

- (1) The main achievement of the Hungarian revolution was that it refuted the false communist propaganda. The communist propaganda wanted to make believe that there was a wonderful life behind the iron curtain. Now everybody had to see that this was a lie.
- (2) There has been a resistance since 1948. It was of course passive resistance. The standard of living has been decreasing all the time. The terror has been increasing. It has been impossible to talk and only the good acquaintances dared to talk to each other. Life was full of insecurity. Then came deportation.
- (2bi) The death of Stalin was a great joy for the Hungarians, however, it was not important in the course of the events.
- (2bii) The first ministry of Imre Nagy. Many people liked him, he had undoubtedly many good intentions. The pact of Warsaw was of great importance. It meant a military pact, however, it contributed to the general discontent, and in such a way it contributed to the events leading to the Hungarian revolution.
- (2bv) Concerning the events in Poznan everybody knew of it in Hungary and the news came from the foreign radio

stations. It was an important stimulus to the general public opinion.

- (2bvi) Everybody felt that we will have some trouble with Rakosi, we will have some trouble sooner or later. He was dismissed by the Russians as a part of a political manoeuvre. It intended to placate the general feelings of the public.
- (2bvii) Rajk was not liked by anybody. He was faithful to the party line, also he tried to make a putsci. Moreover his hands were full of blood.
- (2c) No! Slow movement has led to the revolution. The Polish revolution had great effects but there was no particular turning point.
- (2d) If a writer did not lay down before the party line, he was not permitted to write, for example Kodolanyi and Szabo Lőrinc. The two writers were not permitted to write but had to withdraw. Writers could write only what was permitted to write. The role of the writers became important only at the meeting of the Petöfi - kor, before that they did not have any role.
- (2f) I read newspapers very seldom only.
- (3) There was no organized revolution in Hungary. Nobody wanted that fight should be the outcome. The general feeling was people wanted to pressure the government

in order to get certain achievements. On the first day of the revolution a mass without any weapons marched on the Streets of Budapest. Actually the revolutionary event started in Szeged. The university students there wanted to achieve autonomy. They wanted to have free education that is freedom to select their own courses. There the university students were permitted to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ demonstrate by the authorities. Then the students ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ at Pest joined them. Of course many people in the country watched them.

(3b) It was permitted from Moscow.

(3c) All they wanted was to get the 12 points accepted. The communist and other people had talked so much about 1848 that the demonstrators wanted to imitate the heroes of 1848.

(3d) The Street fight was only self defence. In Budapest it started at the radio station. The people wanted to get into the building of the radio station and the people of the AVO opened fire. So the fight started. The Russians did not know whom to shoot. At that time there was no demonstration against the Russians or <sup>circles</sup> against the leading Jewish ~~XXXXXXXX~~. All they wanted was a compromise on the basis of the 12 points.

Everything was beautiful as long as shooting did not start. After that it was rough. There was no outspoken opposition to the revolution. On the other hand there was no too great joy either, nobody could believe that the Russians will march out of Hungary. The main ~~main~~ trouble was that the 14 or 12 points were drawn up too fast. It was unrealistic to demand a ~~new~~ <sup>neutrality</sup> ~~first~~ for Hungary.

(3g) For example me and my friends. We approved ~~of~~ everything but when the Russians appeared and took up positions we saw that nothing can come out of the revolution. At that time I was working in a factory. I saw there the complete disorder. The radio was giving contradictory news and remarks. There was no hope of a good solution.

(3h) In Magyarovaren~~x~~ there were no ~~slogans~~ <sup>slogans</sup>. The red star was taken out of g flags. The red star was taken off the factories. You could hear "down with the communists", however, it was not an outspoken anticommunist movement.

(3i) At the beginning the revolution was not anti-Communist. The Nagy Government was not rightist at all. It was impossible to think of a Government which would oppose the Russians. None of the politicians accepted any role, for example Kovacs Bela did not accept any role, he did not even leave Pecs. Tildy and Szakasits were taken

out of the mothball . But ~~this ones~~ <sup>these people</sup> were regarded as unfaithful, unreliable by the masses.

- (31) It depends on whom you call reactionaries, for example the university students were regarded as good reliable ~~cadres~~ <sup>kaders</sup> ~~cadres~~ inspite of that they participated in the events. In the factories everybody was willing to take a part in the revolution. In the whole country there were no more than 20 to 30 thousand people who stayed faithful to the party.
- (3m) Free elections. Of course Nagy Imre would have gotten the majority. It is the question who would have succeeded him. There was no person. It is a great question whether the Russians would have left Hungary.
- (4) In October I spent a few days of my vacation in Budapest. There nothing could be seen from the coming events except I knew that the university students will stage a demonstration. I left Budapest on October 20 and returned to my job in a factory in Ovar. There we learnt through the ways of radios what happened in Budapest. Later on, cars arrived from different cities and people arrived and distributed pamphlets. It was only on the 24th and 25th that we learnt what had happened in Budapest. Later on ~~the~~ <sup>Red</sup> Cross trucks

came from Austria and Vienna. Then work stopped in the shop where I worked. It stopped not because of political demonstration but because of lack of raw material. When I left Hungary on November 7th the shop still did not work. I understand that work was resumed there on the 14th of November.

- (4a) There was actually no fight in Ovar. Everybody took on the national armband and was walking on the streets. You could see there many former communists and AVO people. For example, the director of the studies at the agricultural academy who was a great communist was walking around with the national armband. I said to my friends that the situation looked pretty doubtful and the best thing was not to interfere. Then came the great demonstration in Ovar. It was announced in the factories that there will be a demonstration to document our sympathy with the workers in Budapest. So the people met and there was a long march going from Moson to Ovar. The main aim of the demonstration was to take off the red star from the barracks of the Honved. The demonstration had to pass by the barracks of the AVO. By the time the demonstration reached them, the AVO had been already notified by somebody that the mass was marching on. I was not there, however, ~~but~~ I heard <sup>too</sup> about the events. Actually not ~~tax~~ many people were~~xxx~~

present, altogether 400 people mainly the students from the agricultural academy and workers particularly from the Kuehne (factory). When the demonstrating mass reached the barracks of the AVO they found there a ditch in which 2 machine guns were hidden. The machine guns could not be seen by the demonstrators. At one end of the ditch stood one AVO <sup>officer</sup> ~~man~~ and at the corner of the barracks stood another one. One of the AVO officers had a revolver in his arm, the other one had a hand grenade. In the window of the barracks as well as in the ditch quite a number of AVO people were hidden. As the mass was marching on the road the first AVO officer ~~stopped them~~ <sup>wanted to stop them by</sup> stretching out his arms and asking "what do you want children?" When the mass did not stop he ordered his people to open fire. I was at that time in the city, however, we could hear the <sup>men</sup> ~~men~~ roaring and pretty soon the news came that <sup>men</sup> ~~men~~ were shot and blood is running at the barracks. The mass of course run away. Later on the same day armed <sup>revolutionaries</sup> ~~revolutionaries~~ came from Gyoer and they wanted to arrest the AVO people. They arrested the 2 officers. One of them was immediately beaten up. In Ovar there were no weapons, actually there were no weapons during the whole beginning of the revolution, for example in Ovar people were recruited for the revolutionary army and they were told that they will

get arms  
Yat Budapest, however, nobody ever got arms. There were no arms and I think that the secret service of the AVO was working during the whole time of the Revolution. Returning to the great demonstration the deads were collected and 2 days later a great ~~burial~~ <sup>burial</sup> was arranged for them. Newspapermen came down from Austria for the ~~burial~~ <sup>burial</sup>. In local relation the AVO people disappeared. Major Dudas the local leader of the AVO disappeared from the city. The crew disappeared too after the great demonstration. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ They escaped from the city. The 2 officers who were so much responsible during the demonstration were arrested. One of them were beaten up ~~right~~ <sup>right</sup> away but the other one was not beaten at the time of the arrest. The mass was, of course, excited after all the AVO people had murdered innocent citizens, young girls and so on. The mass wanted to take a revenge on the 2 AVO officers. So one of them that one which had been beaten up was in the hospital. The mass marched before the hospital and wanted to get the AVO officer. However, the doctor first objected to it. Finally seeing the anger of the mass ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ consented and the AVO officer was brought out on a stretcher. He was just smoking a cigar and when seeing the angry crowd he said: "I am equal to a thousand Hungarians of this kind". He was immediately grabbed from the stretcher. He was



hanged by his feet on a tree and he was beaten to death. The other AVO officer involved in the demonstration was during the same time in arrest at the city hall on the second floor. At that time the revolutionary committee, the revolutionary council was holding its meeting at the city hall. The AVO officer wanted to escape and jumped from the window from the second floor. Nothing happened to him, he reached the floor without any harm, however, he was noticed by the passers-by, quite a crowd at that time, and he was captured. 2 to 3 hundred people gathered around him and they kicked him to death. That was the end of the violence in Ovar. When the great <sup>burial</sup> ~~burial~~ came up for the victims of the demonstration nobody wanted any more any blood. The loudspeakers told us what had happened in Budapest. People were at that time in a mood of waiting. The news that reached us were contradictory, for example one of the news said that Russian panzers arrived, the other news denied it. The AVO people disappeared from the city after the demonstration. Their barracks were taken over by the students of the agricultural academy. They found there a lot of ammunition, food and different maps and schemes. Nobody knew exactly what kind of schemes but most people believed that they were schemes and maps concerning the defence of the city.

The students took over the ~~central~~ <sup>central</sup> building of the local communist party. They confiscated everything they could find there, however, the students did not want to run the city or interfere with politics. This situation lasted for about three or four days only. Then on November 3rd or 4th, it was just an evening the Russians appeared in the city. First the Russians took up position at the international border, later they appeared even in the city. The university students wanted to shoot them. By that time they had two machine guns and some other ammunition and arms, however, the director of the institution ~~persuaded~~ persuaded them not to shoot. The Hungarian Army was passive all the time. The officers of the army joined the revolution and took up the national armbands. Some of them went out the main highway of the country, kept a watch on the main highway and checked the papers of everybody who passed by. The main intention of this ~~check~~ check was to prevent ~~the~~ ~~escape~~ the escape of communist and AVO people from the country. Otherwise the army stayed in the barracks. Everybody stayed there, both crew and officers. <sup>They</sup> ~~The~~ did not give ~~any~~ any weapons or ammunition to the revolutionary people. After the Russians arrived they took up positions in the city. They did not know

what to do. They had no supplies, they had no food supply. They ate for example, beans, <sup>ordinarily</sup> ~~ordinary~~ used for ~~the~~ <sup>the cattle</sup> feeding ~~of~~, collected from the farms. For example, one man gave them tea and sausages, however, they did not ~~accept~~ it and did not ~~eat~~ it since they were afraid of being poisoned. The same time the streets were full of people since people ~~did not~~ went out to do shopping. Altogether there were 70 to 80 Russian panzers in and around Moson-Magyaróvár. In the city itself there were no more than three panzers, however, the Russian soldiers did not behave in ~~an~~ amicable way. For example, the children fraternized with them, however the men, the grown-up men did not dare to go near to them. The Russians did not behave in a provoking way. They did not shoot. I understand that in Győr one of the Russians was <sup>spitten at</sup> ~~xxxxxxx~~, however, the Russians took it. At that time the general feeling was pretty much against the Russians and people shouted on the street: "Ruski go home"! It might be that in some other parts of the country the revolution looked otherwise.

- (5b) There was no outspoken strike. Of course, nobody worked <sup>there</sup> but ~~there~~ was no agitation no propaganda about the strikes. <sup>News came</sup> ~~There was~~ from Budapest that there <sup>will be</sup> ~~was~~ a work stoppage as long as the situation is not cleared up. Actually the revolutionaries wanted to exert a pres-

sure upon the Russians in such a way. For example in our shop one night we were told that next morning we start ~~work~~ working, however, later on another news came that we will not work.

- (5c) The students of the academy did not leave the buildings and premises of the academy. It was something like a fortress. They were taking up positions there inside of the academy and did not need any help.
- (5d) The Red and Communist emblems were removed by the students of the academy and the workers. I personally had no part in it.
- (5e) The leaflets were sent out from Gyöer and from Pest. They were distributed <sup>by</sup> local people but I did not have any part in it.
- (7) Among the various revolutionary groups the council of Gyöer was the most authoritative. Its leader was Szilgyethy Attila, however, his name was not known outside his own city. For example, in our city nobody knew his name.
- (7a) No information.
- (7b) Students and workers worked together since all of them were sons of the peasants.
- (7c) No contact. For example, our plant leader became a member of the local workers' council. I know that he was a

- talented person, but I have not known him personally.
- (7d) Trade school and high school teachers marched with the students in the great demonstration, however, in the communist system the workers had more liberty than members of the ~~INTELLIGENTSIA~~ intelligentsia. The workers spoke rather freely, members of the intelligentsia had to keep silent.
- (8a) The Russians behaved in a passive way. They did not provoke any shooting. They stopped at the campus of the agricultural academy, they did not enter the campus and did not make any troubles. They were waiting for the further outcome. The Russian soldiers slept round the tanks in the open air. They did not walk in the city unnecessary. They did not try to make people nervous.
- (8e) It did not happen in Ovar.
- (8f) Before the revolution the Russians had an influence over every field of life, particularly over the authorities. During the revolution, except for a few days, their influence remained the same. In local connections there has not been any outspoken Russian influence, except for the few days during the occupation, when the Russians went into the city hall and began to direct the

affairs. But before that in the factories of Ovar no Russian influence could be noted.

- (9a) The newspapers ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ worked rather poorly during the time of the revolution. Out of town newspapers did not arrive because of the work stoppage of the railways. We received many news through radios, particularly from Győr, from Radio <sup>Free Europe</sup> and from the Voice of America. We tried to listen to the different radio stations, compare their news and establish in such a way what the actual situation was.
- (9b) By word-of-mouth I learnt the local news. For example, who took a position at the city council. I heard such news mainly from neighbours, good acquaintances and so on. There was a very lively traffic on the streets. Whenever acquaintances met there, they tried to exchange their experiences and news. There was some news in every hour.
- (9c) Contradictory news came from the radio. I think that they tried to create an artificial trouble in such a way. Győr, Pest, Szombathely gave during the revolution independent radio programs, however, reception was very poor. Voice of America could be received pretty well every night. It spoke about foreign news and about the events in Budapest. However, the foreign radio stations did not say more than the stations in Hungary. The general situation was

that for example in Szombathely nobody knew what happened in Kaposkemet. Generally speaking I would say that the people were rather poorly informed. They had many guesses but very few reliable news.

- (10) State administration practically stopped. The Communist Party was dissolved. The students of the academy occupied the premises of the party. They even got hold of a list of the Party ~~sub~~-spies, however, then some strange things happened. This list has never been published. At the end of the revolution it went back to the Communist. I cannot understand ~~this~~ this thing. In my mind the most important thing would have been to publish this list. On November 1st all the Party secretaries were dismissed, for example in our factory. He was told that there is no more need of a party and that he will go out into the shop and work there as any regular guy. Our Party secretary was a very stupid fellow, but without any malice. He had no personal enemies. Nobody wanted to beat him up or anything like that.
- (10a) After the great demonstration the AVO disappeared. I mean the green AVO which was responsible for the bloodbath after the demonstration. Their members disappeared from the city, however, the blue AVO stayed in the city all

the time. Its members appeared sometimes in their uniform other times in plain ~~skinning~~ clothes and other time in regular police uniform.

- (10b) The Communist Party simply dissolved. Its home was taken over by the students. The students found there weapons and hand grenades. The employees of the Party did not oppose when the students took the house over. The police did not interfere either.
- (10c) The policemen were walking on the street all the time but without any weapons. For example when the AVO officer was brought out of the hospital and beaten to death the policemen looked by and did not interfere.
- (10e) The courts did not function. The demonstrating mass released many prisoners, particularly the Kulaks.
- (10f) In Ovar we had only infantry about 250 people. The army did not interfere with the local events. I think, that if the Russians would have started shooting the army would not have interfered.
- (10g) The public offices did not work. The public administration was practically hamstrung.
- (10h) A local council was formed as explained above. It consisted of many people of good will, however, because of the general insecurity it could not do anything.



(10j) No information.

(10k) In every factory a workers' council was established. Every worker was called into the factory and the list of the candidates was handed to them on a typewritten sheet. The voting was secret. Out of a list of several names they had to pick three or four names. For example in our shop the voting was ~~xxx~~ definitely democratic. The result was a rather good ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ workers' council, however, they could not do anything because of the general insecurity. For example, quite a few members of the workers' council did not go into their own shop. Their duty would have been the direction and the management of the factory together with the leader of the factory, however, they did not do anything. The local workers' council in charge of the city was elected out of the workers' councils of the different factories. From our shop one foreman became a member of it. As another member, the director of the Agricultural Academy ~~xxxx~~ my functioned there in the local council who actually became the chairman of it. Then the local council invited several members in an advisory capacity. For example, they had a military advisor and one of the <sup>counsellor</sup> ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ old burgomasters became a ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ too. I don't know how <sup>these</sup> ~~xxxx~~ expert advisors were selected. We can thank to the local council that the Russians behaved in such a way. One member of the local council

had spent four years in Russia, spoke Russian and he persuaded the Russians that they should wait with the students because the situation will clear up. The local council ~~the executive~~ controlled the food supply of the city including the shipments of the Red Cross, moreover the local council informed the local population through loudspeakers. Later on they had to cooperate with the Russians. For example, the Russians put on a curfew. However, this was published by the local council. The members of the local council worked hard, however, they had no results. They were honest people representing both the intellectuals and the workers.

(101) The chairman of the local council was the director of the agricultural academy Varga Ernoe. I understand that now he is awaiting a trial at home. Every member of the local council had a work in the affairs. There was no strong man there and nobody tried to dominate the other ones.

(10m) We wanted a conservative party, something similar to the English Conservative Party. We did not want a kingdom. The Social Democrats had compromised themselves, although the old workers were faithful to the Social Democratic Party I do not think that under ordinary

circumstances the Social Democrats would have gotten a role in the government. The other political parties mushroomed from one day to the other. None of the parties had any real program nor any real leadership. I did not listen very much what the politicians were talking. I don't know of any real leader. In case of a free election a Christian Democratic Party would have been good.

(11a) The revolution was definitely useful.

(11b) The revolution could not have been victorious, However it ~~was~~ annihilated the long propaganda of the Russians.

(11c) In my mind it was impossible to expect any kind of help. For example, no help could have been given through Austria, because of the neutral State of Austria. Yugoslavia was willing to permit UNO police to enter Hungary, however, nothing came out of this project, because of the events at Suez. The higher politics interfered with the Hungarian events. Of course one could have calculated with a revolution in Rumania or Bulgaria or in the German zone. Such a revolution would have been a great help for us, a great relief. International diplomacy was unable to do anything on behalf of the Hungarians.

The Pact of Warsaw gave a legal right to the Russians to interfere whenever they wanted to. I listened to the UN ~~CONFERENCE~~ conference because it was transmitted through Free Europe Radio. There at the UN nobody represented the Hungarian interest. It is very doubtful ~~was~~ whether the United States could have done anything good in due time.

(11d) In the other satellite countries the occupation forces were strengthened in the minute when the revolution broke out in Hungary. In Czechoslovakia the standard of living has been always higher than in Hungary. The Slav countries like the Russians ~~mach~~ <sup>do</sup> better than we ~~did~~. In Poland there was one revolution already, it was due time to expect another one. Altogether I would say that on November 1st the situation was very hopeless.

(11e) Nagy Imre was one of the few good men. He had good education and a good head. He had even good intentions. He was an agriculturist. Since 1953 he was popular all over the country, however, during the revolution he played a strange role. His government was strange, he changed from day to day. One day this fellow was the member of it ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ next day another man.

Nagy did not try to make a sudden change. Without a revolution his government might have started slow peaceful development in Hungary.

- (11f) The students of Szeged were important. Actually ~~these~~ <sup>these</sup> students started the revolution. Out of the intellectuals Hay Gyula was an interesting figure. His public statements were very clever. Similarly the association of the writers was important and a few other writers, such as Szabo Loezinc and Kodolanyi. In another sector Maleter was important in the fights. The Government itself had not a great voice in the revolution. The ~~main~~ main part was played by the masses and by Maleter, since we had fights. People were swept away by the events. I don't know what to say about the role of Mindszenti. Everybody was glad when he was set free. He was a very able person to influence the events, however, he had no role whatsoever inspite of the sympathy his personality aroused in the country. In Ovar the workers and the students were the most important, the intellectuals had only a second role. In Pest the situation was different. There the intellectuals had a more important role. Even peasants participated in the revolution. Some of them were wounded in the demonstration at Ovar. There were many peasants working in the factories and they had the

<sup>same</sup> interests as the workers.

- (11h) It was interesting but not surprising that the students became revolutionaries. The kader policy of the party failed. The students were of working class origin and they lived in the same poverty as other people. None of the students became a good communist. Everybody knew that the students are discontented, however, their behaviour was surprising.
- (12) It was very bad in 49 when I was thinking to leave Hungary, however, I hesitated because of my mother. One day I went out to the border with a friend of mine. He crossed the border to Austria, however, I ~~went~~ ~~back~~ returned home. A few days later mines were laid along the border. It became <sup>too</sup> ~~the~~ dangerous to escape. Many people were captured by the AVN and suffered very much. Then in November 56 the whole situation came up again. Together with a friend of mine we crossed the border on November 7th a few days after the Russians arrived.
- (12a) The final decision was made because of the occupation of the Russians.
- (12b) I discussed the plan of escape with a friend of mine

and with quite a few other friends. Actually the whole city became empty. I would say that about 60% of my friends left the country. The border was open. Our plan was to leave Hungary as long as ~~long~~ the situation get settled, particularly the Russian problem. Then pretty soon we came to the idea that in spite of the amnesty we wiãl not return but stay abroad.

- (1) Up to 1948 I was a student of the agricultural academy at Magyarovar. In 48 our section of the academy was suspended or better to say relocated in Budapest. At the same time the unreliable students were dismissed. From that time on I took up odd jobs up to 1950. For example, I worked on a farm for three months, then for a few months on road construction, then for two months I was flax grader with the Vallalat Novenytermeltet-~~oe~~ <sup>Vallalat</sup> ~~Hasznalat~~ in Győr. To explain this job I have to mention that the Novenytermeltet-~~oe~~ <sup>It</sup> Vallalat made contracts with farmers to raise flax. It was a good job paying good money, however, it was temporary. Although I was promised that I will be kept in the job, I was dismissed after 2 months. Then I returned to Ovar and worked at construction. For example, an old ammunition factory, built during the first world war, was now renovated and put to <sup>use</sup> as vanadium plant. I became there construction worker. When later the vanadium plant was opened I became there unskilled worker. The main job of the new factory was to mill bauxite. Although they paid 3 florins an hour it was such a dirty job in that dust that after two day I left it voluntarily. Then I took up work at the Mofen factory in Ovar.



which is the former ~~Hubertus~~ Hubertus factory. Now we were producing lighters, pencils, metal buttons and so on. I started to work there in September 1950. First I was a machine operator later I became a so-called dispatcher. The dispatcher was the aid of the foreman. His duty was to prepare the tools, to prepare the different reports and so on, particularly about the monthly work and ~~and~~ norm plans. The work of the dispatcher was something like a white collar job and paid pretty well. I got 15 hundred florins in a month. Soon later our factory got a large ammunition order. We had to hire many new people. Pretty soon 2 000 workers were working there. For example, buses brought in every morning the peasants from the surrounding villages. When the big ammunition order was filled most of the workers were released. I was dismissed as a dispatcher and became <sup>an</sup> unskilled worker again in the foundry. There in the foundry most of the workers <sup>worked</sup> ~~WERE~~ without any ~~sense~~ <sup>sense</sup>. They overfulfilled the norms in order to make more money, however, then the norms were raised and they made less money. So they started to work very fast again to overfulfill the norms and the norms were raised again. It was a crazy job and a crazy work so finally I left them after two years with the Mofem factory. Then for three weeks I was

without a job. Finally I could find some ~~connections~~ <sup>connections</sup> to the Gepjavito Vallalat and got ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> job there at the end of 1952. From this time on up to the revolution I was working there. The Gepjavito Vallalat was a small shop. It was only a branch plant of a larger plant in Gyoer. It tried to manufacture certain agricultural equipment, but its main job was repair. It was a small outfit ~~unit~~ having only 200 workers. The situation there was favorable. The people stuck together and nobody ~~was~~ wanted to overfulfill the norms. The leader of the plant was a reasonable man and tried to treat the workers properly. He was a very clever businessman and his shop made a very great profit, consequently he had a great freedom and he gave quite a few benefits to the workers. There ~~was~~ <sup>I</sup> made 13 to 14 hundred florins a month, but what was more important the situation there was quite good and the workers had a certain freedom. For example, anybody who worked in the afternoon shift could arrange for his hours. He could stay there for 1 or more hours as an overtime. Actually nobody worked during that overtime, but it was a good arrangement to keep one's norms within due limits.

(2) It was rather easy to find a job as ~~a~~ <sup>an</sup> unskilled laborer,

however, there were no safe jobs. There were no unnecessary people, except <sup>engineers</sup> and doctors. The situation of the little fellow was always uncertain. It was an awful situation. Moreover there was no fixed wage or salary. Everything depended on the norms. I was not promoted. Most people were not interested in being promoted. They were only interested in making more money. However, that was impossible because of the norms. If somebody overfulfilled the norms, they were slashed and it was impossible to make money <sup>above</sup> ~~about~~ a certain sum.

- (3) I want to talk about my last and longest job at the Gepjavito. It was a good place to work since nobody was bothered very much. Particularly we were not bothered by political life. There were hardly any meetings we had to attend. There was no political pressure to participate in the work of the Party or to do propaganda in the villages. The working hours were flexible. The wages ~~were~~ <sup>could</sup> were good since one ~~can~~ make all the money that was possible in the system.
- (3b) It was a very dirty job since we had to work with iron.
- (3d) From a technical point of view the work was rather poor. We produced many waste material. Any waste production

was deducted from our wages. Consequently people tried to hide it. In this respect, however, the manager was of a good will. For example, during the four years I spent there I had only one deduction for waste in the amount of 115 florins. The annoying thing was that I learnt only much later when I received the monthly salary that I had that deduction. Concerning hygienic conditions we had safety equipments ~~xxxxx~~ <sup>around</sup> each machine. We had a ~~xx~~ first aid kit. In some other factories work ~~xxx~~ clothes, boots or half a liter of milk was given to the workers. In the large Mofem factory there was a regular doctor who spent ~~xxxxx~~ two or three hours every day in the shop. There he had even a nurse, however, something like this one was only in the large factories. We had no such thing in the small Gepjavito uzem . In Gepjavito uzem there was no such <sup>thing</sup> . Concerning the equipment all but one of the lathe turrets were new, manufactured in Hungary. The machines were good and we could have done a good work on the basis of the machines. However, we had many difficulties with the tools. The tools were poor and insufficient in number. It happened for example that you had to borrow a drill from another factory. Nobody tried to take care of the equipment. In order to produce according to the norms the lathe turrets ~~wixxx~~ were used

(3f) with a too great speed. They broke down pretty soon .  
We worked 8 hours a day. That was strictly observed.  
As a principle they did not pay any overtime. It happened only exceptionally that we worked on Sundays. For example, for the flood relief. In this case double hours were paid but they were not paid to us but to the flood relief fund. If somebody was working in the afternoon shift he could stay there for a few more hours. In this case he did not get any hourly wages, but only the norms. We worked six days a week, however, in the night shift it was possible to stay there a few hours longer. In this case we could produce the weekly norm in 5 days and take off Saturday too. Something like this was possible only at a small place like the Gepjavito.

(3g) We worked 6 days, 48 hours a week. There ~~were~~ <sup>were</sup> no problems with the working hours, but with the norms. At the Gepjavito there were two people responsible for the norms. They did the time study work and watched the worker and established how much time ~~does~~ <sup>takes</sup> it ~~take~~ to do a certain kind of job. If the worker was clever, when he was watched he could get a favorable ~~firm~~ norm. If the worker was clever he could get up to 14 hundred forints a month which was about the maximum pay for an unskilled worker. If the worker was stupid he overfulfilled the

norms. For one month he made as much as 2000 forints then the norms were raised and he made less. Sometimes the norms were established in Pest and sent down to us. They were not always reasonable. If there was any problem in production, for example a machine ~~or~~ or a tool broke down, we had to call the norm controller and report him that he should take the time off. The norm controller had a very hard position. In our case one of them was pretty soon arrested because he stole from the factory. The other one was an older man a former lathe turret operator. He was living between two fires. The management of the factory and the ~~manager~~ central bureau of norms in Budapest wanted higher production. On the other hand the worker was complaining all the time. Our norm controller was a reasonable fellow. In my case for example, he overlooked that I made my first normwork with a lower speed, however, it was not permitted that anybody should make more than 15 hundred forints in a month. I must add that our shop was the best paying shop in Ovar. I did not envy the position of the norm controller. He had always people coming from Pest to control him. Nobody liked him. He was very often blamed by the people higher up that production is ~~to~~ too expensive. It happened that the norms were raised in ~~to~~ learned Budapest and we ~~learned~~ about it only weeks later. It

happened pretty often that they promised us more money and then paid us less, Particularly at the end of the time I worked there, there were many troubles of this kind. Since 1951 we got our pay two times in a month. At the end of the month they gave an advance to everybody, between 300 and 450 forints. Then the final account was made up for each worker and he received the rest of his monthly wage about the 10th of the month. That meant an awful great administration<sup>and</sup> red tape. It was necessary to fill in many work sheets, to make them sign by many people, to sign for the receipt of every order, every piece ~~of~~<sup>of</sup> work, every tool or machine.

(3i) The legal holidays were November 7th, April 4th, although the latter was later on celebrated with work, then May 1st and 2nd, the latter was a substitute for the second day of Christmas and finally August 20th, the feast of the bread. In older years the birthday of Stalin was a legal holiday too. For the legal holidays we received the straight hourly wages and nothing more.

(3j) Yes, there was paid vacation. After the first fulfilled year everybody had the right to 12 days and after each two years spent with the factory one more day. People under 18 years got 18 days. On the other hand people with a service of ~~more~~ 30 years received 24 days. During the paid vacation everybody received his ~~share~~

- average pay, including both hourly wages and norms.
- (3k) The foremen received the same paid vacations as workers. Engineers received 20 days, the leader of the shop received a whole month.
- (3o) Once a year at the time of the vacation everybody got half-price railway tickets to any place of the country where he wanted to. These tickets were distributed through the trade unions. Moreover the trade unions could secure a vacation of one or two weeks to be spent in one of their resort places. There one had to pay 8 to 10 forints a day for room and board. It was a very cheap arrangement, however, it was very difficult to get in. Only those members of the trade unions got it, who had some special connections. Every worker was a member in the compulsory health insurance system, which we still call by the old name of OTI. It meant medical care without any payment. In old times even the medicines were given without any payment. After 55 we had to pay a small percentage of the prices of the medicine. It did not amount to much. In case of illness everybody got 60 to 70% of his full pay including norms for one month. After one month he got only 50%. Out of the pay we had certain deductions. 3% for old-age pension, 4% for the bachelor taxes, altogether 8 or 10% of the wage was deducted.



- (4a) The people with whom I worked were out of the city of Ovar or out of the neighbourhood. All age groups were represented there. For example, at the Gepjavito we had 2 or 3 kids at the age of 14. We had there 8 or 10 women carrying out lighter jobs, for example operating light machines. Concerning the workers most of them were in the age group of 25 to 35. I would say that the workers fell into 2 categories: the unskilled workers and then the skilled workers, the latter representing the elite, for example the lathe turret operators, the locksmiths, toolmakers and so on.
- (4b) There was a friendly relationship between the workers, including the foremen. For example, the foreman was a former lathe turret <sup>operator</sup> and people freely told him their opinion about everything. This situation was general even ~~was~~ in such a large place as the Mofem. The formen was oriented towards the workers. After all the foreman had started out as a lathe turret operator and had been promoted because of his good work.
- (4d) In the Gepjavito everybody spoke freely. The Party secretary of the shop listened to everything, including complaints. He listened even to political discussions. At the Mofem there were many built-in people who reported to the AVO! I generally did not discuss politics, however, altogether a reactionary company was working

in those places. Everybody made fun out of the Government and the Communist Party. They talked freely, however, nobody suffered any harm.

- (4f) A girl in the bookkeeping was the secretary of the local trade union at the Gepjavito. When the monthly wages were paid, she sold the stamps for your trade union membership card. There were trade union trustees, they were originally workers mainly interested in the norms. We had very seldom trade union meetings. There was a production meeting once a month, when people voiced their problems and complaints. At those times everything was promised however, nothing came out of it. Those meetings were arranged adhoc. Everybody was asked to come together, usually after lunch, since at the end of the work everybody went home. Criticism was permitted, everybody could speak up, however, few people did so. The meetings lasted 10 to 15 minutes, they dealt with norms or the working plan. There were no outspoken political speeches delivered at that time. Of course the situation was quite different at the Mofem.

(4h) There was no mediation committee.

(4i) At the Gepjavito it did not have any conspicuous role. If the manager of the shop wanted something it was usually done according to his will. This situation,

however, depended mainly on his own individual skill.

(4,l) In the Gepjavito political officials did not interfere with operations. They did not have any political officials there. In the Mofem the situation was different.

(4n) Everybody was equal. It happened very seldom that somebody wanted to get ahead as a good kader.

(4p) There were no secret sections or AVO informers at the Gepjavito. At least their work was not conspicuous. For a while a former Communist army officer was working at the Gepjavito. Everybody suspected him to be an AVO agent, however, soon he left our shop and took a white collar job with the Szabadsgarcos Szovetseg.

(5) Up to 1954 it was difficult to change jobs out of one's own will. If somebody voluntarily left his job he did not get any job for 6 to 8 months or he got a very poor job, for example in mines or in agriculture, where there has been a lack of workers all the time. After 54 theoretically everybody could leave his job as he liked it. The workers were controlled through the so-called work books issued to everybody in 1951. These workbooks contained his place of work, his experience and many other personal data. Moreover, it contained when he was hired and when he left the job and under what circum-

stances. Factories usually did not like, if any of the workers wanted to leave, particularly not the skilled workers. If somebody wanted to change a job it was connected with such a great red tape that the red tape alone frightened people of doing so. For example, in case of a change of job he had to bring papers from his future factory and from the police and many different places.

(5a) I did change jobs because I wanted more money or better working conditions. Many people wanted to get a job with the Gepjavito just because it was such a good place. No political meetings and no troubles because of the norms.

*100%  
2.5%  
evaporation*

(5b) Between 1950 and 56 I tried two times to enrol at a special course in order to learn the work of a lathe turret operator or a locksmith. However, I was refused both times. Under "normal" circumstances I would have attended a university.

(5e) I had one passion, to buy books. I left at home a library of 600 books and many records. I could not have done anything else.

(5g) The occupation of doctors is good. It is very good. They can get hold of the Western magazines and they earn a lot of money, three-four thousand <sup>forints.</sup> ~~dollars.~~

The occupation of the veterinarian is good too. The occupation of the engineers is not so good anymore because it became too much specialized. The occupation of the teachers became rather poor under the Communist system, partly because the University did not give them anymore the necessary education. They were not taught any languages.

- (6) I managed to survive, but I could not buy any clothes. I spent about a hundred forints a month for books. That was my only luxury. I did not do any travelling.
- (6a) Living conditions were generally depending upon the political circumstances. In my case my father died in 1945. My mother did not receive any pension. My younger sister was at that time a student. When she started to work our situation improved, but it was very difficult to manage. If I wanted to go to Budapest once a year I had to save for 6 months in order to put aside 5 or 6 hundred forints, which I could easily spend within 10 or 14 days in Budapest. Before the revolution I was not in Budapest for two ~~days~~<sup>years</sup>. It was a rather drab life. We could participate only in cheap amusements, such as bathing, company, walking, and so on.

- (7a) My wage changed pretty much. I would say that in 1952 I made 1000 or 1100 forints a month. In 1955 thirteen hundred forints a month and in 56 perhaps a little bit more. You would think that the wages increased, however the prices increased even more. Moreover there was no such thing as a fixed wage or salary because it varied from month to month according to the norms and because of the norms you had many annoyances. You always received less than you figured you will receive.
- (7c) My wage was about the same as the wage of other fellows at the Gepjavito. A skilled worker, for example a lathe turret operator received 250 or 300 forints more a month.
- (8a) My nominal pay was 14 hundred forints a month. In one month I made 15 hundred forints.
- (8b) 1200 or 1250 forints a month.
- (8c) I had no additional sources of income. Although with a few friend I organized a band and we played music perhaps 4 or 6 times a year. In such a way ~~I~~<sup>I</sup> made lets<sup>us</sup> say 500 forints in a year. ~~As~~ As a matter of fact we were not permitted to play by the trade union of the musicians however, the students of the highschool or of the academy often invited us when they arranged for a ball.

- (8d) The monthly deductions amounted to a 150-200 sometimes 250 forints.
- (8e) I had no savings and I think most people had none of them.
- (9a) Originally we had a four-room apartment. Later on we rented out half of it to some good acquaintances. Our share of the rent was 56 forints a month. This is a rather small sum.
- (9b) The dwelling conditions were extremely poor. Mainly because people had to share their apartments. Everybody tried to share his apartment with some acquaintances. In spite of that the situation was very poor.
- (9c) I would say almost the whole salary I received was spent on food. I was left only with 200 or 300 forints a month. But we could have easily spent even that amount on food. We ate dessert only on Sunday, we had three meals a day and there was an in-between snack only in those families where there was a child. Lunch was given in the factory but I would say that amounted rather to a snack. They offered some cold meat. The lunch at the factory was so poor that people took with them a sandwich. It was usually larded bread. We had great difficulties in getting the necessary food. There was

always some scarcity. For example, one week you could buy in the stores cold cuts but no butter, next week you could buy butter but no cold cuts. The whole food supply was very poorly organized on the dountry side. One could <sup>buy</sup> milk, but its fat content was only 2.2% about the half of the fat content ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> the prewar times. We had to stand in queues for meat since 1945 up to the revolution. Two times a week there was sale of meat. Either pork or beef. There was a time when we could buy only pork head, no other part of the pork and there were many jokes about the Communist pork which is ~~born~~ <sup>born</sup> with a head and no other parts. At one time it was impossible to buy wine. It happened in 1952 for the last time that I bought bottled wine. The quality of the wine was very poor, except for such occasions when an export was refused by a foreign country and the supply was sold on the home market. On such occasions we could buy large quantities for cheap prices.

(9d)

I ordered a suit ~~at~~ at a tailor's place in 1949 for the last time. In 1950 I bought a new suit from an American gift parcel for 450 ~~forints~~ forints. Since 1949 I bought four pairs of shoes. One of them was a pair of brand-new shoes made by a shoemaker out of the leather left by my father. Ususally I did not ruin my shoes since I used bicycle for transportation. Generally



speaking everybody was poorly equipped with clothing items. The average fellow had two suits, one for the winter and one for the summer, in which he could appear in company. We had no telephone. Electricity cost 40 forints a month in the summer, in winter it cost twice as much. Concerning heating in 1950 we got a drum stove which operated with saw dust. At that time it was an excellent new invention. When it was lighted it burnt for five or six hours and heated the whole apartment for a day. At that time saw dust was cheap and plenty. In the following years, however, the drum stove became very popular and as a consequence we experienced a scarcity of saw dust and its price went up. For example, it was impossible to get more than ten tons of saw dust. Then we had to use wood delivered by the peasants in the neighbouring villages. Coal was for sale all the time but it was too expensive for the average fellow. In the last few years I would say we spent 13 hundred to 14 hundred forints for heating during the whole winter. It was cheaper in those years when we got more saw dust.

(9f) I smoked about 12 cigarettes a day which meant one or two forints. I consumed alcohol only when in company. In company everybody was drinking. Half a ~~szék~~ desi rum cost three forints. There were two pastry shops in our town. We used to go there on Saturday night having half a ~~szék~~ desi rum and black coffee. Together with the movie we spent ten forints on a Saturday.

- (9g) We did not spend anything ~~mm~~ on education.
- (9h) There were two pastry shops in the city. On ~~Saturday~~ Saturday night we went there to have a cup of black coffee plus rum. It cost together with the movie <sup>think</sup> ten forints. I do not ~~think~~ think that I spent on amusement and recreation more than 50 ~~forints~~ forints in an average month. If any name-day came up, of course we spent more.
- (9i) I have not been in a barber shop since 1944. I cut my hairs myself. The barbers were nationalized. There were two shops in the city. The people were sitting in a queue there, in such a long queue that I decided never to wait. Washing machine was too expensive. The people washed at home since there was no laundry in the city. Washing was done by hand I would say everywhere in Ovar.
- (9j) I did not subscribe to any of the newspapers. I hardly read newspapers. The magazines I wanted to buy were not sold in Ovar. In Buda pest you could buy the French newspapers and magazines. I spent on books about a hundred forints a month. The books were cheap and it was the best amusement .
- (9k) Almost nothing. Some times ~~xx~~ I saw a doctor acquaintance plus I had my health insurance. I think I did not spend 50 forints on medical care in a whole year.

- (9,1) I spent a minimum amount on transportation. There was a bus-line leading from Ovar to Moson. Round trip cost two forints. Perhaps I spent a hundred forints in a whole year. I went everywhere on my bicycle. The railway ticket to Budapest cost 100 forints. If I had a vacation I made it once in a year.
- (9m) None
- (9o) Black market disappeared many years ago. We did buy from farmers, but it was not black market, it was legally permitted.
- (10) There was one great mistake in the economic development of Hungary. The heavy industry was developed at the expense of agriculture. As another mistake the medium peasantry was liquidated. Moreover, the leading positions were taken up by those people who did not have the necessary qualification. The communists worked according to a plan to ruin the economy of Hungary. There was no free competition, there was no quality.
- (10c) Hungary's economic situation before 1941 was much better than after 45. Although it is true that there had been many mistakes even before 41. For example, the large estate, the standard of living of the agricultural laborer and so on. Before 1941 there were no harvesting

machines, labor-saving  
~~making~~ or other ~~xxxx~~ machines used in agriculture.

- (10d) The changes that came after 45 were no good. The land was distributed, which was a great mistake. As another mistake the estates over 200 yokes were liquidated. It would have been good to take away a certain part ~~af~~ from the large estates, but during the land reform ~~minors~~ and gypsies received land who did not know how to cultivate it. The Germans in Hungary were relocated and their places were taken up by poor people. Planned agriculture was a great mistake. If somebody got an ~~xxxx~~ idea in Budapest it was carried out disregarding the local circumstances. The peasants were persecuted, the medium peasantry was liquidated. The little peasants who received during the land reform three or 5 yokes managed to live somehow, but he could not do any cattle raising. The case of the cattle raising is another point. Russian bulls were imported to cross the Hungarian cattle. The result was very poor. The fight against ~~xxxxxx~~ <sup>weeds</sup> was neglected. I have seen wheat fields full of ~~xxxxxx~~ weed. The sowing seed generally used was very poor. The feeding of the animals was poor too. Milk production decreased. Nowadays the average is 7 to 8 liters per cow. It is true that the State ~~xxxx~~ <sup>stud</sup> farms such as in Babolna and Kis-

ber were good. They were the showplaces, shown to the foreigners who visited the country.

(10f) There were no private tradesmen or merchants in Ovar, except for 2 or 3 shoemakers. However, they received such a small amount of raw-materials that they could not make any new shoes and sometimes had ~~diffinmity~~ difficulties even in doing such repair jobs as putting a new sole on the shoe. There was no private restaurant in the whole city. Right before the revolution a few new permits for private industry or business were given out, but ~~many of~~ none of them worked. There were two private auto repair shops which did a great business in repairing bicycles not cars and they had the necessary rawmaterials since they had good connections with the authorities. There was no other private sector in Ovar.

(10g) The economic situation of the country became worse and worse from year to year. It is true that many people did not even ~~know~~ notice this general worsening. It was done in a very clever way, however, it happened that in one year the price of a ~~shirt~~ shirt was 200 forints, next year <sup>if</sup> ~~when~~ you wanted to buy the price went up to 250 forints. Most people did not remember the prices. The price of sugar milk, bread, lard remained the same. The state-owned store <sup>arranged</sup> ~~arranged~~ many sales but even the sales

were in many cases cheating. The price was re-marked but actually did not change.

- (11) The material conditions had a great part in the complaints which led to the revolution.
- (11b) People were generally annoyed that they are working as much as the bees and they cannot make any progress. They had been working and did not see any result.
- (11c) This situation was general. In this respect there was no difference between the various groups of the society at least not in Ovar.

- (1a) I attended the agricultural academy in Magyarovar from 1943 <sup>to</sup> 48. I finished there 7 semesters.
- (1b) No.
- (1c) I selected that school because it was located in our city and I was interested in agriculture. My father was working in the court of Archduke Albrecht. Thus it would have been easy for me to find a good position. Up to 1948 the agricultural experts had usually good jobs with the different State stock farms and experimental stations.
- (2) No, I have not received as much schooling as I wanted.
- (3) Up to 1948 there was no political pressure. <sup>upon</sup> ~~from~~ the school schedule there was no Marxist <sup>or</sup> Russian ~~text~~ subjects. Up to that time there was no great change in the teaching staff. The Mefesz began to work at the end of 1947. The Mefesz started the Communist pressure, which pretty soon could be felt all over the agricultural academy. The Mefesz started to put different students into kaders. The result was that in the next year many students, including myself, were not permitted to continue our studies.

- (4) Communism wanted to influence the youth, particularly in the highschool, gymnasium and at the university. Russian was an obligatory subject. History was ~~thought~~ taught in another way than before Communism. Feudalism was depicted as a poor social institution. The Russian connections in Hungarian history and education were over-emphasized. The Geography textbook was full of Russian things.
- (4a) The Communists wanted political propaganda in the school but at the same time they wanted certain academic results too. This is why they established so many specialized types of highschool. For example a gymnasium for sports, another type for arts and so on.
- (4b) Education for Communism was not very effective. The children brought a certain aversion against the system from home. The teacher did not emphasize the Communism in the classes. Of course, the situation depended on the principle. ~~Some~~ Some of the principles and even of the teachers were loyal to the Party and controlled the other members of the staff. In the city hall the department of education consisted of Party members. There was a special boarding school for highschool ~~students~~ students in the city established by the Communism and it was a center of every Communist education.



- (4c) The pioneer Uttoroe movement<sup>was</sup> designed to catch the attention of the children. It was successful in Budapest, but not in Ovar. The kids in the pioneer movement got uniforms. They made a large procession on every March 15th, but did not make any excursions. In Ovar the pioneer movement had no results.
- (4g) The general intellectual level is nowadays much lower than in old times. The baccalaureate erettsegi has a less value than it had in old times. The education of the teachers is poor too. There is a greater <sup>emphasis</sup> ~~emphasis~~ on sports than on intellectual education.
- (5) My father was secretary at the court <sup>secretariat</sup> ~~secretary~~ of Archduke Albrecht. My father died in 1945 in a heart attack.
- (5b) We made a living out of his job.
- (5c) He had a baccalaureate from a commercial school.
- (5d) Yes, in those times it was possible to have servants, but after 45 we had no servants. Nowadays a servant maid gets 500 to 600 forints a month. Only somebody who is making 4-5 thousand forints can afford a ~~maid~~ maid. In old times a girl got 15 to 20 pengoes.
- (5e) Our family had a small cottage at the lake Balaton.
- (5f) When I was a child we lived better. The poverty was not so great as it is now.
- (5g) Four persons.

- (5h) My father died, my younger sister got married in 1953. She was 23 years old at that time.
- (5i) In 1956 I was living with my mother. She had no income of her own.
- (5j) In a stricter sense the word family denotes parents and children. In a wider sense it means the relatives the cousins of first and second degree and the brothers and sisters of the parents.
- (5k) It was a great disadvantage for me.
- (6) Not applicable.
- (9) Raising of children has been always a great problem, particularly nowadays. Nowadays the parents simply have not got the time to deal with their children. The wife is working and after the working hours she has to look for food or she has to take up some other job, such as knitting. Homemaking became more difficult under the Communist system. The children were left for themselves for long times. In the summer time they spent their spare times on the street. The kids became impolite, they did not receive the necessary education. The older kids tried to get some part-time job, for example, they worked in the <sup>summer</sup> ~~summer~~ in the factories <sup>a custom</sup> which had not existed in old times. Now the children of

- all classes try to work in ~~summer~~<sup>summer</sup> or in their spare time.
- (9b) I knew three families with two or three children. The children did not go to the homes of other families, of course on the street they met the neighbour kids. ~~Within~~ Within the family homes a slap was given just as often as it had been in old times. The parents still had the same influence over their children as it had been in old times.
- (9c) At home parents and children caricatured the system just the same way. A kid of 12 years already knew Stalin and hated him.
- (9d) The problem of religion did not cause any difficulties within the family life.
- (9e) In the gymnasium it was a rule that no girl could go out on the street after 8 o'clock in the night. They could go into the Movie with permission. It was unknown as the thing you can see here in Germany that a girl was walking alone on the street at 11 p.m. Ovar was a small city, a high-school student could not go to dance. There was no nightclub or anything similar. The students were permitted to go to the beach. The love between the students remained pretty much the same as it was in old times.
- (10) The pioneer movement and the political system tried to exert influence upon any kind of children. According to

ministry  
 the rules issued by the ~~ministry~~ in Budapest even the  
 highschool was supposed ~~to~~ to influence the students,  
 for example to influence them for common work. However,  
 the community life of the schools was in reality quite  
 different from the pattern as set up by the Communists.  
 For example, nothing came out of the common learning  
 hours. For the working youth quite a number of organi-  
 zations were established. For example, the ~~Szabadseg~~ Szabadseg  
~~Szovetseg~~ Szovetseg which gave quite a few benefits to those who  
 joined them, for example, the ~~Szabadseg~~ Szabadseg Szovetseg  
 taught them to drive cars, sharp shooting and so on. The  
 youngsters liked it. The old relationship between chil-  
 dren and parents did not change during the Communist sy-  
 stem. The only difference was that the child received less  
 education and remained impolite.

(12) Certainly! We always discussed the news of the radio

(14) In our case family life remained pretty much the same. I did not hear any case where a child denounced his parents at the police. The teachers were not authorized to beat the kids but they did. It happened that the parents came in and asked the teachers to beat their kids whenever it seemed to be necessary. Even the Communist parents did so. It was necessary to do so because discipline

loosened generally. The kids made many pranks which in old times had not been permitted.

- (14b) I think my case was typical. The boy lived with his parents, ~~his parents~~ although he worked, as long as he did not get married. It was cheaper to do so.
- (c) I spent it with reading, listening to radio, beach, and so on.
- (14c) During the Communist system the members of the family spent a great amount of time together, particularly so in winter. The families came together pretty often. There was always such a family-party life in Hungary, to a much greater extent than in Germany. In Germany people are stiffer, they have not got the humor.
- (14f) I would have liked to attend concerts, operas, to make trips and so on, however, it was impossible. It was possible to make trips to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, but it cost 25 hundred forints for two weeks. Who could have afforded it? Before the Revolution only a very few reliable persons were permitted to go to Vienna, Austria to see the international soccer games.
- (14g) I think so. The Party members were, of course, ordered <sup>members</sup> all the time. For example the ~~members~~ of the Frontharcos Szovetseg or the Party members had meetings and other duties after the working hours. If somebody was not a Party member he could do with his leisure time what he wanted. This was my case and the case of my acquaintances.

If somebody had a big job he was supposed to work 10 to 15 hours a day. He was not expected to go home at the end of the working hours.

(15) The family ties have remained by and large the same.

(15a) Yes.

(15b) They were more dependent on each other, partly because of the financial circumstances. For example, in many cases it was difficult for young people to get married because they did not have the money.

(15e) Not within the children.

(15f) Perhaps there are no more divorces nowadays but there are more poor marriages. The women want to get the full attention of their husbands, but they ~~cannot~~ cannot get it in the Communist system. The husband comes home dog-tired, <sup>he</sup> ~~she~~ has neither time nor nerves to educate his children, to care for his wife. The children are neglected and so are the wives. Financial ~~problems~~ problems made the life very primitive. The main thought of every person is, what are we going to eat tomorrow and how many days we have before the first of the next month.

(16) The relations between boys and girls have changed, particularly in Budapest. Relationship became pretty free. The

women have a much greater freedom of movement, particularly a working girl. She can do what she <sup>wants.</sup> ~~wants.~~ She can come and go any time of the day. In the country the situation is different.

(16a) More people get married at an early age. This is the reason why we have more poor marriages. <sup>A</sup> ~~The~~ boy of 20 years is too young to make such an important decision as marriage.

(16b) I don't think that youngsters <sup>begin</sup> ~~women~~ courtship at an earlier age than in old times. The general forms of courtship in Ovar and in similar cities remained pretty much the same. There was no great change in the length of courtship either. Actually the time of the marriage depended pretty much on financial circumstances, such as a job or the security of the job. It is true that the parents can now interfere less with the courtship and the marriage of the youngsters. Nowadays the <sup>approval</sup> ~~legal~~ of the parents is no more necessary. There was a time when divorce was pretty easy, however, the divorce laws were changed in 1955 and divorce became more difficult. As far as I know many people made church wedding, of course in many cases they went into another city to do so.

(16d) The sexual behavior is a little bit looser. Everybody has a greater movement of freedom. There ~~are many~~

are many illegitimate children and even more abortions. Abortions became a special business and the doctors made a lot of money in this way. For a while the Communists were ~~saying~~ saying: For a wife it is a duty, for a girl it is a glory to have children. Then abortion was severely punished. Any woman got 2000 forints for an illegitimate child from the State. Moreover the state furnished diapers and so on. If the mother wanted so the child was adopted by the State, however, it happened very seldom. The father of an illegitimate child had to pay alimony. It was simply deducted out of his salary. For example, 300-400 forints were deducted out of the monthly salary.

- (16e) The houses of prostitution were closed down in 1952, but prostitution went on clandestinely. For example, a friend of mine was told that if he wishes he can get a white collar ~~worker~~ worker who would sleep with him for a hundred forints. In spite of such cases syphilis was rather seldom. Generally love became easier. A boy courted for 3-4 days to a girl, paid her a few drinks to create the necessary psychological ~~make~~ background, then it was easy. Of course, there were no girls walking on the street ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> hunting for men. In Ovar there were four or five girls who did love for money and for money only.



- (16f) The Communists were great <sup>Hypocrits.</sup> ~~hypocrites~~. They always talked about Communist morals. For example, it was not permitted to kiss. At public places people were arrested because of kissing. It was awfully difficult to take a girl into a hotel. There was a strict control and check. Raid was coming into every hotel. Everything had to be checked by papers. If a couple was suspicious checking people knocked at their door. The attitude towards illegitimate children became more favorable. The State regarded them as entirely equal. This is right since after all the children are innocent.
- (16i) The women have now the right to work even in the mines. Undoubtedly they have more freedom on social <sup>life</sup> ~~times~~ too. Social life became freer. In old times it was impossible that two girls should go for an excursion with two <sup>no more</sup> men. Now it was possible to do so. People were ~~more~~ so prudish as in old times. But at the same time the status of women became worse since they had to work, and work very hard.
- (17) The general standard of morals became much lower. People were drinking more, even women. They were drinking rum and other heavy alcohol. Half a desi of rum was the minimum amount. They were smoking.

- (17b) There was more stealing going on. I don't know anything about murder or burglary because the newspapers did not write about such things but everything was stolen from a factory. For example a drill. In the Kozert a clerk received 600 forints a month. It was impossible to make a living with it. Consequently she tried to steal as much as possible.
- (18) My best friend is here in Munich with me. He was a school-mate of my cousin way back in the trade schools. I met him through my cousin in 1943. Then his family moved to Over in 1948. From that time on we became really good friends and frequented the same company. The two other of my best friends were students at the ~~agricultural~~ agricultural academy. The four of us were going out together. We agreed concerning taste, politics and so on.
- (18b) Yes.
- (18c) In the summer we went to the beach. We made a lot of fun out of everything. We caricatured everything. We frequented the same company. We danced, drank together, we read the same books and we discussed them together.
- (18d) We exchanged all the news we knew.
- (18e) No.
- (18f) Yes, one of my best friends is here. Two of them stayed at home, one because he got married.

- (18g) A friend should be reliable and dependable, he should be well balanced and should have intellectual values and moral values. He should be well educated.
- (18h) Just as much as in old times.
- (18i) There were two societies in Ovar. Our clique belonged to the better one. This clique consisted of the four of us mentioned above and four married couples. They were very nice people too.
- (18j) None of my friends became a minor Party official, however, if he would have done so it would have affected our friendship. In our company as I mentioned above, there was a doctor. He was for a while member of the Party since he had to join it. We knew him well and we knew that he was not ~~an~~ a reliable Communist. Of course, the situation would have been quite different with a reliable Communist.
- (19) Our whole family was catholic and the family's attitude towards religion did not change during Communism. The women of the family attended church. I did so very seldom only. Generally there was a great indifference in Hungary. Many people went to church but not in spirit. Every church was packed on Sundays. More people went to church <sup>simply</sup> because it was prohibited.

(20a) The protestants received more favor from the system since the Protestant clergy bowed before Communism. The Catholics had to suffer a greater pressure. The State wanted to make a compromise with the Catholic bishops. But the bishops did not want to do so. On the level below the bishops the State wanted to organize the peace priests, however, the believers boycotted the masses of the peace priests. There was one peace priest in Moson.

(20b) It would have been very difficult to liquidate the religion, however, the Communists wanted to use religion for their own means. In local relationship the Communists did not interfere very much with religion. There was less freedom in preaching, but the priest does not ascend the pulpit in order to make a propaganda against a political system. If a priest talked about poverty or pressure everybody understood what he meant. Everybody ~~was~~ understood when a priest said: We have to turn our faces towards the Heaven and ask ~~from~~ for help from there. Everything what they said was so worded that the police could not interfere with it.

(20c) The peace priests were excommunicated, however, I don't know how this excommunication worked out in the practice. One of the peace priests left the clergy. His name was [REDACTED]. He was an unworthy priest and later became insane. Undoubtedly it might have caused

a very great psychological tension to become a peace priest.

- (20d) The clergy withdrew from the life. The processions were prohibited. Actually they were cut down from year to year. They ~~it~~ became shorter and finally <sup>they</sup> ~~it~~ disappeared. For example in the first year of Communism the procession was free all over the city. The next year its route had to be shortened, then shortened again. After three years only procession within the church was permitted and so on. It is true that many people turned up for a church procession much more ~~that~~ than for the celebration of May 1st. That was the thing that annoyed the Communists. The priests lived in their own homes and had very seldom any social intercourse with the laity.
- (20e) Before 1950 laity was often persuaded not to go into the church. After 1950 this campaign was suspended. The situation was quite different concerning religious education. In this respect there was a great pressure upon the parents. It is true that parents often struck back. I would say the general situation in Ovar was that the parents sent their children to religious education.
- (20f) Yes, everybody except the Party members.
- (20g) I don't know anything of this kind. It happened in religious education, for example, if somebody was afraid of his job if somebody's child attended religious education

he had to subscribe to more peace loan.

(20h) Seldom.

(20i) Religious indifference is general. Country people of course are more religious. I think that all age groups and social classes were represented in the ~~church~~ church. Now if we regard the church-goers, I would say the 60% of them went into the church because they were religious persons. ~~At~~ 30% of them ~~went~~ went into ~~church~~ church because they were religious plus they were moved from a political demonstration and finally 10% of them went into the church because of political demonstration only. Needless to say there are people anytime who go into the church in order to show their new dress or to meet a girl or a boy. Lets not forget after the church services was the corso.

(20k) Religion is less important now to young people than it was to their parents.

(20l) The churches gave a spiritual fortification in the resistance. For example, the Mindszenti case was a great boomerang in the hands of the Communists.

(21) My advice would depend on the abilities of the person, on his financial circumstances. I would say that the occupations of doctor or veterinarian are very good, that of engineers somewhat less. Another good occupa-

pation is that of the musicians. Writing is poorer because even literature was directed and the writer could not write freely. Concerning skilled laborers, skill and knowledge was important, more important than membership in the Party. On the other hand, ~~it is true that~~ if a skilled laborer was no good, but he was a Party member he was left in his job and nobody bothered him. Perhaps skill and Party membership were equally important. Concerning the intellectuals the general attitude of the Communists was that nobody is irreplaceable, every body can be replaced. Consequently for the intellectuals the Party membership was very important. I would say that the Hungarian middle class compromised itself very much, much more ~~than~~ than the working class. The middle class promoted Communism in a very shameful way. But at the same time the intellectual could not find any security in his job. He was used and abused by the Party. He had to feel the greatest amount of insecurity.

- (22) The peasantry was oppressed. ~~The~~ The system gave many favours to the working class. For example, Culture houses, bathes ~~and~~ <sup>in</sup> the factories and so on. The system tried to improve the situation of the workers, but not the situation of the peasants. Generally I would say the main ~~classes~~ classes of the country were as follows: First of all the workers or the working ~~class~~ class who

had a very favorable situation. As a second class I want to mention the workers in the agricultural section by which I mean the workers at the tractor stations and so on. In the third position I want to mention the intellectuals, I mean those few of them who were engaged in some research, for example at an agricultural experimental station or some similar thing. I would put the artists, writers and so on into the same category. As the fourth class I want to mention the students. Finally as the lowest class I would call the aristocracy, of course there had not been many aristocrats left in Hungary since most of them emigrated right after the Communist revolution. Only a few of them stayed at home, for example Archduchess Augusztá who is staying in Budapest. In over we had only one aristocrat, the [REDACTED]. Nobody bothered him. Actually he had been a poor man even in old times. Now under Communism he was teaching German and French lessons to private students. In Winter time he could be seen every day in the pastry shop sitting there because he had to share his one room with somebody else.

- (23) I mentioned the social classes of Hungary just above, however ~~however~~, I would like to make some additional <sup>remarks</sup> ~~marks~~. First of all concerning the peasantry. Actually one can distinguish many different types in the peasantry. The small



peasant is one who owns less than 8 yokes, moreover he owns it for ~~long~~ <sup>long</sup> time. Then there is another type, the new landowner who got some land in the landreform usually less than 4 yokes. Many of these new owners had been in old times gipsies, miners, and other no good people who were given land in 45. As another type <sup>of</sup> the peasantry I want to mention the kulak or the medium peasant who owns something from 15 to 40 yokes. Finally there are agricultural workers, for example on the State estates. So actually there are very great differences concerning landholding, fortune and attitude within the ~~peasantry~~ ~~peasantry~~ peasantry. Concerning the working class there are two layers there. The unskilled worker is the bottom of the working class. The lathe turret operator is now something like a middle class person and the foreman might be very often a member of the upper 10,000 people of the society. As point three I want to mention the middle class or the intellectuals. I would say that there are three types among them: first of all the ordinary good people who have nothing to do with the Party, then as second type those who were forced to join the Party and finally those who are really faithful Party members. But <sup>actually</sup> ~~usually~~ the Communists represent a special <sup>layer</sup> ~~type~~ in the society. There is something like a Communist aristocracy, those who know the insides and they have the best job.

- (23b) This represents a very significant change.
- (23c) This has been the result of a very unhealthy development. The distinction between the four classes or layers and within the classes is very unhealthy. The Communists talk very much about alliance of the working men, peasantry and intellectuals. This is a nonsense. The middle class person does not frequent working class families and vice versa. There is and there has always been a great difference between them. <sup>Let's</sup> ~~Let's~~ suppose that the son of a worker goes into higher schools and some of them get there <sup>a</sup> really good education. <sup>However</sup> ~~However~~, there is still a certain difference between the newcomer and the old middle class. He is not accepted by the old middle class, first of all because he is not polite, he does not know anything about ~~the~~ ~~etiquette~~ the etiquette and there are many other small but still important differences. There is still an etiquette and every class of the society has its own culture. It is impossible to change from one class into another one during one generation. There is still a stigma on a working class origin. He might have many good qualities but he has no real and good education.
- (23d) There were certain barriers between the people but undoubtedly ~~the~~ ~~barriers~~ the barriers were less than they had been in old times. For example, at a place of amusement such as the night club <sup>called Pipacs</sup> ~~called Pipacs~~ in Budapest you could see all the social classes represented, a worker and a middle class person sitting side by side. The same goes for the Opera house in Budapest. In this respect the barriers

were removed indeed.

- (23e) Concerning public places, people are socially more equal than they used to be.
- (23g) The old title of "ur" disappeared. On the other hand the address of ~~sz~~ "elvtars" comrade was generally disliked. Consequently everybody became "szaktars" and the address in second person became general at least within the same age group. The old greeting of "kezet csokolom" is still in use, however, the actual kissing of hands disappeared except in a strictly friendly circle or at certain occasions, such as birthday or nameday. Generally I would say the people are less polite, particularly at public places the behavior of waiters or waitresses is really scandalous. Its even worse than here in Munich. According to the Communists it is no good to be polite.
- (24) The Communist system favoured the national minorities, particularly the Slavs. There are still Germans in Moson. They still talk German, for example in the factories. The minorities were not oppressed. It was not a sin if somebody's father was a German or a Slovak- it was a greater sin if somebody's father was a middle class person.
- (25) The old upper Jews, such as the manufacturers or wholesalers left the country, shortly after the war. However, in the years from 1945 to 47 many new Jews arrived from Russia, particularly the Communist. Then many other Jews came home from the

Concentration Camps. So altogether we don't have a smaller number of Jews that we had had in old times. A part of the Jews took part in the political system and achieved good positions. There are many Jews everywhere, particularly in the leading positions, for example in literature or in artlife. There are many of them in ministries, there are many of them among the managers of the factories. The old little Jew, for example the local storekeeper in a small village became now manager of a stateowned undertaking, simply because he knows about the business life.

- (25a) The attitude of the Jews towards the regime is favorable
- (25b) Under Rakosi the Jews had a very great power. I don't know what happened, when Rakosi was removed. <sup>Let's</sup> ~~Let's~~ not forget, However, that there are some Jews in Moscow too. The Jews played a very important role in the AVO! This was a reaction to those things <sup>that</sup> ~~which~~ had happened to the Jews during the Germans. I did not see any Jews in the AVO in Ovar, but in Budapest the situation was different. The Jews had excellent connections with the Party.
- (25c) I had some Jewish acquaintances but we did not get together in our homes. I had one Jewish acquaintance who was cultural secretary in one of the factories. He was arrested in 1955 since the AVO did not make any distinctions between Jews and Christians. I don't know what happened to him.
- (25d) It is hard to answer. When the AVO officer was brought out <sup>of</sup> ~~eg~~ the hospital there was ~~xxxx~~ a Jew in the crowd and he ~~xxxx~~ said: "What do you want with this poor fellow, he is sick!"

Whereupon another man from the crowd answered: "I'll give you a slap right away." He did not promise him a slap because he was a Jew but simply because he tried to defend the AVO people. I think the standard of the living of the Jews became worse. In 1949 the Jews had a much higher standard of living than the other parts of the population. However, by 56 this difference disappeared.

(25e) Nobody liked the Jews.

(25f) No change in this respect.

(25g) Anti-Semitism undoubtedly increased. Before the war the whole situation was not so ~~much improved~~ <sup>grave as it is now</sup> but in the meantime the assimilated Jews left the country.

(25h) The future of the Jews in Hungary depends on Moscow. For a time Moscow was anti-Semite, however, they will <sup>treat</sup> ~~handle~~ the Jews according to political considerations.

- (1) I have never been much interested in politics.
- (1a) Every second day I listened to the news in the radio that I should be more or less well informed.
- (1b) No.
- (1c) No.
- (2) Up to 1948 people believed in the future, that something will come out and we can establish ourselves. After 48 the situation grew worse. Most of the people like myself took in a negative attitude which was not reaction. One simply did not care for politics. What the politicians said was a lie, consequently we were not interested in any political statements. The death of Stalin did not cause any excitements. In my own life the changes <sup>in</sup> politics did not bring any personal changes.
- (2a) I voted for the small holders party. At that time they had a rather good program, they were popular and all the friend voted for the small holders party. The peasant party was too Red. We did not like the Social Democrats and in the party of Géza Supka there were many unreliable people.
- (2b) No.
- (2c) My political views remained more or less the same. They underwent a very small change only since in 1945<sup>at that time</sup> I was only 20 years old.
- (2d) As I got them known better during the years I began to hate

- ( them better.
- (2e) We had some previous knowledge of Communism. The Communists' name was never ~~so~~ popular. Nobody forgot what happened in 1919.
- (2f) Entirely passive.
- (2g) A very numerous layer had the same attitude as I had. One did the jobs since it was necessary to find a living but one did not support the political system.
- (2h) People did not obey very much to the political system, they wanted to live up only to the minimum requirements in order to avoid any trouble with the police. Everybody tried to cheat the system.
- (3) The private property ceased, the personal security was lost. Actually I think this was the greatest grievance, the complete lack of personal security. The Communist announced a high standard of welfare, however, inspite of the fact that nobody has ever worked so much in Hungary as during the Communist system the standard of living was very low. Instead of a high standard of living we had Russian influence.
- (3a) The colonial policy of the Russians persued in Hungary, interference with the right of the individuals, the terror.
- (3b) Interference with the family life since it did not amount to very much, overtaxation and overwork.
- (3c) The same as they were for me.
- (3d) The liquidation of the private property.

- (3e) The low standard of living. The lack of food, overwork, Everybody was annoyed and actually it is very difficult to make any distinctions between the social classes.
- (3f) I felt  
~~to think~~ the grievances and complaints particularly on the national holidays when I heard many speeches about the Hungarian-Soviet friendship. This was the slogan hated most by the whole population. We had seen the Russians in 45, we had known them, we had our opinion of the Russians.
- (3j) The health insurance was a good thing, the ~~paid~~ paid vacation was good too, the system did pretty much to establish day-care-homes for children where the children ~~got~~ really got a very good food and were under the care of an experienced nurse. I saw one of those daycare-homes. It cost only 30 ~~forint~~ forints for one child so it did not amount to anything.
- (4) If not Moscow, the Government in Budapest made the decisions. I think the real power was with Moscow. After Moscow came the Ministry of Interior and the AVO in handling the power.
- (4c) The Government was run by Rákosi. Of course, he had many advisors, Many people said that his wife was his first advisor. Actually through his wife Moscow directed the Hungarian affairs.
- (4d) Nothing, ~~there~~ Their only duty was to applaud. There were no discussions.
- (4e) The Communists hold elections only because of the statistics.



- (4f) There was a very great bureaucracy, Much greater than before the war. It could have ~~been~~ felt in the every day life.
- (4g) ~~There~~ Yes, there was much graft and a great amount of embezzlement. Perhaps much more than it had been before ~~1945~~ 1945. The bookkeeping system was very poor and the huge red tape of the nationalized plants gave rise to many grafts and many embezzlements.
- (4h) The people selected by the Communist party went into Govern-  
ment service. They had to attend the ~~so-called~~ <sup>so-called</sup> "red academy", where they got the highest education from the point of view of the Party. They learnt Marxiam and Russian language. The Party secretaries were usually recruited from the working class. On the other hand the specialists and the well educated people could not get any real positions in the government service.
- (4i) The army officers were the sons of workers and peasants.
- (4j) In our place the manager of the plant was a Jew. He was a clever fellow and behaved well in his difficult position. He was kicked out only now after the revolution because <sup>did</sup> he ~~managed~~ smuggle out some ~~people~~ people from Hungary. Originally he was an independent tradesman in the Maszek. He knew pretty much about business, he was a good organizer and he was able to maintain good connections both with the workers and with the authorities above him. In the Bauxit factory the manager was a former manager of the State fore-

stry. He had no experience in manufacturing. Actually it was not necessary that the manager should be an expert. It was more important that he should be reliable from the point of view of the authorities in Budapest and of the Party.

- (5) I knew many members of the DISZ. They were members of the DISZ but no members of the Party. They were youngsters who ~~went~~ <sup>went</sup> into the premises of the Youth League in order to play ping-pong or to dance. Actually in Over the DISZ was very unsuccessful in making political propaganda.
- (5b) It was not compulsory to join it. It was compulsory for the university students to join the Kefesz. They did so but in other ways they behaved there in a passive way.
- (5d) No, however, sometimes I visited the premises of the youth league in order to spend my time.
- (5j) Yes, I was removed from the student body way back in 49.
- (5k) Reliable Communists.
- (6) It was a matter of a moral point to be a member of the Party. One could achieve many advantages through membership, on the other hand one was despised by the Hungarians for being a member. Out of the advantages one could get a better job, more money, some other advantages such as heating material, loans for building a home, a special treatment when applying for some special courses and so on.

- (6a) Those people who had something in their past, for example the former Nazis. There were few people who joined the Party voluntarily after 45 and many of these later on left the Party.
- (6b) The not entirely normal person. ~~There~~ I think there must be some psychological reason if a person joins the Communist Party. He must be crippled either in his body or in his psychological outfit. He must have an inferiority complex and he compensates it through a membership in the Party. Then of course many people joined the Party on purpose, in order to make success, to make more money, to get higher jobs. But very few people joined the Communist Party because they thought the Communist principles were good.
- (6c) The Party member had very much to do. From the work he had to run to a Party meeting. He had no private life at all. He had no time for himself. He was busy at night, he was busy on Sundays when he was supposed to go out in the villages and make propaganda there. He had to make a special ~~propaganda~~ <sup>floated</sup> propaganda when a piece loan was ~~introduced~~ or any other undertaking of the Party came up. If there was any mass demonstration he had to participate ~~with~~ <sup>in</sup> it. For the non-member of the Party, life was much more pleasant. For example, it was not always necessary to participate on the mass demonstrations. I have never attended one demonstration on May 1st. However, this situation had pretty much to do with the general political situation. In some years almost everybody was pressured to attend the mass demonstrations, in other years the general attitude was much

more ~~various~~ lenient.

- (6a) If somebody joined the Party he could not have any social intercourse with people like me. He was suspicious to us. We were suspicious to him. The Party member led actually an insolated life. They saw each other only. Of course, there were many forced Party members, who were forced to join the Party particularly among the workers. They went with the Party for a mass demonstration, however, if they met a regular guy such as my friends they never tried to make any propaganda.
- (6f) Many Communists turned sour because of the material and moral conditions in the Party.
- (6h) No.
- (6p) I could have joined it before 48.
- (6q) Yes.
- (6r) Nominally the Party was run by the city and county party committee. Actually the instructions came from Budapest, everything came from the headquarters and the people in Ovar had to comply.
- (6s) Nagy Imre was an interesting personality. He tried to do something individual that's why the Communists practically executed him. No individuality could get along in the Party.
- (7) For a while I was a member of the trade unions later I left it. Whenever one got a new job, he had to join the trade union and pay the membership dues for four or five months. After that it was possible not to pay the dues. The dues were not deducted from the wages but one had to pay them at the

time when the pay was received.

- (7a) In the Gepjavito shop there was one trade union trustee and one secretary the latter being a girl working in the book-keeping department. Usually there were many girls among the trustees. Their main duty was to collect the membership fees out of which the <sup>huge</sup> ~~mass~~ headquarters of the trade unions in Budapest were built. Moreover, many trade union sanatoriums and recreation halls were built.
- (7d) When somebody started to work ~~xxxx~~ the trustee stepped up to him and persuaded him to join. Practically ~~xxxxxxxx~~ everybody joined the trade union without any former compulsion.
- (7e) There was not very much to do. I attended a few meetings but meetings were held rather infrequently. I never opened my mouth there.
- (7g) Nobody liked the trade unions. It was a very uninteresting and boring organization.
- (7l) I was not a member of any other mass organization. <sup>They</sup> ~~xxxxxx~~ were mostly the Party members who joined the Szabadságharcos Szovetség, however, there was no ~~xxxxxx~~ compulsion to join it.
- (7m) The workers were indifferent about the trade unions.
- (8) The number of the ~~xxxxxx~~ enthusiastic Communists increased by time. Actually there ~~has~~ has been a great deal of insecurity in the Party, for example, during the time of Imre Nagy. Many people became quite disturbed, they did not know what to think or what to do. I think that about 50% of the Party

members are enthusiastic.

- (9) The youth movement became transformed into a center of opposition because the whole Communist education failed. The ~~the~~ DISZ was actually a club. ~~The~~ People went there in order to have amusement. Nobody liked there Communism. The leader of the DISZ was a Party member. But rank and file had nothing to do with Communism.
- (10) Everybody was afraid, but the majority of the people did not feel the terror. Everybody was watched, for example, when we were talking in the pastry shop we were watched.
- (10b) The AVO handled the political and ~~xxxxxxx~~ sabotage affairs. They organized quite a number of guys. They organized a mass watching ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ and reporting system. The personal departments of the factories collaborated with the AVO. The AVO interfered with all events in life. For example, a child on a farm lit the hay-barn with a match by chance. Two hours later the AVO appeared from Győr in order to start an investigation.
- (10e) Some people joined the AVH voluntarily, other ones were drafted into it and ~~xxxxxx~~ a third group was organized.
- (10f) The working class was strongly represented in the AVO. I would say the average AVO man was from the working class. He was organized in the Party and was educated. For him it was a great success and promotion to work with the AVO where he could reach even the ranks of the officers. There ~~they~~ <sup>he</sup> had a good pay and much better work than in the factories.

Moreover, the AVO people tried to organize new volunteers for the organization. For example, they came out to the different factories and they tried to persuade the young workers to join the AVO. In one case I was called into the personnel department where I found three strange people. Later on out of our conversation I found out that they were three AVO people from Győr and they wanted to persuade me to join the AVO.

(10h) Perhaps nobody was entirely immune from persecution. Even those people who made a great success and got high jobs could be easily persecuted.

(10j) The AVH was the elite guard. I think they were above the police and the ~~pk~~ police had to take orders from them. The relations between the AVH and the Party were good. I think the Party had a greater power than the AVH.

(11) Some of my acquaintances were arrested for smuggling people out of the country. Many people were arrested. On the other hand many people could do many things without any arrest, for example, a greater freedom was permitted to women. Women were permitted to curse openly the system. For example, when ~~standing~~ standing in queue before a store. Then again the workers of the factories were permitted a greater freedom.

(11c) If somebody was arrested the AVO people like to use the following two tricks. Several AVO people stood around the arrested fellow. One of them offered him a cigarette. When he took a

cigarette and tried to light it he got an awfully slap from another AVO people who said: "How do you dare to take a cigarette in our presence". If he did not take a cigarette and refused it he got just the same kind of slap from another AVO ~~people~~ people telling him, if somebody offers you a cigarette you should take it. Then as another trick a fellow was ordered to stand with face to a wall and a pencil was put between the wall and his forehead. He was supposed to stay there for hours keeping the pencil in his place. If the pencil fell ~~down~~ down he was beaten up ~~by~~ by the AVO people.

- (11d) I would say intellectuals got the worse deal. They were arrested most often because of personal reasons, for example, an enemy denounced them to the police. They were dismissed very often from their jobs. Those intellectuals who had not had a political role in the past fared somewhat better.
- (11e) In our city there were very few hasbizalmi functioning. I have not come ~~xxx~~ across any of them.
- (11g) I know of them only from hearsay. One could hear many stories what happened to other families. For example, the police arrived in the apartment of a family where the father was in business, he was a butcher, a rich fellow. The family was accused of hiding gold at home. The police started the search, they tore the whole apartment apart, they went through all the books. It took them several hours to go through everything. At the end of the search they found about a quarter



of a kilo gold. However, at that time it was permitted to have one half of a kilo gold. So finally the man was charged with hoarding food since the police had found five kilos of dried peas in their pantry.

- (12) None applicable.
- (13) The best advice is the old Hungarian saying: ~~XXXXXXXX~~  
 "It's silver to talk and it's gold to keep silent." One  
 has to be careful with whom <sup>one</sup> ~~he~~ talks. <sup>One</sup> ~~he~~ should not talk with  
 unknown persons. If somebody ~~criticized~~ criticized the go-  
 vernment you should be in the favor of the government.
- (13a) Yes, for example, the jobs at the state experimental sta-  
 tions.
- (13b) Not very much. If a Party member makes a mistake he can fall  
 even lower than the average fellow.
- (13c) Personal connections with the AVO are always of a great help  
 but they cost a fortune.
- (13d) People of proletarian origin get a ~~more~~ more lenient  
 treatment. The police know everybody's origin, it's impossible  
 to hide it. One can cheat perhaps at the personnel department  
 of a factory but never before the police.
- (13e) There is a very great corruption.

- (13f) Yes, one could escape trouble, provided one had not been an aristocrat or a Nazi.
- (13g) There was no difference in religion if we disregard the Catholic bishops. Nobody had his home searched just because he was a Catholic. The intellectuals were watched more severely simply because they had more Western connections.
- (14) Yes, for example the terror was much more severe in the time of the great deportations in 1950. In those time people were deported from the border area. For example, many of them were deported to Russia. Quite a few of them into the mines of Reesk, then many others into the Alfold where the State farms and other similar undertakings were. A acquaintance of mine, a former colonel in the old Hungarian army was deported with his family into the Alfold. He worked there in a State farm for 2 1/2 years, then he was released.
- (14c) The Soviet pressure could not been felt very much in Ovar.
- (15) We had to take over the Russian methods in every field. We had to praise the Russians all the time, for example one never heard so much Russian music as during the Communists. I think, in the <sup>field of</sup> economic the Russian influences were the strongest. They were the least strong in the field of religion.
- (15d) No.
- (15f) I don't no of any Soviet advisors in the factories of Ovar, however, it happened that some Russian people came down from

Budapest for a short visit in the Mofem factory.

(16) With the good friends one could talk freely. If people did not know each other they just smiled and avoided political problems. There were some spontaneous utterances, for example when somebody was swept ~~away~~ away by his passions. It happened very often ~~often~~ with the workers in the factories.

(16c) With the friends

(16d) One could be more candid about literary affairs and less about politics.

(17) The official orders of the Communist system looked strange ~~indeed~~ indeed. They were worded in a way that it should be difficult or even impossible to understand it. They were worded so ~~on purpose~~ on purpose to make life of the average person more miserable. On the other hand the very same wording gave in many cases relief to the average person too. He could sometimes argue with the authorities. Everybody tried to circumvent official orders as far as it was not ~~is~~ too dangerous, particularly the peasantry did everything. The State farm circumvented every order. I would say Hungarian society waged ~~waged~~ a constant warfare against the official orders.

(17 b) It was dangerous for the peasants not to deliver all the grain. In the early fifties the peasants tried to do so but I think late on such ventures were given up.

- (17d) If somebody had good connections he could get a better paying job elsewhere or in another town.
- (17e) I had a friend who wanted to become a doctor. He applied for admission to the university but was turned down in 2 subsequent years. In the third year he was admitted to the faculty of philosophy for Russian studies. So <sup>he</sup> enrolled ~~in~~ at the university in the hope that after two years he will be able to change over to another faculty. Of course, he had a great drawback since his father was a landowner.
- (18a) The terror and the AVO worked as cohesive forces.
- (18b) There were many disruptive forces. For example, the economic ~~bankruptcy~~ bankruptcy then the constant <sup>wavering</sup> ~~wavering~~ of the political line.
- (19) I don't think there was an open ~~opposition~~ opposition, however, there was a great passivity starting way back in 1945 and lasting up to the revolution.
- (19b) Those groups who had to suffer more were more hostile ~~to~~ to the regime. those groups from whom everything was taken away. Then again the religious people were more hostile.
- (19c) The Communists were least hostile.
- (19g) Perhaps Nagy Imre who tried to follow the line of Malenkov.
- (19h) The army was drafted. The people there had no great feelings about Communism., particularly not the people in the reserve who were older people and had family. For example, I was drafted ~~in~~ in the reserve and had to serve in 1950 for

2 months. All the time we wanted to go ~~xxxxxx~~ home. During the 2 months we received some political education and some military education. Nobody was enthusiastic about it but nobody made a sabotage. For example, once we told to the sergeant that if the Americans would come we would take off our drawers and would use ~~xx~~ <sup>them</sup> as the white sign of surrender.

(19k)

In the ordinary production there was no sabotage or slow-down, however, the lack of raw material caused many slow-downs and even stoppages of work.

(19l)

There was no organization of the opposition up to the revolution. The Petöfikor was a spontaneous organization of the writers. The other revolutionary organizations came up like a fire in a hay barn.

(19m)

Before 56 the intellectuals did not manifest any activities of opposition but in 56 the whole ~~discontent~~ <sup>discontent</sup> became suddenly manifest.

- (1) I used to get most of my information from the radios and through acquaintances. The most important source of information were the foreign radios. The second of importance was that of the acquaintances. The newspaper occupied a third rank only.
- (2a) I subscribed to ~~Radió~~ <sup>the</sup> Radióújság. This was a magazine without any political content. Moreover it gave foreign news too. I read mostly fiction. The Hungarian newspapers were of no interest. All of them repeated exactly the same stories. Out of the Hungarian papers the Magyar Nemzet had a certain popularity but the whole press was strictly directed by the Party. Concerning the Hungarian reviews the ~~Vigilia~~ <sup>Vigilia</sup> was good but it ceased publication during the revolution. Mecs László was one of its contributors. We sometimes bought the Irodalmi Újság. One could find one or two good articles in it taken out of the Western magazines. The review of ~~Hay~~ <sup>Hay</sup> Gyula called Irodalmi Szemle was good but it was difficult to obtain in Ovar.
- (2e) In the Gepjavito there was a wall newspaper but it was a very poor one. Nobody could take care of it. It contained only the official announcements. It was no custom to cut out and put on the wall ~~newspaper~~ <sup>newspaper</sup> articles of the real newspapers. I understand that the wall newspaper at the academy was much better.
- (2g) During the last year ~~also~~ I saw the following foreign publications: L'Humanité Lettres Francaises from France, then

Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung from Germany. A friend of mine used to get American magazines and papers, so I saw the Vogue, Life, and Ladies' Home Journal. He usually lent his copies to his friends and we all admired the Western papers.

- (2j) During the revolution I saw some small leaflets with anti-Communist slogans on it. I have not seen them on the house-walls but they went from hand to hand.
- (3) We used to attend the Italian or French films. If such a foreign film was played in a movie house there was a long queue standing for tickets. So it happened that in one month I was four times in the movies because of the foreign films. Then there were months when no foreign films came to Ovar and I did not go to the movies.
- (3a) I preferred those films which were neither Russian nor Hungarian.
- (3b) None applicable.
- (3c) See above. The Russian films are very primitive, however, they made an excellent film out of Shakespeare's ~~Hamlet~~ "As You Like It". It was very interesting. In an average year I saw three or four Russian films. It was always easy to get tickets when Russian films were played.
- (3e) A few times I went to the theatre in Győr. I attended concerts too. I saw Madame Butterfly in Budapest. The

Faluszin haz  
 so-called ~~Rekuszkas haz~~ played a play by Schiller. I saw it  
 in Ovar.

- (4) I was reading books almost every day, let's say on the average two hours a day. I read all kinds of books.
- (4e) I had many favorite writers particularly the French classics, realists, and the German romantics. I liked Fontane, Goethe, Shakespeare, and Molière. These writers were published in Hungarian translation.
- (4g) It was impossible to get the contemporary Western literature in the public libraries. The books were cheap and in every month two or three books were ~~not~~ published which were worthwhile to be bought. However, nobody bought the contemporary writers.
- (9) We regularly listened to the domestic radio, particularly to the program called Radio ~~Vilagszinhaz~~ <sup>Vilagszinhaz</sup>. The operas once or twice a week were very good too. I liked the records and concerts. In the last ~~in~~ time before the revolution we could even hear American jazz records. We did not like in the domestic radio the too many political talks, political lectures. We did not like the Russian program. I would ~~say~~ <sup>say</sup> that in the average household in Hungary there is ~~one~~ <sup>a</sup> radio and people can receive foreign stations.
- (6) Yes, I listened to foreign stations and all my acquaintances did so. I think that in Ovar the station of Vienna was the most popular because of the good reception. Similarly we listened to the radio stations in Linz and Graz.



- (6d) Those people who liked jazz music listened to the station in Tanger, Africa because in the evening hours it had a good reception. Moreover we listened to the Radio Free Europe, Voice of America and to the Hungarian program of London. We could receive the stations from Yugoslavia. I think that London was the most reliable foreign broadcast. The Radio Free Europe was the least ~~reliable~~ reliable.
- (6e) I don't know of any such case, however, I suppose everybody was cautious when listening to foreign radio stations.
- (7) People usually exchanged the radio news as well as the local news. The old coffee house life ceased entirely. I understand that now after the revolution some of the coffee houses were opened up. We met usually in the pastry shop where we talked sometimes even about politics but rather cautiously.
- (8) Concerning the Hungarian newspapers we believed what they said about a ~~man~~ movie program and sometimes even the weather forecast. The <sup>main trouble</sup> ~~main trouble~~ with the newspapers was that they did not give any news, only political talk.
- (8a) The reliability of the press in Hungary decreased. A newspaper from 48 was quite different from that in 56.
- (8d) I think the newspapers did not lie but simply withheld the news.
- (8e) There was no difference.

- (8f) Yes, since 1955 perhaps even before that. See above.
- (8g) There was a certain pressure to subscribe to the Szabad Nep, however, I did not subscribe.
- (8h) It was not available in province, however, I know that people in Pest liked it.
- (9) Yes, very much so.
- (9a) Those who~~x~~ were dissatisfied
- (10a) I am undecided on this point. It was good from an American point of view, however, doubtful from ~~an~~ moral point of view. In war though there is no morality. In those times I was shocked by the dropping of the atomic bomb but I did not disapprove it.
- (10b) We thought the the war was started by the North Koreans, but even if the Americans started it it was well founded, however, the compromise at the end of the war was strange.
- (10c) It is possible that the Russian showed some ~~flies~~ <sup>flies</sup> ~~flies~~ to the foreign correspondents. It was a stupid idea.
- (10e) One of the Free Europe balloons ~~was~~ found in our city. It was a good action~~x~~ since it made the Russians nervous. It was a beautiful sight to see the balloon and to see the leaflets carried by the wind. Everybody tried to pick them up.
- (10h) We have heard about the ~~emigre~~ <sup>emigre</sup> ~~emigre~~ activities abroad but we did not think very much about it. Peyer was not to popular. Nagy Ferenc was abroad too. We were not interested in what they were doing. Their names were seldom or never mentioned at home. None of them had a great popularity.

We did not value very much the emigration. There is an old saying that 2 Hungarians form three political parties. The emigration did even worse

- (1) It would be good if the Russians would <sup>vent</sup> go home and there were free elections in Hungary. The human rights should be given to the country. At present there are no rights. Nobody knows what tomorrow will bring. At present there is an economic bankruptcy in the country and the prices are going constantly up. I understand the price of the butter has been just raised in Hungary.
- (1a) The health insurance system is relatively good. The system of the OTI gives medical care and medicine for nothing. There are some other benefits for the workers, for example the summer vacation which should stay.
- (2) The election should decide which one of the political parties should stay. According to the old proverb: 2 Hungarians establish 3 political parties. There should not be any kingdom.
- (2a) Yes, if somebody feels like doing so.
- (2b) In case of free elections the Communist Party would fail anyhow and the Social Democrats would more or less fail too. Later on the Communist Party could be openly prohibited as it had happened in Western Germany.
- (3) Everybody should have the right to talk freely. People would listen to the clearer talks only. A free press is necessary.
- (3c) Criticism of the government should be permitted.
- (3d) The irresponsible statements should be blocked but reasonable criticism should be permitted. Here in Germany

it is wrong that the government is criticized because of the rearmament. If the foreign policy of the government is criticized in a destructive way it should not be permitted.

- (4) Yes, it is right.
- (4a) It depends on the circumstances. An underground organization, a putsch is a sinister undertaking.
- (4b) Armed uprising against the government is justified if the government does not stand on the basis of free elections and the government acts against the will of the people. That was the situation in Hungary.
- (5) Hungary's agriculture should be restored ~~xxxx~~ to the old level. We were an agricultural state. Our industry needs a reformation. We do not need any heavy industry but light industry. Some old factories such as the Gamma or Weiss Manfred should stay.
- (6) It is difficult to answer.
- (6b) Undoubtedly many small plants should be restored to their former owners, perhaps all plants where the number of workers is less than 250. If somebody's farm was taken away it should be restored too. Perhaps all the farms up to 300 yokes. I don't ~~xx~~ know what we should do with Weiss Manfred.
- (6c) Private profit is good. It is necessary to have free competition and free competition leads to better quality

in production.

- (6d) I would put my money into a state bank rather than into a private bank. State banks are more secure.
- (6e) State monopolies are alright if the state spends the money in a clever way. In the Communist system, for example, the workers paid very small taxes.
- (6g) The Kōzert should stay but private people should be permitted to open their own stores. Since private trade ceased it was necessary to stand in long queues. Small trade is very good.
- (7) It is not right to take away somebody's property without paying him an indemnity. If the state needs light industry it should build factories. In the case of free competition everybody would buy that kind of merchandise he wishes to buy.
- (8) State planning is wrong in agriculture because there are so many local variations. In industry a certain kind of state direction is necessary. There were state farms even in the old times but as it is done nowadays it is wrong. Under Communism state planning cost a lot of money and did not bring any results. I ~~know~~ know one case which illustrates my point. A former manager of the Mauthner seed growing company was kicked out of his job but later became the manager of a state agricultural experimental station. There he was ordered to grow cotton. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ He told right at the beginning

that cotton growing is impossible, however, he was forced to do so. Finally he was kicked out again and charged with sabotaging the production.

- (9) The state should not interfere with such fields of human life<sup>as</sup> where somebody goes, <sup>or</sup> how he makes a living. The state should not interfere with literature or arts unless it is definitely against the good morals.
- (10) Yes, the citizen has certain duties towards the state.
- (10a) The tax system should be progressive.
- (10b) Military service is alright
- (10c) Orders and laws of a freely elected government should be kept. Without <sup>keeping</sup> ~~maintaining~~ the order a great chaos would engulf the country.
- (10e) The duty of the state is to insure the safety of private property and life. I am thinking of a normal life with ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ chances of good work, with human rights, and a normal standard of living.
- (11) Medical care in Hungary is tolerable, however, medicine supply and hospital places are insufficient. There are not enough hospital beds and sick people were forced to leave the hospital before a complete recovery. The doctors have to work hard. There is a lack of good doctors. This <sup>is</sup> one of the fields where the Communists could not kick out the old people. The OTI worked ~~fair~~ fairly well. Anybody with a serious illness was sent to a hospital.
- (11b) Not everybody has equal medical care in Hungary. If some-

body ~~has~~ has a more complicated sickness such as TB he needs money for a complete recovery. If somebody needs many operations he needs money too. If somebody wanted to visit a specialist he charged 150 and 200 forints for one visit. Then again foreign medicines could be obtained on the black market only for exorbitant prices.

- (11c) Private physicians do a much better job. Particularly in dentistry.
- (12) There are no more opportunities to go to the movies. In our city there has been one movie and the Communists did not build any more. The question ~~of seats~~ depends pretty much on what film is played. If a Western film comes to Hungary one has to buy tickets two days ahead of the performance. I would say generally the opportunities are the same as in old times.
- (12a) Yes, tickets were very cheap.
- (13) No.
- (13a) Yes and it is understandable.
- (13b) There is a very slight difference, a very slight decrease in food supply. In 1950 there were months when we could buy meat every day. In 56 we could buy meat only once or twice a week.
- (13c) Concerning nutrition there is no great difference between a doctor and a worker although the doctor is eating more meat, more fruit, chocolate, honey and so on. He is eating more luxury items. People in Budapest are eating



much better than in the country. <sup>The</sup> ~~Any~~ imported food items are sold in Budapest. Living in Ovar I have seen oranges only once since the end of the war. In Ovar we could get only 2 or 3 lemons. In Budapest you could buy 1 or 2 kilograms of them. In Budapest the peaches were cheaper than in our city and you could buy more and better ones in Budapest than in Ovar.

(14) No.

(14a) Better in 1946

(14b) The situation is more or less the same,

(14c) The average person wears a suit as long as it can be worn. You cannot make any social distinctions on the basis of clothing. Everybody buys the so-called <sup>type</sup> ~~type~~-suits, the doctor and the worker just the same. On the other hand even the worker has a ready-made suit. There are no such differences <sup>in</sup> ~~maxtime~~ clothing of the ~~fi~~ different classes as they exist in Germany.

(15) Yes, it increased, however, we cannot compare the present situation with ~~195~~ 1945. If we compare it with the industrial production in 1938 the production increased. Many new factories were built but all this development happened at the expense of agriculture. At present there is no unemployment and everybody is working who can move.

(16) In the state-owned plant the workers ~~wkww~~ should have

a right in deciding what should be done. In the private plants it is good if the management informs the workers about the general business situation, however, the workers should not have any right of decision.

(16a) The trade unions should be as they are in the West. They should defend the workers. They should fight for realistic wages.

(16b) The trade unions are not a political party. They should be independent from the state.

(16c) Membership should be entirely voluntary.

(16d) The experts should manage the factories. An unskilled worker should not become a manager.

(17) There are cooperatives in the Western countries too. There is a good type of cooperative even in Hungary where everybody can keep ~~his~~ his land and the cooperative is working only in selling the products. This is the Western form <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ the cooperative and could be ~~maintained~~ maintained in the future in Hungary too. In Denmark they have very good milk cooperatives where membership is voluntary and <sup>they</sup> do an excellent job. Of course, in Hungary it would be necessary that expert agriculturists should lead the co-operatives.

(17c) Collective farms were established with force in Hungary. Consequently everybody ~~should~~ should get back his land. Then if he wishes he can join voluntarily any cooperative.

(17g) It should be returned up to a certain size.

- (17h) Yes, the backbone of the country is the medium peasantry, those having farms between 15 and 100 acres.
- (17i) This is a delicate question. 10 000 yokes are too big and unnecessary. I would say that above a certain limit such as 2000 yokes the old land-holdings should not be restored.
- (17,1) Yes, the state should help agriculture through the so-called seed and artificial manure actions, through stock farms and agricultural machinery.
- (17m) Machine and tractor stations have no sense. There are no tractor stations in Germany. If somebody had 15 yokes he had his own tractor. If somebody had 5 or 6 yokes he worked with an ox. The tractor stations had only a political significance in Hungary and they worked very poorly. They wasted gasoline since they were going 40 km to do some work. If somebody wanted to get a tractor he could never get one since they were all occupied.
- (18) Before the war there was no poor <sup>relationship</sup> ~~relation~~ between church and state. A freedom in religious practice means good relations between church and state.
- (18a) The state should not give financial support to the churches and the priests should not have large estates.
- (18b) The same policy should be followed towards all the churches.
- (18c) If the peasants do not need the land a part of the former <sup>church</sup> ~~church~~ estates can be restored, however, they should not get back all their estates, particularly not the large estates.
- (18d) The old schools should be restored to the church, however,

- the teaching schedule should be regulated by the state.
- (18e) Teaching of religion should be restored.
- (18f) I would send my son to church school but it would depend on my financial standing. I would send him to the School of the Piarists because it was a better school.
- (19) All the Party members should be gathered and examined <sup>why</sup> ~~where~~ they were Party members, what they did. If somebody did criminal acts I would put him into some very hard physical work and would send him every Saturday to a political seminary where he could hear about Marxism. I do not want any bloodshed but those people should work and with their work should rebuild the country which they have destroyed. I would give them for their work as much pay as they are giving now to the workers. I am thinking right now of the Party secretaries in the different factories.
- (19b) The big shots should stand before a court and should be judged according to law. This would include the AVO people too.
- (19e) The DISZ has no political significance. The youngsters went there in order to play ping-pong.
- (19f) If somebody murdered he should be hung. Everybody should be punished according to the law although I am sure that many of the <sup>criminal acts</sup> ~~shots~~ will be never unearthed. The drafted AVO people are of ~~another kind~~ another kind but the ~~are~~ officers of the AVO from the sergeant on joined it voluntarily and they should be punished.

(19g) The members of the police were passive but they should be checked. The officers of the police came from the folk kader ~~folk kader~~ and their head was full of Marxist slogans. I would dismiss them right away.

(19h) I think Nagy Imre will be in jail in Rumania for about 10 years. I would not punish him. It is something different with Kadar. I would send him to jail for 10 to 15 years but I would not murder him. Nagy Imre is very popular right now.

(20) Because of its geographical situation, <sup>Hungary</sup> ~~Hungarian~~ has been the defending bastion of the West, in the times of the Tartans and of the Turks. It ~~has~~ has been well shown in the time of king Mathias and Louis the Great. The Hungarians stopped the Turkish power which was a great historical merit. We have had cultural connections with the West and with the West only beginning from the 16th century. Beginning with such writers as Bersenyei.

(21) Every nation has a certain character and culture. Our national character can be described in the terms of general patriotism. <sup>Just for life, & gaiety, I would</sup> ~~able to get along as well~~ say that the Hungarians were ~~as well~~ as members of the same family.

(21a) Yes, it differs. For example, we do not like to make so many organizations as the Germans. The German is more awkward, slow-moving, but more precise. You can see it in the German impressionistic paintings.

- (21b) They differ very much. The Russians are very backward, once they were 120 years behind Europe. The Communists <sup>lay</sup> ~~made up~~ made up 40 years out of this ~~XXXX~~. The Russians have a different civilization, different pretensions, way of life. It was always so even in the times of the tsars. They have been much poorer than we are.
- (21c) Yes.
- (21e) No, the differences between the social classes have been washed away although class differences still exist. Right now there are no very great financial differences. An engineer does not make more money than many skilled workers.
- (21f) The differences were greater.
- (22) The government of Teleki Pal was good. Our last politician in the classical sense of the word was Apponyi Albert.
- (22f) There was very much economic inequality.
- (22g) The regime was not good but still better than the Communist regime. Even that regime had many great shortcomings.
- (22i) I don't know very much about that period. It was the period of a complete bankruptcy. Everything had to be started from scraps.
- (23) The problem of the nationalities is here involved. The Croats want an independent ~~Esstakiy~~ Croatia and the Slovaks want a country of their own. In this case what will happen to those Hungarians who live there? The

treaty of Trianon was entirely wrong. All those parts of Transylvania and of upper Hungary where Hungarians live should be returned to Hungary. Actually it would be better if everything would be returned to Hungary and the old state borders of ~~1919~~ 1914 could be restored. The treaty of Trianon created an artificial state, created by the whim of the entente. The country of Trianon was unable to live ~~farther~~ from an economic and political point of view. Transylvania is an integral part of Hungary. But I am not a great nationalist.

(23d)

If there were conflicts they were caused by the other nations. The ~~by~~ Czechs did many dirty tricks. The Serbs are neither good nor too bad. Nowadays <sup>they</sup> are popular mainly because of Tito who turned his ~~back~~ <sup>back</sup> to the Russians. His courage is liked very much ~~by~~ the Hungarians.

(23f)

There is no good life in Transylvania although the Russians say that there are no ~~nationality~~ nationality problems. The Hungarians are suppressed. On the other ~~at~~ hand it is true, that as long as Erdely belonged to us we suppressed the Rumanians too.

(23g)

They get along pretty well. They have the same mentality. We can get along with the Austrians much better than with the Germans. We like the Austrians. Whenever they came to Budapest for a football match there was a great fraternization.

(24)

Neutrality would be good. But this has to depend on the guarantees. It is easy for Switzerland to be a neutral

country. But our geographical position is bad. I am for neutrality. A small state should not wage a war.

(24a) There should be a ~~frank~~ friendly relationship with the Danubian states. Relationship on economic and political lines. A Danubian confederation would be clever.

(24d) Russia should be included in the trade and commerce of the Danubian federation. But Russia should be only a commercial partner and not a cultural partner. The Russian culture is strange to us.

(25) If he does not drink the Russian is of good will, simple, not too bad, likes the children and is dirty.

(25c) No, that is impossible. It was the <sup>let</sup> great mistake of Stalin that he ~~dearnt~~ let the Russians ~~ix~~ visit European countries where they saw the standard of living in the Capitalistic countries.

(25d) Thanks to God I have not met ~~my~~ many Russians. The soldiers are very primitive. They live almost like animals. Of course, this is the fault of the system. I always had the feeling that the Russians were strange people. They do not live a humanlike life. They live in an extreme poverty. They washed in the toilet and kept potatoes in the washstand. They took off the <sup>tires</sup> ~~tyres~~ of the bicycles and rode it that way. Sometimes one almost pitied them. The average Russian is innocent in all those crimes.

(26) Marxism is an out-of-date theory <sup>which is contrary to</sup> ~~and standing apart from~~ the real life. His idealistic theory failed in reality. The Communists do not care very much about the principles



of Marx. They are only slogans. Russia could have been easily consolidated with the aid on an American loan and they refused it. The great marxist propaganda has no sense whatsoever. I had a librarian friend in Ovar and at one time he displayed 400 booklets at an exhibition. All of them were about Marxism but nobody read them. Nobody reads the thick volumes of Lenin or Stalin. They are written in a stupid way without any logic and are very tiresome readings.

(26g) No opinion

(26h) Democracy means the ruling of the folk. It is based on the lower layers of the folk. Democracy means, the workers, the peasants and the lower white collar people.

(26i) Perhaps there was a democracy after the compromise although there was a king at that time.

(26j) He cannot be judged.

(27) Tito is a clever scoundrel and a very clever politician. He is a democrat whenever he gets loans from the Americans and he is a Communist whenever he can get something from Russia. I don't know whether his system can be called Communism. He took up the name of National Communism only in order to satisfy the Russians. Actually it is a mere dictatorship.

(27e) Communists regard patriotism as a sin. Communism means Internationalism. He can be a patriot only in time of a war.

- (28) The situation would have depended entirely on the Russians. Nagy Imre wanted a government on the pattern of Poland.
- (28b) I do not think that he would have stayed in the government.
- (29a) It is good in its classical sense.
- (29b) Good.
- (29c) Bad
- (29d) Bad
- (29e) It is good for the imperialist. For me it is bad
- (29f) Good
- (29g) It is good. It produced intellectual values.
- (29h) As writer he is mediocre. As man he is like thrash.
- (29i) The Kulak is good
- (29j) Don't know
- (29k) Good for the Czechs, bad for us.
- (29l) Medium
- (29m) Anna Kethly.
- (29n) Good, because he opposed the system.
- (30) The small-holders Party would get many votes. Then the Christian Democratic Party then the Liberal Conservative Party and finally the Social Democrats would come in.
- (30a) It is difficult to answer. There is nobody who could stand up. Kovacs Bela is a very honest man but without abilities. We have no real politicians. I don't know the ~~emigrants~~ emigres.

- (31a) The workers were getting less although the Communists always said the opposite.
- (31b) Less.
- (31c) Less.
- (31d) Less
- (31e) More, particularly the doctors. They were still called Mr. Doctor and not comrade
- (31f) Everybody is a government employee and is getting less.
- (31g) More
- (31h) There was no such thing.
- (31i) The same.
- (32) All groups had a much higher standard of living. I don't know how good the social insurance system was in old times.
- (33a) ~~These~~ Their interests are in conflict. The alliance of the workers and the peasants is a folk-tale. It comes out at the time of pricing agricultural products. The workers want to buy the <sup>food</sup> ~~xxx~~ at a low price. The farmers want to sell <sup>it</sup> ~~them~~ for a high price.
- (33b) They coincide.
- (33e) The conflict.
- (33f) The church is no more such a great power as it used ~~wt~~ to be.
- (33g) 90% of the old aristocracy left the country. Those who stayed at home live like the other average people. They forgot about their titles. 2% of them were arrested.

Some others joined the Party.

(331) They were in conflict. The prices were set arbitrarily by the large estate. It was no good.

(34) I do not think that the United States were dangerous. The Americans do not colonise, but it is still better to live in an American colony than in a <sup>people's</sup> ~~people's~~ democracy. The Americans want to make business and no great harm can <sup>of</sup> come out ~~from~~ their business.

(35) In case of a war everybody would use his drawers as <sup>flags</sup> white ~~fixgax~~ before the <sup>enemy.</sup> ↑ There was no martial spirit in Hungary. During one of the summers I had to take part in <sup>the</sup> ~~in~~ reserve training of the army for 2 months. There the major said that it would be a suicide to go to the front with such an army. We had a very poor food. Black coffee and soup for breakfast and the same thing for supper. Our equipment was very poor, particularly the guns.

(36) My opinions changed only so far that I became disillusioned concerning the spiritual attitude of the Western countries. The ~~big~~ large masses there are not educated. They lead a visual life and not a spiritual one. A friend of mine writes from Switzerland that even the well educated Swiss people do not know anything about Hungary. People in the Western countries are very naive. In other respects I am satisfied. I have seen many beautiful things and I have not seen any ragged people.

- (1a) Through such conversations you will get a cross-section. The important questions cannot be answered pretty well. It would be much better to get them and answer them at home in writing. Now I am afraid there will be many sad contradictions during the conversation. A professor in America would vainly look through the conversations. It is necessary to live in the system in order to appraise it.
- (1d) I don't think people would give you false answers. It could be found out pretty easily.
- (1e) It would be good to have conversations with Party members and government officials.
- (2) I would return to Hungary only after the evacuation of the Russians. My present plan is to stay here in Germany for about 3 years. I would like to get some practice in agriculture. Then I would go to Australia or Canada. My sister went with her husband to America. But they have some troubles there. They are on parole there., and she writes me that they will be deported from ~~America~~ America in case the Russians evacuate Hungary. Her husband had many troubles with his job. My sister is working as a typist somewhere.
- (3) It would be good for you to see Hungary.