it was ^{a possibility} ~~possible~~ that someone was a member of the Communist Party and realised the mistakes of the party, but in his heart he thought himself to be the member of a better, more honest party, of an ideal Communist Party. Today this is impossible.

(Do you think Imre Nagy is a patriot? It is possible that Nagy and Rajk were patriots as well as Communists. The whole idea of changing directions towards Titoism suggests that this was so. It would be good to know the so-called New Hungary Plan of Imre Nagy which he was planning during

the last few years. Lately parts of it appeared in the press; apparently one of the people arrested by the regime had a copy of it. Anyway, even this part of Communism is not popular in Hungary and I doubt ^{that} ~~if~~ the Communists ^{could} ~~would be able~~ to solve the problems facing Hungary.

(28) Nagy wanted a multi-party system. I think ^{it} ~~this thing~~ would have developed into a bourgeois democracy.

(b) At home I felt that in ~~this~~ case of free elections Nagy would have run as a member of the Communist Party and therefore he would have lost the election. I felt that in spite of this Hungary should have honored him as her Head of State as a reward for the tremendous political maneuver of getting Hungary away from the Soviet block, and also for his role in 1953. He is an interesting and good speaker. He speaks Hungarian beautifully with a rich country flavor.

(29)

(a) Good.

(b) Bad.

(c) Bad.

(d) Bad.

(e) Bad.

(f) Bad.

(g) Bad.

(h) Kulak is an unjust expression, it radiates hatred and ~~suggests~~ suggests collective responsibility.

- (i) Bad, because he had no character.
- (j) I don't know him. He was good because he weakened the regime. Trotskyism could be equated with Titoism though Trotsky was no immaculate hero. He proved that the revolution eats its own children.
- (k) Good.
- (l) Bad. A corrupt scoundrel.
- (m) Good. Honest and to be honored. The Social-Democrats looked to her with hope in 1956. She has great moral capacities.
- (30) The Christian-Socialists if such a party existed, but it has no leaders.
- (a) Today Imre Nagy and Mindszenty. In the countryside Mindszenty has great moral prestige. In the future who ever makes the change and gets ^{Hungary away} away ~~away~~ from the Soviet block: the ^X ~~XX~~-factor.
- (31) They all got less than they deserved: ~~(a), (b), (c), (d)~~ ~~from~~ (a), (b), (c), (d).
- (a) Almost as much as they deserved.
- (f) Less.
- (g) More.
- (h) Less.
- (i) Less.
- (32) Better: Smallholders, peasants, professionals, tradesmen, artisans. The situation of government employees on

the lower level is the same.

(33)

- (a) There is no conflict politically since they hate the regime equally but there is an economic conflict because one tries to get a high price for his products, the other tries to get these products cheaply.
- (b) Coincide.
- (c) Coincide.
- (f) Coincide, except if the clergy tries to get a position outside the church; a political or similar position.
- (g) Conflict. In my own profession they couldn't get into ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ an aristocrat's house to examine objects d'art. More generally, there was a conflict regarding land reform.
- (h) Conflict.
- (i) Conflict.
- (j) Without a doubt, of course.

(34)

I felt that America wouldn't do anything to help Hungary and therefore I left the country. America missed a great many opportunities as in Korea. As for the present situation the Americans didn't support the French offer to evacuate Egypt in return for the Russian evacuation of Hungary. American diplomacy could have done something about Hungary. But all the United States did was to stop the shipment of oil to France. I think the Americans don't want to do anything. It is the English who will

bring some life into international politics. I think I know what is wrong with the Americans. I think they mean well but it takes very long for every new situation to be processed ^{by} ~~through~~ the huge machinery and ~~that's the way they work~~

(35) The stratum which belongs to the regime, the party members, soldiers, etc. would fight for the present regime. No other.

(36) No, my opinions are approximately the same. They are crystallized, sharpened, and clarified but not changed.

(1)

(a)

I do not know how this material can be used. I am sceptical about the results.

(c)

Sometimes one makes an honest mistake about how one felt then, even if one tries hard to think back. One got accretions ~~and questions~~ from the West and it often happens that something which had been a faint feeling in the past is now a definite conviction. This is a danger. I don't know whether one can get a good picture of the terror and its gradations from 1948 to 1953. For example, if I say the professionals lived well I do not mean this in a Western sense but in a Hungarian ~~respect~~. Even they lived inhumanly although perhaps relatively well.

(e)

It seems complete and yet I have a feeling that something is lacking, that not the entire system was clarified, but you undoubtedly got near to it although I think it is too late to give one's experiences. One received so many new experiences after one's escape that one forgets the names ^{and the dates} of the past ~~events, etc.~~

In spite of all that one went through the past has a beautifying magic. I am referring to subjective memories, to a good evening, or book, or situation. This made life bearable. And this is still lacking in the West and thus life here seems colder than in Hungary in spite of the dirt and terror there. There is a sudden not a gradual liberation from terror. There is a great difference of pressure to which one has not adjusted yet.

(2)

(a)

I want to return to a guaranteed neutral, democratic Hungary with a multi-party system. It is not as though I didn't know that this a mere delusion. Neutrality etc. do not as yet guarantee a peaceful life in Hungary. This is impossible as long as the Soviet Union exists.

Interviewer's comments on respondent: The respondent is an extremely intelligent and articulate as well as highly intellectual young man. He is introspective and tends to intellectualise and abstract concrete experience. He is sensitive and hence he attempted to retreat from life to avoid a clash ~~xxx~~ with the unpleasant realities of the Communist regime. Hence his view of Hungarian society is ~~xxxxxxxx~~ somewhat myopic ~~xxxxxxxx~~. But he is an interesting example of how an individual could protect himself against the encroachments of a totalitarian society by retreating into an inner world and to a small circle of like-minded friends of his own social class. He has the cynicism and disillusionment of the extremely idealistic. He was extremely cooperative and kind as well as sincere in his answers. He tended to be somewhat less frank in his answers when the honor of Hungary was at steak, ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ as for instance regarding the questions ~~xx~~ on anti-Semitism. His fantastic ignorance of the political structure of the regime is an interesting phenomenon. It expresses his contempt as well as total passivity

towards the politics of the regime. At the same time he appeared to store up a great number of fantastic political rumors. He is a conscious individualist but also thinks fairly conventionally on many topics. It is difficult to generalize but the respondent may be a good example of the lack of vitality of a segment of the Hungarian middle class ~~together with~~ as well as of its ability to survive both mentally and physically.