

- (1) The questionnaire is pretty good and the questions are well selected.
- (1a) It was a good feeling to talk about such questions.
- (1c) No
- (1d) You will get fairly honest answers, however, you should not interview the students only. They are too young. They have no knowledge of the previous times. Their answers may be ^{distorted} ~~misleading~~ in a certain way.
- (2) I want to emigrate to the United States. At the present time I have no intention of returning to Hungary. Perhaps in some later time I pay a visit there.
- (3) Concerning such suggestions see above. I was asked by UN special committee to give a testimony. It was an excellent hearing and the committee received very good information. They invited representatives of all social classes in Hungary. Only one third of the people who appeared there belonged to the intellectuals. The other parts were selected from the peasantry, from the working class and so on.

- (35) An insignificant minority would fight in case of war. Not more than 2% of the people would ~~stand~~ stand with the present system.
- (36) My opinions did not change. The revolution cleared ~~out~~ all the problems. Since that time no further changes of opinion have been necessary.

- (31b) It's a criminal gang recruited out of the scum of the people. Every chairman ~~xxxxx~~ of the collective farms should be hanged.
- (31c) There were great changes from time to time. From 1950 to 56 it got less.
- (31d) Less.
- (31e) Less.
- (31f) The new ones received more.
- (31g) Received much more.
- (31h) They were liquidated.
- (31i) The same.
- (32) Everybody was much better off before 1948.
- (33a) The interests are the same.
- (33b) There was an anti-intellectual attitude created by the Communist Party.
- (33c) There is no conflict.
- (33d) There is no conflict. 80% of the old aristocracy left the country. The remaining part either became Communist or is living in a great distress.
- (33e) ~~Maxxxxxx~~ No conflict.
- (34) It is wrong to say that the United States and the Soviet Union are equally dangerous. The United States does not endanger the interests of a small state. The Soviet Union is dangerous for everybody because of the Soviet imperialism.

- (29a) Good.
- (29b) Bad.
- (29c) Bad.
- (29d) Bad.
- (29e) Bad.
- (29f) Bad, however, I think a slow evolution towards Socialism would be good.
- (29g) It ceased to exist. It is no more necessary.
- (29h) The Kulak as an independent farmer is good.
- (29i) Veres Peter is a very able, very well educated and clever peasant. However, he lost his ways in politics. He can be influenced too easily.
- (29j) Bad.
- (29k) Good.
- (29l) Very bad.
- (29m) She has a very great political authority although she made many mistakes in emigration.
- (29n) In old times he had a very great authority but he ceased to exist as a political factor. It was a bad mistake that he took asylum at the American Legation of Budapest.
- (30) An agrarian party such as the fusion of the small-holder and the peasant party would win the election.
- (30a) It is impossible to know. There is nobody neither at home nor in the emigration. No new names emerged.
- (31a) Less.

for the majority of the Russians. The majority are really hoping for a peace.

- (26) I did not read ideological books except the selected speeches of Stalin. I think that Marxism as a principle is not entirely wrong, however, its realization is impossible. So far every attempt to realize it failed.
- (26g) Yes, it is possible.
- (26h) Democracy means free elections and the will of the majority.
- (26i) There was no real democracy in Hungary. In 1945 we stood nearest to a democracy.
- (26j) Tito is a national Communist.
- (27) I think that National Communism is a self-contradiction. Communism means Internationalism. In a practical way Tito followed a very clever policy and received great results ~~results~~ in his own country. He is a good practical politician, however, he has no ideological background.
- (27e) No it is impossible. Communism cannot be reconciled with patriotism. I am very much against a too great Nationalism particularly against Chauvinism.
- (28) In this case the program of the revolution could have been realized.
- (28b) Yes, if there was no revolution. He had a great authority all over the country.

- (23) In my mind a Danubian ~~union~~ confederation would be necessary. Perhaps a united Europe would be ~~was~~ ^{even} better but its establishment would face even greater difficulties. I am against revisionism, however, I think an honest policy towards the minorities is necessary.
- (23a) I do not think there was a natural conflict. It was only something artificially created by the pre-war political system in Hungary. I lived in Pozsony for 2 years and I saw with my own eyes the welfare of the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia. The Hungarian leaders there for example Szall6s Geza had a great authority in Prague. In the other neighboring countries the Hungarian minorities had grievances and those grievances were used by the Horthy system for its own political purposes.
- (24) The problems of the small states could be well solved on the basis of the blueprint drawn up at Strassbourg for the United States of Europe. This blueprint guarantees the rights of the small states as well as of any other state.
- (25) The poor Russian people has lived all the time under a terrible oppression. The people themselves are good but now they would need a re-education of 20 years to learn political freedom and democracy. The majority of them are not Communist. It is true that many of them particularly the leaders are filled with a dream of the world dominance of Russia but this is not true

freedom. In the past she ~~was~~^{never} has had such a chance.

(21) I don't think there is a Hungarian national character although frankness and temperament characterizes many Hungarians. The Hungarians are no good diplomats.

(21e) There are no more social classes in Hungary. The differences ceased.

(21f) In old times there were such ~~differences~~ differences but it is much better that they ^{have} ceased. In old times Hungary was a backward country because the peasantry had no freedom.

(22) The government up to 1914 was good. The area of the compromise insured the ~~greatest~~ greatest freedom and greatest boom to Hungary. In the time of the monarchy there was for example a republican party in Hungary which openly agitated against the kingdom. By the way, ~~kingdom~~ kingdom cannot be restored in Hungary.

(22f) Yes, there was a very great social inequality in old Hungary.

(22i) Between 1945 and 48 there was more or less something like a democracy, however, it was during that time that the Communists prepared ~~their~~ their rule. I still remember the free political speeches that could be delivered in those years particularly the speeches of Sulyok Dezső and Irre Kovacs. There was only one free political election in Hungarian history. That was in 1945.

supported by the state.

(18b) No, there should not be any differences.

(18d) The churches should be permitted to establish their own schools.

(18e) The teaching of religion should not be compulsory but facultative . The parents should have the freedom to decide on that point without any pressure.

(18f) I should restore the schools of the churches and I would send my children to the denominational schools. I visited the church school in ^{Godolló} ~~Godolló~~ and know that it is better.

(19) I would say that the Party members should get a clean sheet. They should not feel any special revenge. Of course, those people who committed an ordinary ~~error~~ crime or the AVU people should be held responsible.

(19e) Nothing should happen to the Youth League members.

(19f) See above.

(19g) There was no ~~special~~ special ~~problem~~ problem with the members of the police. Most of them could stay in their present job.

(19h) We should forget about those groups. We should pardon their members.

(20) For centuries up to the present time Hungary made many sacrifices in the defence of Western Christianity. A neutral Hungary could be in the future a bridge between East and West. And Hungary should have a chance to have

desirable.

(17c) The collective farms should be abolished and every peasant should have a free choice what to do.

(17e) The land reform as conceived in 1954 should be kept with minimal changes only. I would be good to ~~put~~ ^{an} ~~end~~ to many of the ~~large~~ ^{dwarf} farms ~~since many of the~~ since many of the dwarf farmers would be willing to give up their landholdings. There should not be any large estates. From my part I would put an upper limit around 300 yokes for land holdings. The ~~average~~ average farmer should have something like 20 yokes ~~at~~ which can be cultivated easily by one family and insures a livelihood for a peasant family. The shoemaker should not get land just because he is a Party secretary. The Kolkhoz system of the Communists failed anyhow. In 1956 there were 4500 cooperatives working in Hungary. And during the few days of the revolution 3000 of them were voluntarily dissolved. Nowadays 70% of the arable land is in private property.

(17h) Yes

(17i) No

(17,1) The state should not help agriculture except for certain circumstances such as in the case of a depression.

(17m) Machine and tractor stations should be in the hands of private cooperatives but not in the hands of the state.

(18) The state should secure complete religious freedom. The churches should not get back their former land-holdings but a certain indemnity. The churches should not be

Hungarian textile industry produced according to the old qualities.

- (14b) The situation was the same in 1950 and 1956.
- (15) The industrial production in Hungary increased in certain sectors, for example in heavy industry. On the other hand productivity decreased very much. People sabotaged and the means of production are obsolete.
- (15c) An increase of the industrial production would be very desirable, however, the present system is very bad.
- (16) The workers in the nationalized sector ~~xxx~~ of the industry should be owners. They should have their representation on the board of directors. The trade unions should have a much ~~g~~ greater role in this field. There should be a workers' council in every plant cooperating with the directors.
- (16a) In the private sector of the industry the owner should have the right to select and appoint his manager. He will do it according to his own interest. But even there in the private sector there should be a workers' council. In the state sector of the industry the competent ministries should appoint the leaders and managers. They should be appointed according to ~~xxx~~ common sense, according to ~~their~~ their experience.
- (17) My opinion of the collective farms is the worst possible. On the other hand are private cooperations are ~~very~~ very

mitted to be sick and ^{no} ~~50~~ more.

(12) It is true ^{that the} theatre and movie tickets are cheaper ~~than~~ than in old times but the possibilities to use them are less. In the Horthy system there were more movies than they are now. In the Horthy ~~system~~ ^{there were} in Budapest ~~there were~~ exactly the same number of ~~theatres~~ ^{stage} theatres as they are now. At the same time the population of the city doubled. In the ~~theatres~~ theatres there is never an empty place. In the movies there is empty place when a Russian film is played.

(13) Hungarians eat much ~~worse~~ ^{worse} than before the war. People suffer because of the lack of vitamins. The cafeterias are very poor both in quality and quantity.

(13a) The situation is worse now than in 46.

(13b) In 1950 and 56 the food situation was by and large the same. The best ~~situation~~ situation was in the years 1947 and 48 because of the stabilization. Then the situation worsened.

(14) This is a sore point for the average Hungarian, particularly for the middle class people. ~~Textile~~ Textile materials are so expensive that nobody can pay the prices. A ready-made suit cost 2 months salary for the average person. There are no good raw materials since we use Russian wool which is ^{of} a poor quality. People are wearing patched up clothes and shoes full of wholes.

(14a) The situation was better in 1946. In those times the

small professional army of Hungary without any compulsory military service.

(10c) The law should be kept very strictly. The law should be simple. Everybody should understand it. I would abolish capital ~~and~~ punishment. There should not be any political crimes and political police. For the distant future I have to refer again to the example of the Scandinavian States where theft is a rarity. The courts and judges should be entirely independent from any political pressure and particularly from the government.

(10e) Yes, the state must insure to every citizen the same freedom and the same rights. On the other hand the state should not insure something like a right to work. The unemployment insurance should be handled by the trade unions. The state should insure public order.

(11) Public health and medical care were very poor in the Horthy system. Under the Communists it became even worse. The SZTK which followed the old OTI never received the necessary amount of money from the state. The Communists never had enough ^{money} ~~money~~ for medical care. Consequently in the SZTK there were never enough doctors, hospitals, medicines. The state of medicine supply is catastrophic in Hungary because no medicines can be imported. The Communist system did not fight infectious diseases, did not fight TB. The malnutrition increased the number of illnesses. The doctors in the SZTK worked on ~~the~~ the basis of statistics. A certain percentage of people

was per-

irrealistic plan covering all fields of economic life. In commerce, for example, no state planning is possible. On the other ~~an~~ hand it is good in industry and agriculture. State planning should not mean any force and compulsion but work through premiums. The Western countries know that commerce can flourish only under entirely free competition.

(9) The state should not have a right to interfere with all fields of economic life. It ~~should~~ should not interfere with individual undertakings. For example, the state price control is unnecessary. Prices should be established through the natural way of supply and demand. The office of foreign trade should be controlled ^{partly} by the state and partly by the private business, through something like a common committee. There should be a certain free competition in foreign trade.

(10a) Concerning taxation I am thinking of the tax policy of Sweden which is a good and progressive system. After a certain income 90 % of the income is taken away ^{in taxes.} ~~in taxes.~~ On the other hand the state should insure a certain minimal standard of living to every citizen.

(10b) I am thinking of a neutral ~~Magyar~~ Hungary which needs only a minimal armed forces. There should be a general compulsory military service no longer than 1 year. Later on even this 1 year can be reduced because of the modern weapons. ^{assistant} ~~assistant~~ In the ~~future~~ future I can ~~not~~ visualize a

tobacco and alcohol. Even certain segments of the foreign trade should be under state monopoly. I am thinking of the seed export. Private business could not do very much on this line. On the other hand a state monopoly ~~must~~ could insure the necessary quantity and quality of seeds for export. The state monopoly should work with the aid of premiums to be paid to the individual farmers. In such way a ~~great~~ great transformation of the Hungarian agriculture could be achieved which is so necessary. Hungary should not import wheat like Denmark. On the hand Hungary should produce for export such items as vegetables, fruit, seed and so on.

- (6g) The Kőzert should be abolished. It is unnecessary. There should be private competition in commerce.
- (7) Light industry should be kept in private hands. Even such large factories as the old Goldberger, Pamutipar, Kistext ~~Kistax~~ should be in private hands.
- (8) A certain kind of state planning is necessary, however, that degree of state interference as realized by the Communists is wrong. For example, the seed export which is so important ^{for} in the country ^{function} could ~~function~~ along through a certain kind of state planning. The state should give to the individual ~~x~~ farmers a premium. In such a way the state can direct production.
- (8c) State planning should be elastic. The five years plan ~~was~~ of the Communists failed because it was an

cars should be finished and serviced in Hungary. For example, auto bodies can be ~~xxx~~ manufactured there. There are great possibilities of establishing a strong medium size industry in Hungary such as textile, chemical food industry. There are particularly great possibilities for the food industry. Here is the case of the Hungarian tomatoes which are very rich in vitamins and could be well sold on the foreign markets. However, it did not fit into the Communist ^{economic} foreign policy to ~~xxxx~~ establish a food industry. They wanted to establish a Sztafinvaros with 35 workers who can be easily controlled and organized. They neglected the food industry. We need to import canning machinery from the Western countries which has never been done.

(6b) No large industry should be restored to the former owners.

(6c) Private profit is good. There is no good production without private profit. The workers should be shareholders of the nationalized industry. They should be able to purchase certain shares of limited rights for instalments over several years. The old Communist slogan said: "Worker the factory belongs to you". Now this should be realized in an honest way.

(6d) The large banks should be in the ~~xxxxxxx~~ hands of the state. On the other hand private banks of small size should be permitted. They can carry out many useful functions.

(6e) ~~xxxxxxx~~ Certain state monopolies are right. For example, in

(5) Radical changes will be necessary to lead the country out of the present economic chaos. The basis of the new system should be private property. If some property was taken away from somebody by the Communist system the state should pay a certain indemnity. For example a certain reasonable indemnity should be ^{paid} for the large estates or for the heavy industry. I know that the practical realization of such an indemnity is a very difficult question, however, there are many examples where it was solved. For example, in England. The small land holder should ~~have~~ get back his land. The apartment houses should be returned to private property, however, there should be a progressive tax on the income derived from apartment-houses. Altogether a complete reorganization would be necessary which cannot be discussed in a short time.

(6) The nationalization of the heavy industry is right. The Communists committed a mistake when they overemphasized the heavy industry in Hungary. A realistic program should ~~be~~ take into consideration ^{the} local conditions in Hungary. For example, Hungarian railway building industry has great ~~possibilities~~ possibilities. It can export ~~goods~~ to many underdeveloped countries as it happened in the past and may happen in the future. On the other hand heavy machinery industry cannot be established in Hungary. It is no chance to establish an automobile industry in Hungary since the necessary raw materials cannot be found in Hungary. However, it is desirable that the imported

line. In the old system there was a very wrong argument saying that the Hungarian people was not yet ripe for making politics. This was the slogan of the Horthy system. In 1945 the people showed that they were ripe for making political decisions. I would give freedom even to the Communist Party to participate in any of the future elections.

- (3) Naturally, there should be a complete freedom in the press, in the religions, and in opinions.
- (3c) No, everybody should be permitted to criticize the government. Perhaps some exceptions should be made concerning the person who will be the head of the Hungarian state. On the other hand a law concerning libel suits will be necessary.
- (3d) This is a relative question since who will decide what is detrimental to the state. I am for example for the neutrality of the country but if somebody has the opinion that Hungary should join the NATO he should have the freedom to say so.
- (4) Everybody should be absolutely free to participate in meetings.
- (4b) An armed uprising against the government is possible only in a political system which is not based on the majority of the people. In a democracy uprising is impossible. Our aim is that Hungary should be a democracy.

- (1) The most important things to do were the establishment of a political freedom with free elections and with free speech. The new parliament should make decisions concerning the form of the Hungarian state. The main political platform should be the principles announced by the revolution.
- (1a) One should keep the land reforms with some minimal revisions. In this case I am talking against myself since I were a large land owner. The heavy industry, the large banks, the public utilities should be nationalized. On the other hand the medium ~~sm~~ size industries should be in private hands. I would keep many of the social achievements of the system. For example, summer vacations, the possibilities of free sport for the workers, the financial aid given by the state at the time of birth and marriage, the plant councils and the workers' councils in the factories should be retained. The kolkhoz should be dissolved immediately, however, I would ~~propagate~~ propagate private cooperations. The old program of folk academies should be realized and they should teach the peasantry how to establish private cooperatives. A few state farms must be retained too.
- (2) Political parties are very necessary.
- (2a) All people should be free to organize political parties. The political parties should be selected at the time of the election by the people, ~~by~~ by the voters. I am sure that the Hungarian voters will do a good job in this

in Austria. According to another rumor Nagy Ferenc was negotiating with the higher circles in Washington. Some of this rumors were undoubtedly jokes. On the other hand it was so that people in Hungary overestimated the significance of the Western emigration, however, nothing came out of it and at the time of the revolution the people became disillusioned concerning the emigration. Everybody saw that they were neither important nor interesting from a Hungarian point of view. The name of Nagy Ferenc was no more popular. People believed on the other hand that Sulyok had an important part. I ~~learned~~ learnt only after my arrival in Germany that Sulyok had been put aside. I do not think that at the present time any of the emigre politicians would have any authority in Hungary.

- (10e) I saw one Free Europe balloon over Balatonfured. The balloon was watched by the police. And the police picked up all the leaflets. Very few of them reached the hands of the people. Then they were circulated ~~from~~ from hand to hand very rapidly. However, the leaflets turned to be a ridiculous joke. The leaflets told us what was in Hungary. We know it much better. The leaflets told us that we should persist in our opposition against the Communists. We had the AVO on our neck and we got such advice. It is true, that the balloons made the Communists ~~xxxxxx~~ nervous. On the other hand they were a great disappointment for the population.
- (10f) We heard in the internment camp of Reesk about the Berlin riots. There was an AVO man who regularly told us the news. We had great hopes at that time, however, nothing came out of it.
- (10g) The whole country was full of hopes at the time of the summit meeting. Everybody hoped for a compromise between Russia and America. Everybody hoped that there will be a neutral ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{belt} and Hungary will belong to this neutral ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{belt}. After that came the cold shower. Several persons in Budapest committed suicide. It was impossible to achieve as much in Geneva as to put on the agenda the question of the ~~x~~ iron curtain. It became clear to us that Bulganin could do what he wanted.
- (10h) The most fantastic rumors were circulating about the activities of the emigres. One rumor said that General ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{Nisbarnaki} Parkas is standing with 100 000 soldiers

radio, however, there was a program entitled Saturday ~~Afternoon~~ Afternoon which reminded of the old jokes of the famous figures, Haasok and Sajo. This program, again through a reactionary hero, tried to caricature the Communist system. Everybody loved the reactionary hero, everybody listened to it.

(8f) Yes, see above

(8g) See above

(8h) See above

(9) Peoples attitude changed several times according to the general political situation. There were periods when everybody was in a lethargy and nobody was interested in the foreign news. After the 20th Congress of the Party the situation changed. Then again for example of the time of the Geneva Conference there was a very great interest. Everybody listened to the ~~the~~ radio. Then again a period of lethargy came.

(10b) The Korean war was started by the Communists, China and North Korea. I was in the prison of Vao when the Korean War broke out and within a few days we got an information ^{on} ~~about~~ the war. At that time we believed that ^{an} ~~the~~ new world war is unavoidable. Then later on we were disagreeably surprised by the compromise made by America in the case ~~in~~ of Korea.

(10c) I heard about it only much later. It was a part of the Russian propoganda. Nobody believed it.

- (7) I did not get much information by word-of-mouth way. There was not much gossiping in Balatonfured. It was difficult to get in touch with the ~~foreign~~ foreigners. The foreigners were cautious and we were even more cautious.
- (7f) The old coffee house life ceased to exist. The life in the espresso is very great but the people spend there only 10 minutes and leave. Everybody is running. Nobody has time anymore to sit in an espresso or coffee house for a long time.
- (7h) In public places it was too dangerous to discuss current events. In small circles, however, it went on all the time. For example, when I was working in the cellar of the hotel ~~xxxxxx~~ Astoria in Budapest 3 of the managers regularly came down and wanted to know the latest news of the foreign radio stations. 2 out of those 3 were Communists. Since I knew foreign languages I could give them certain informations.
- (8) The Communist press is a means of Party propaganda which writes not the existing situation but the dreams of desire of the Communists. ~~xxxxxx~~ People were disinterested in newspapers, did not read them. ~~xxxxxx~~ Newspapers were cheap but very poor. Nobody read them.
- (8d) People were completely passive concerning the newspapers. They did not even try to criticize them. They were not interested in the newspapers.
- (8e) Nobody listened to the news service of the Hungarian

there will be regular program.

- (6) I regularly listened to such radio stations as Free Europe, Voice of America, Paris, Vienna, Stockholm, BBC.
- (6b) Usually I listened in the night hours. If something interesting was in the air I listened more often or for a longer time.
- (6c) I had the worst possible opinion about Radio Free Europe. It has no level whatsoever. It broadcast news ~~which~~ which could be refuted within an hour of the broadcast. Everybody could see that the news of the radio Free Europe had no foundation. The Voice of America was much better, particularly their program about the AVO. There they announced what a certain person in the AVO is doing and announced that the same program will be repeated ^{at} 9.30 at night. It happened very often that the AVO man was notified by his acquaintances. He ran home and listened to the second program.
- (6d) The best radio program abroad is that of the BBC. It is boring but entirely reliable. It gave us information about the world events. The radio Stockholm is interesting too, as well as Vienna. Vienna had an excellent musical program, very much liked by the people. When the opera house in ~~Vienna~~ Vienna was ~~reopened~~ reopened everybody ran home and opened his set to listen to the opera Fidelity.
- (6e) People took care to turn down their radios to a low voice.

witty way. Masses wanted to see the play simple because the reactionary here caricatured the system. Everybody applauded ~~to~~ him. I remember another play ~~with~~ which wanted to caricature the rock-and-roll music. The masses always wanted an encore of the rock-and-roll dances. Every satire of the system failed.

(4) I read very few Hungarian books. ~~With~~ I had no time to do so.

(4a) I could hardly answer this question. I like the old Hungarian writers. In the 1950s the book was a means of propaganda. Cheap but full of Party propaganda. The favorite writers were for example the Hungarian Harsanyi Zolt. Out of the foreign writers Cronin, Bronfield and then the novel "Gone with the Wind". It was impossible to obtain such books. They were not republished by the Communists. They were sold on the black market only.

(5) I did not listen to domestic radio stations because I did not like it. Now I am ~~listening~~ listening to it from Munich and now my opinion is that their program is much better than we thought. For example, their musical ^{and} program is quite good. It is true that the Communists ~~want~~ spend a lot of money on radio programs.

(5b) I lived in a hotel and the hotel had several sets. Most of the families had a so-called folk radio set. There is an experimental TV program in Budapest 3 times a week in the afternoon. A TV set can be bought in Budapest for 5000 forints. It can be bought on instalment. In 2 years

- (2g) Yes, see above. Moreover, it was possible to borrow them from friends.
- (3) I went very seldom into the movies. The program was bad. The Hungarian film is poor. I never saw any Soviet films except for Othello. There were some French and Italian films ~~xxxx~~ coming into the country. Few but good. However, such a great crowd wanted to attend them that it was impossible to get tickets. I remember one Italian film with the ~~xxx~~ title of Kütlen Asszonyok. It was played in Budapest for several months. It was something like a mass demonstration. So many people wanted to get in. On the other hand the Russian films were so much disliked that not even those people attended them who got free tickets.
- (3b) Mostly entertainment.
- (3c) Yes.
- (3e) It was difficult to get theatre tickets. Sometimes I got them through acquaintances. There were very few good plays, particularly few good Hungarian plays. The good plays were not permitted to be performed. Western literature was entirely banned except for such classics as Shakespeare and Molière.
- (3f) I remember one Hungarian play with the title Molnopr mindon kiderul. I forgot the name of the author. It was a Hungarian play and it wanted to caricature the reactionary elements of the society. It had 2 heroes, one good Communist and the other one a reactionary. The latter one criticized constantly the system in a very

- (1) It was possible to get some foreign newspapers. For example during the time I spent in the prisons of Vac I read the New Züricher Zeitung. It was smuggled in by the prison guards. The most important information reached us through the foreign radio stations. Later on when I was working in the hotel business I could get hold of many foreign newspapers since the foreign guests ~~were~~ left the papers in their rooms.
- (1a) The foreign radio stations were the most important sources of information.
- (1b) In Budapest the so-called grape-vine was important. Every news went around within a few hours.
- (2a) I read the Magyar Nemzet regularly. I read the leaders of the Szabad Nep since one could conclude ~~from~~ out of those leaders what was the momentary standpoint of the Party. It was interesting to read the Besz es Szabadsag. It criticized the different Party functionaries. I read the Irodalmi Ujsag regularly. For a short time I read the Esti Budapest.
- (2c) There was no free selection concerning reading. There were very few newspapers in Budapest, only 3 of them. The newspapers in the country were so primitive that nobody read them. In 1948 Hungary had had many newspapers. For example, the Vilag had been an excellent paper. In 1956 it took me only 2 minutes to read a newspaper since it was so empty. A great number of people did not read any newspapers.

however, opposition increased. Everybody felt that this was the time to leave the Stalinist line.

¹
(19x)

Many intellectuals thought that it was possible to make a Titoist Communism under the leadership of Nagy Imre. They hoped that Hungary will come into the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ sphere of Tito. Something like this one could be achieved without a revolution. This was the aim of the Petöfiker and ~~Kafsz~~ Hefesz.

(19n)

The young Communist intellectuals became the leaders of an already ~~existing~~ existing opposition. Those writers could organize themselves easily. Actually they had had existing organizations. The déclassé elements of the society did not dare to move. The revolution took care that such people should not get any role. For example, it was not permitted that people recently left the prisons should get any role or should get arms in their hands. The old Communists became the leaders of the revolution. Maléter is the best example. He personally was very much against giving any active role in the revolution to the old déclassé elements and to people just set free out of the jail.

Then the abolition of the ranks and titles was popular. Then again the possibilities of summer vacation for everybody. The ~~possibilities~~ possibilities of sports. It was an achievement that every worker if ~~he~~ he wanted could play tennis. There are certain social achievements which will survive the Communist system, however, one may ask whether it was worth while to pay such a high price for those ~~social~~ social achievements.

- (19) A continuous sabotage was going on against the system. Everybody tried to weaken the ~~the~~ system. The workers did not work. Everybody stole who could. Every fact was rationalized by the fact that ~~this~~ this was against the system. A joke was characteristic of the situation. The joke spoke about the 10-forints movement. Everybody tried to make damage of 10 forints a day in his place of work.
- (19b) The working class stood up most courageously against the system since the working class was best organized. The peasantry was very much against the kolkhoz, however, it could not get organized.
- (19c) In the peasantry one could not feel many manifestations of an opposition.
- (19d) In the spring of 1953 people believed that ~~Rakosi~~ Rakosi's movement will bring some good change. When Rakosi broke down his movement the discontent increased, however, nobody tried to move.
- (19e) After the 20th Congress of the Communist Party the hope of the people was renewed. In 1956 discontent decreased,

- of the program meant a straight party-line propaganda. In ~~private~~ private life everybody tried to be very cautious. If somebody was openly talking at public places he was a police agent. This situation changed in the ~~spring~~ spring of 1956. From that time on people talked and wrote freely. Then came for example, a series of articles written by Hay Gyula. The title of it was: "I do not like Kucsera". It was a great caricature of Rakosi.
- (16d) One could be more candid about the plan and the production. Those were topics in which nobody was ^{interested.} ~~interest.~~ It was strictly prohibited to criticize the system.
- (17) The state issued many laws and orders which were not supposed to be kept. I was under ~~the~~ police supervision and like many other people I could do what I liked. ~~The~~ The execution of any order was very ~~flexible~~ elastic. For example in the factories for a time ~~xxx~~ every worker was very thoroughly examined when ^{leaving} ~~leaving~~ the factory. The next week ~~it~~ it was possible to carry out everything from the factory. There were many jokes on that point.
- (17c) There was no system. It depended on sheer chance.
- (17d) The same.
- (18a) Force was the strongest cohesive force. A little freedom resulted right away in revolution.
- (18b) There were certain social achievements of the system which were popular. For example, the land reform and the revolution wanted to keep it. Then again the nationalization of the heavy industry or the public utilities.

with
 1956 ~~xxxx~~ the 20th Party Congress the situation became
 much better again. Obviously the main decisions concern-
 ing the terror were made in the Kremlin.

(15) The agreement of Yalta decided that Hungary should be un-
 der the influence of the Russians. Since that time there
 have been only such changes as permitted by the ~~Russians~~
 Russians.

(15a) No.

(15e) The Russian influence was pronounced in every field of
 life. It was most important in the economic field of
 life. At least that was the field where it could be felt.
 The Hungarian heavy industry was based on the raw mate-
 rials of the Soviet. The whole economic system meant a
 systematic exploitation of Hungary by Russia. I could
 mention the great propaganda in the cultural field. Then
 after all Russia was the great pattern according which
 everything should be patterned in Hungary.

(16) People usually did not dare to talk about political
~~xxxx~~ matters. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

(16c) People were rather free in political jokes. You could
 feel the public opinion in them. For example, the Vidam
 Szinpad, a theatre, became very popular simply ~~xxxx~~
 because you could hear there from time to time very
 good political jokes. The master of ceremonies was
 Keller Dezső and crowds were coming in just in order to
 hear him. They overlooked the fact that the other parts

we opened the quarry there. We built a special railway siding, we built a lorry to transport the stones within the quarry, however, the whole plan was very poor. The mountain was sliding. There was a constant danger that it will bury the whole establishment. I think in 53 or 54 the quarry was given up. By now it must be ^{buried} ~~buried~~ by the mountain.

(13) It was impossible to avoid trouble with the police.

Everybody was exposed to it. The Communist system was a system of unsystematical actions. Everybody did some illegal things. Everybody was living in a constant fear.

(13c) No. The Communists did not dare to do anything for their next of kin. At that time Kadar was minister of interior and his brother-in-law was interned at Rocak with me. Kadar did not do anything for him.

(13d) No.

(13e) Nobody has money. Nowadays you cannot achieve very much with money.

(13f) No.

(13g) No. Persecution is independent from any religious or national groups.

(14) Yes, there were very great fluctuations in the terror. The situation was the worst from 1950 to the spring of 1953, to the death of Stalin. The situation greatly eased in the first few months of the ministry of Nagy Imre. ~~Then~~ Then it became worse again. Then in the spring of

prisoners were supposed to march in goosesteps in the court of the prison. If somebody did not do it well he was beaten by hands and with sticks. I was beaten several times with rubberhose. In many cases people including me were bound and beaten in that way.

(12g) We did not get any insight into the papers of the investigating organs. They took up the protocols and at the end of the hearing it was given to us to sign ^{them} ~~them~~. It was impossible to read them over. A tortured person signed everything as ~~given~~ given to him.

(12o) When the AVO took over the prison of Vac the old prison doctors stayed there for about two weeks. At that time I was just working in the departmental office of the prison. I ~~was~~ overheard a conversation between an AVO officer and the doctor. The AVO officer told the doctor: "These guys here around are fascists. They should not be treated at all." The doctor answered that his duty is to treat all kind of people. As a result he was dismissed. Later on he was arrested and sentenced to 8 years of prison.

(12p) In the camp of Reesk as mentioned there were 2 sections. The main section comprising about 1100 people was the ordinary one. Then 50 of us were in a special punitive section. They were entirely segregated. They received a worse kind of food. They were not permitted to talk among themselves. The surrounding of the whole camp was a protected military territory. No civilian person could approach the camp in a circle of 5 km. During our work

party secretaries, ^{four} ~~two~~ engineers with Kossuth distinction and old officers of the army.

(11e) There was no need of the work of the harbizalmi. The harbizalmi was a declared spy. He was not dangerous. Everybody knew him and everybody was cautious.

(11f) We were not in touch with the outside world. My family did not know anything about me. They thought I ~~was~~ was in ~~Siberia~~ Siberia or I was dead. They were surprised when I suddenly arrived home. The treatment of the prisoners was at that time the best in the Marko utca since that was the jail of the court but even there the prisoners were not permitted to be in contact with their families. They were not permitted to receive any food, any parcels or letters from the outside world. There 15 to 20 people were put into a cell. They were crowded in a very bad way.

(11g) See above

(12e) The food situation in Reesk underwent many changes. In the worst period we ~~received~~ ^{received} 800 calories a day. In the best period 2400 calories. In the worst period we did not receive any meat for weeks. In the best period we received meat 2 times a day but a very minimum amount. In the Andrassy ut the daily food amounted to 300 calories. It consisted of one plate of soup and 5 decs gram bread a day. The daily soup was called bean soup but it was just hot water.

(12f) In Vac and Reesk I was maltreated by the AVO. In Vac the

there, however, only 5 of us came out with our own teeth. My greatest damage was suffered in my heart and I still have some troubles with my heart.

(10b) I could characterize the AVO people of Reesk as selected sadists. They got an exceptionally great salary. Everything good. They were favorites of the system and they had no other job to do just to torture us. All of them were under 30 years of age. They were not Communist. They did not have any political schooling, however, they were faithful to their power and to their welfare. They were told that we are the enemies of the people. The AVO people were not permitted to talk to us. In a few cases they did, however, in most of the cases they did not know anything about us and they really believed that we were the fascists and the enemies of the people.

(10e) No Information

(10j) We could not see anything in Reesk, however, later I heard that the relations between the AVH and the police were rather strained. Both of them were ^{jealous} jealous of the other one.

(10h) No information.

(10k) No information.

(11d) At the beginning of the system the declassé elements had the greatest chances to be arrested. But later on even workers and peasants were arrested. Later on there were no more differences. There were no social classes. In Reesk I saw all kinds of people. I met there former

speed of the work was speeded up. We were supposed to transport the stone slabs by hand. Now we were supposed to transport them running. If somebody was not running fast enough he was beaten by the AVO people. It was pretty common that somebody simply collapsed and he was left lying there. This situation lasted for a few weeks. Then suddenly an AVO lieutenant colonel appeared and he told us that the general situation will be greatly improved. Somewhat later a special commission came from Budapest. All of us were officially scaled. At that time I weighed 46 kilos only. I just went through a pneumonia. After the arrival of the commission the food was generally improved. Then again it deteriorated again. In the summer of 1952 another commission came and started investigation. The prisoners had to appear before the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ commission and they were asked concerning the treatment, about complaints and so on. Then finally came the government of Nagy Imre. He promised to ~~it~~ dissolve all this internment camps, however, even in that time the AVO was people wanted to ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{it in every way} sabotage ~~and~~ keep the camps going. Finally one night in October 1953 I was taken over to Kistarcsa again and after a few days I was set free. However, at that time I was put under police surveillance and I was supposed to live in the city of Vao and report there at the police at regular times. Concerning the camp in Meesk I can say that during the time I spent there about 10% of the prisoners died. A much greater per cent of them became crippled. Altogether there were 1200 inmates

actually our extermination was planned within few years. We had to carry out very heavy work and we did not get any normal food. The situation was very bad up to about April 1951. That was the time when several people succeeded to escape from the camp of Reesk. The story of their escape is really a romantic one. The seven prisoners succeeded in stealing an AVO uniform. One of them took it on and posed as an AVO officer. Then on a Sunday morning he left the barracks driving the 6 other fellows before him. He really tried to imitate the real AVO officer and beat ~~his~~ his 6 other fellows very severely. This happened on a Sunday and although we were supposed to work on Sundays just as on regular days the general supervision of the AVO people was laxer. Moreover at that time we had quite a few young AVO people. Anyhow they reached the gate and they succeeded to be let out. Their disappearance was ~~officially~~ officially discovered at noon time when the roll call was made. ~~was worked~~ On the same night 3000 AVO people came to Reesk. They started an investigation beating up everybody and asking everybody. It is interesting that 5 of the 6 escapees were later recaptured but one of them succeeded to leave Hungary and arrive in Vienna. He gave for the first time report ~~about~~ to the Western world that there is something like Reesk. After this escape the situation became even worse. The working hours could not be lengthened. In ~~the~~ summertime we were supposed to work from 6 in the morning to 10 p.m., 7 days a week. But now the

one of the regiments. 2 days later I got a paper signed by ~~xxx~~ police colonel Decsi telling to me that I was ~~xxxxxx~~ turned, simply because it is not desirable for the state that I should be free. On January 4, 1951 a few 100 people from Histarosa and among them myself were transported to Recsk. It was a bittercold day when we arrived to Recsk and we had to walk a few kilometers from the railway station. Then on a snow-covered field we stopped and everybody had to undress himself stark naked. everything we ~~x~~ had was taken away. We received special prison clothing and were led into the camp of Recsk. We were driven into one of the barracks which at that time did not have any ~~xxxxxx~~ roofing. In the afternoon the commander called us together and told us that we will work in the quarry. We will carry out very heavy physical work. Next day the work started. Beside of the heavy physical work we had to suffer many physical tortures. In the first 2 weeks we did not get any water. Their main aim was to ~~xxxxxx~~ break our resistance. Many people did not get any shoes. They had to walk in wintertime ~~x~~ barefoot. Many of the people collapsed. Every morning there were a few death cases. Actually the camp of Recsk was an extermination camp. It was for the political ~~xxxxxx~~ prisoners and the average fellow was supposed to die within 5 years spent there. I was put into a ~~xxxxxx~~ special punitive company consisting of 80 people. Those 80 people were intellectuals who were the would-be leaders in case of a revolt. We had a special severe treatment and

of 7 o'clock in the morning he was executed a few hours later. I want to add that in 1944 [REDACTED] became a good friend of Wallenberg and stayed with him all the time. I think that [REDACTED] had good information about the whole Wallenberg case and that was one of the reasons why the Communists wanted to liquidate him. The judgement of the supreme court was announced in February 1949, however, for a few more weeks we were kept in the Gyujtöfoghas. It was on May 6, 1949 that we were taken over into the state state penitentiary in Vac. When we arrived there the situation was tolerable. It was still the old system of the state penitentiaries, however, in March 1950 the penitentiary was taken over by the AVG people, for the purpose to keep the politically prominent prisoners there. Then the really bad treatment started. There was every day some bloodbath. The prisoners were beaten and tortured. The AVG people were the prison guards. At the same time they wanted to collect material against the old regular prison guards. They told me to make confessions about the sabotage of the old prison guards. I refused it. As a punishment I was put into the dark cell for 90 days. Then I was put back in my regular cell. In the meantime the two years of my sentence expired. I was called into the office of the penitentiary. Several papers were filled out. I had to sign some of them and I was told that I am free. However, on the same night a plaincloth man arrived and put me into a car and took over to Kistarcsa. There I was put into

that [redacted] was a spy and consequently I gave him all the data whether published or secret with the intention of carrying out espionage against the system. The state attorney in his speech pointed out that I was a reserve officer of the old army. Consequently I had every reason to plot against the state. After 20 days of trial it was on Christmas Eve in 1948 that the judgement was received. [redacted] was sentenced to death, I was sentenced to 5 years in prison. Then we were taken over to the Gyujtofoghas and kept there for a few weeks. Our case came up again at the supreme court but only our lawyers were supposed to appear before the supreme court. There the case was judged by judge Janko who lowered my sentence to 2 years in prison. He approved the death sentence of [redacted]. [redacted] plied for pardon, however, he showed a very great courage. It was ^{around} ~~would~~ no n time that he was officially told that his request for pardon was turned down and he will be executed at 7 o'clock on the following morning. All of us were in the same cell and I really admired his behavior. He was calm and very courageous. He said farewell to all of us. Then he was led over to his special cell. As far as I know in the following hours there were several interventions in his favor. For example, the Swedish minister in Budapest tried to intervene on his behalf. Then again the mother of Wallenberg, the famous ^{Swedish} ~~Swedish~~ diplomat tried to intervene. However, nothing could be done. The only result was that his execution was postponed and instead

in the case not only Balass Larel but ^{also} his secretary and some other officials of the ministry. At that time I spent 23 days in the Androssy ut since the police was carrying out some further investigation. After 23 days I was again taken back to the Marko utca and finally put in a cell together with the other caught defendants. There were altogether 8 of us but one of them was tried before a military court. That was the first time that I saw my ~~co-~~^{co-} defendants and could learn about everything what had happened. Then I learnt that Balass had really contacted an English military attache in Geneva and he really wanted to send reports to him. Balass did send to letters to Geneva but his secretary was in the service of the AVG and gave the letters to the AVG people. In December 1948 the court trial came up. It was a court trial with the exclusion of the public. It lasted for 20 days. There were 2 AVG officers sitting all the time behind us but no other people present except the lawyers and the members of the court. We had the freedom to select our lawyers but it was impossible to talk to him. My lawyer did everything what he could. For example, he showed the official Gazette where the trade agreements were published. Moreover he wanted that certain witnesses should be invited. The court turned down any witnesses. No witnesses whatsoever were heard before the court. The judge told me that being an intellectual I committed a crime against the state. As an intellectual I was supposed to know

few days. So [redacted] invited me to dine with him the next night. The following day I went up to his place, we were together and talked over many things. After the dinner he accompanied me to a taxi station. Just when saying farewell he asked me whether the commercial agreements have any secret clauses. I told him they did not have. 2 days later I left Hungary, visited several countries and spent several weeks there. It was on October 11th 1948 when I returned to Budapest after those trips. At the usual time I went into my office and took up my work. On the same night at 7.30 I was leaving my office when on the 2nd staircase 2 people came up to me, asked for my papers and told me that they have an order to arrest me. They took me in a car to Andrássy ut 60. I was put alone into a cell there for the night. The next morning I was taken to an AVS lieutenant colonel. He told me that the charge against me was that I had spied for the Englishman. He told me that Brian Aurel was captured and he made a complete confession. I told him the real story, what had happened between us. I emphasized that I did not give any information to [redacted] except those papers which had been published in print. Then I was taken over to the prison in the Markó utca where I was put again into a solitary cell and kept there for 2 weeks. During that time I had several hearings with the state attorney who informed again about the charges against me. After 2 weeks I was taken back to the Andrássy ut. By the time I knew that there were many caught ~~defendants~~ defendants

Communism. Nowadays perhaps even less.

(9) There was a general ~~discontent~~ discontent among the youth. The youth were living in utter poverty and they had to learn about the general situation. After all they knew about the troubles of their family. 100% of the youth was against the system, and with their youthful enthusiasm they started the revolution.

(10) The story of my arrest and imprisonment is a rather long one. Here I want to give a rather short summary of it. The whole thing started in July 1948 when an old friend of mine named [REDACTED] visited me in my office. He had been a business man in Budapest for many years and I had known him. Now when he visited me in my office he told me that he had just arrived from a trip abroad. He told me that he had been in Switzerland, met there an Englishman and wanted to go into partnership with him to establish an export-import business. He wanted to obtain from me certain export contingents for several countries. These export contingents were parts of the foreign trade agreements which Hungary made with different countries. The agreements were published in the press. So I give immediately instructions to my secretary to hand him those papers he wanted. Then Balazs Aurel told me that he wanted to talk to me. Just at that time I did not have time to talk with him any longer since I was supposed to leave Hungary for a foreign trip in a

Szovjet Pártoság was dissolved during the time I spent in jail. When I was set free I did not join any mass organization, except the trade union. The great part of the youth participated in the program of the Szabadmagyarság Szövetség where they were well ~~well~~ educated how to become a good ~~revolutionary~~ revolutionary. The DISZ was the most important organization of the youth. But it was disowned by the youth during the revolution.

- (7a) After 1954 I was a member of the trade union. Everybody had to join it because of the health and similar insurance. The trade union members received much more from the SZKE than the non-members.
- (7c) Its purpose was to serve the Communist Party.
- (7d) I joined it for the first time when I was working in the hotel Astoria. Then again I had to join it whenever I changed jobs.
- (7e) Looking of the situation in Balatonfured the trade union had a meeting once in every 3-4 months. It was actually the same meeting as the plan meeting of the whole business. Everybody had to attend the meetings. Up to 1956 very few people opened their mouth. In 1956 I spoke up 2 or 3 times during the meetings.
- (7g) Nothing good.
- (7l) All of them failed ~~from~~ from the point ~~of~~ of view of the Communist Party.
- (7m) The workers did not care very much about the trade union.
- (8) I would say 5% of the Party members really believed in

- (4j) The managers came out of the working kaders. They were delegated by the kader department of the Party.
- (5) Not applicable.
- (6) After 1950 the Party did not carry out any recruiting. Nobody was forced to join the Party and the Party acquired very few new members. The new members came mostly from the intellectuals ~~xxxx~~ who wanted to secure their jobs.
- (6e) It was an individual affair for everybody. It could not be said that the Communist Party molded its members to a certain pattern. After 1948 very few Party members became dissatisfied simply because very few Party members were satisfied with the Party.
- (6h) No.
- (6p) No.
- (6q) Yes.
- (6r) Rakosi ran the Party during the whole time. The second man in command was Gerö who had actually a higher rank in the Party ~~xxxx~~ hierarchy.
- (6t) There were several factions within the Party. The Party had never been very united. There was always ^a moscovite fraction and a national communistic fraction. As it is known Kadar belonged to the ~~xxxxxxx~~ latter one.
- (7) Anybody who was in higher jobs had to join in 1948 the Magyar Szovjet Tarsasag. So did I. I think the Magyar

not see here that is they were forced to join the collectives. The peasants did not have any other grievances. They could make money since agricultural products commanded good prices.

- (3e) Low wages which I do not see here, overwork, complete personal insecurity.
- (3i) There were no little annoyances. Everything was one great grievance or fear. If the bell of the apartment rang at night time everybody was afraid. This is not a little annoyance.
- (3j) There were no compensations.
- (4) The real power in Hungary was not in the hands of Rakosi but in the hands of a few Russian delegates.
- (4c) The Krculin ran the government. It is impossible to pinpoint certain persons.
- (4f) Because of the control system the Communists had to establish a huge bureaucracy. A much bigger one than in the Western countries. Everybody was controlled and watched which needed a huge apparatus. The personnel of the ministries doubled between 48 and 56.
- (4h) The reliable cadres, the ~~sons~~^{sons} of the workers. They did not need any special education. In the government service, of course, they failed. It was not important for them to get the necessary education and since they were busy with Party politics they had not time to obtain something.
- (4i) I would say 70% of them were of working class origin, 30% of peasant origin.

- (2b) No. In his time it was not necessary.
- (2c) My political views did not change very much, however, the political views of the different parties including the Communist Party did change very much.
- (2d) In 1946 when I was in Denmark and Sweden many friends of mine advised me to return to the country. They were of a rather good opinion of the Communist Party. They believed that the Communist Party will establish an honest coalition with the other democratic parties. So in 1946 when I arrived in Hungary I had no special prejudice against the Communist Party. Pretty soon, however, I had to change this attitude very much.
- (2e) As somebody learnt more about the Communist Party he came to hate it more.
- (2f) At the time of my arrival in Hungary in 1946 I had mixed feelings towards the Communist Party. Shortly after that those mixed feelings started to change to the worse.
- (2h) Everybody obeyed the authorities in so far as he was forced to ~~have~~ obey. There was no voluntary obedience to the Party. After 1948 there was no more choice. Everybody had to do what the Party ordered.
- (3a) Fear of arrest and terror, presence of Soviet troops.
- (3b) Boredom and drabness, overtaxation.
- (3c) Inadequate opportunity to get ahead. The ambition of the young people was simply killed.
- (3d) The greatest grievance of the peasantry was what I do

- (1) I became interested in politics at a rather early age. Even as a student I was greatly interested in economic policy, however, I was not interested in Party politics. When I returned to Hungary in 1948 I was driven by the events into Party ~~part~~ politics like so many other people. I became a member of the political committee of the peasant Party. From that time on I had many friends among those who were politicians in 1948.
- (1a) I had a great interest all the time in economic policy.
- (1b) Up to 1948 up to my arrest I carried out active political participation in one of the parties. After that my active political participation ceased to exist. The situation was pretty much the same with many other people.
- (1c) Yes, see above.
- (2a) Yes, with the peasant party. As mentioned, it was something like an incident that I joined the peasant Party. Concerning my own sympathies they were in 1948 for the small-holders party. Later on, however, when I met quite a few ~~members~~ leading members of the peasant Party I really identified myself ^{with} ~~for~~ them. For example, I met once Veres Peter and he made a very good impression upon me. He made a very good impression upon many people. He was able to deceive even those persons who had a very sound judgement. Let's not forget that the peasant Party included many excellent intellectuals. For example, Farkas Ferenc whom I mentioned and whom I liked very much.

Rabbi Hevesi called attention to the existing situation and pointed out that it was no good that the Jews took in so many key positions.

- (25e) It could be understood at the time when the kolkhoz system was forced upon the peasantry. It happened for example, that the AVG occupied a village. What the average peasant saw that there were 100 AVG people arriving in the city. ~~None~~ All of them Christians. Then came one AVG colonel who was a Jew and then plaincloth men all of them Jews who all tortured the peasants. That was a pretty bad thing. The main trouble was that there were too many Jews, in the Ministry of Interior, in the police and particularly among the plaincloth men.
- (25g) Since the revolution anti-Semitism is much less. The problem ceased to exist. I would say the greatest wave of anti-Semitism could be felt in 1948. After that a certain equalization came, ^{an} ~~at~~ equalization as the Jews lost many of their positions or material wealth.
- (25h) I do not see the future of Hungary so I cannot say very much about the future of the Jews in Hungary. I think the problem has been solved. The great ~~part~~ part of the Jews emigrated from Hungary and will ^{never} ~~ever~~ return.

(25)

The Jewish problem in Hungary is a very complex one. At present there is a very severe anti-Semitism all over the country. What happened was that in ~~1945~~ 1945 all the leading positions of the country were taken over by Jews which could be understood in those times after the great persecution. The Hungarian Jewry was apt to take up those leading roles. They were well educated. The main trouble was that they took up too many jobs with the police force. They took in almost all the key positions. Particularly it was so among the plaincloth men. It is true, that after the spring of 1948 the Communists made certain attempts to remove the Jews from key positions. In that year I got a confidential instruction from Minister Ronai saying that Jews should not be employed in key position. It is hard to say how successful such a trend was. In the time of Rakosi 20 to 30% of the Party leaders were Jews. It is true, that in the present government there is not one Jew in leading position. I would say that in the time of the revolution the Jewish problem ceased to exist. The Jewry participated in the revolution just as well as any other part of the population. At present everybody wants to leave Hungary, particularly the Jews. Perhaps it is easier for them to leave the country.

(25c)

I had many Jewish acquaintances like everybody else in Budapest. Some of them were for the regime. Some other ones were in the Party but not for the regime and many of them were against the regime. The attitude of the Jewish people changed very much. For example, Chief

anything ~~against~~ against it.

(23d)

There ~~are~~ ^{are no} barriers between the social classes except for a small number of prominent Communists. There are many former aristocrats who are now Communist Party members. For example, [REDACTED] but I could name many more.

(23e)

Undoubtedly there is a much greater equality. However, this is the equality of poverty and misery. Everybody has been lowered to a minimal social level. The working class had a higher standard of living even in the Horthy ~~regime~~ system. In those times a worker earned what would be nowadays 1500 forints whereas nowadays his average earnings are only 800.

(23g)

Politeness and etiquette disappeared. Everybody is discourteous and distrustful. The old middle class is living in the greatest misery. It could not maintain its old etiquette. The old upper classes behaved themselves in a ~~most~~ shameful way. Many of them became spies ~~and~~ and tried to behave ~~as~~ as real proletarians.

(247)

The declassé elements suffered more.

(24a)

There was no difference. The Communist system supported even the German minority. For example, they were permitted to publish a newspaper in German language. The only exception is the Yugoslav minority which was oppressed because of Tito, however, this oppression changed very much according to the Communist policy taken up against Tito.

- (22) The peasantry was in the best situation. They had their food and even their home. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ A peasant who could keep his land was even materially in a good condition. The working class was in the worst ply. Workers did not have any chances for advancement. The intellectuals were between the workers and the peasants. The intellectuals had certain chances of advancement. For example, a ministerial referent made 1500 forints, a ministerial section leader made 2500 to 3000 forints. I belonged to those intellectuals who got used to physical work. Physical work was the least dangerous to former intellectuals.
- (22b) I wanted to stay as a physical worker. It was ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ rather like an incident that finally I got a desk job in Balatonfured.
- (23) The social classes have been washed away. Every position ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ of short duration. Somebody is a general manager today and next day he is an unskilled worker. There is a constant change, a constant change of the positions and jobs. Somebody is working in the Ministry of Agriculture. Suddenly he is transferred as general manager of a plant. Very few people have been able to keep a leading position since 1945. There are a few exceptions. For example, here is the case of XXXXXXXXXX. He is a former Nazi who was taken over by the Communists. Since 45 he always had leading positions. He was even cabinet minister. This kind of people served the Communist Party faithfully. They do not dare to do

they achieved the greatest success in the lines of nationalism.

(201) The church's role in the general opposition was minimum. The churches were rather cautious. ~~in~~ The priests in their sermon did not make any allusion to the general situation, to the poverty and misery. They never spoke against the political system. After 1949 they did not influence the mass in such a way.

(21) If he is inclined to do so he should become a doctor or an artist or an athlete. This kind of people make a good money and the state does not interfere with their ~~career~~ career. There is a great lack of doctors. Many of the old doctors left the country. For ~~along~~ a long time only youngsters of the proletarian kader were admitted to the ~~the~~ medical schools. Most of them were not able to cope with the curriculum. They failed. There are many other good occupations but nobody should become a lawyer. The occupation of lawyer has been swept away by the Communists. Nowadays it is not even good to become an engineer, nowadays they do not earn very much. Many of them are unemployed.

(21b) It is ^{impossible} ~~impossible~~ to give advice on this point. There is a complete economic bankruptcy, there is a complete insecurity. Class origin is more important than anything else. But even if somebody is of proletarian kader his future is insecure.

- (20a) The Catholic church is a great power. It could resist to Communist pressure to a much greater extent than Protestantism. It is interesting that there were more Catholic peace priests than Protestant. Altogether, however, the Catholic church formed a more formidable opposition.
- (20b) The Communists tried to use religion for their own purposes. They tried to educate the youth in an atheistic spirit. To a certain extent they succeeded.
- (20c) There were very few peace priests. They were few in number but you could see them and hear about them all the time. They had all the necessary organizations and all the necessary support of the state for their work. The peace priests tried to recruit followers but they did not succeed. Most of the peace priests left the church under hard pressure of the Communists. The best example is of the peace priest is [redacted] who was a very ~~talented~~ talented man. The Communists tortured him for 6 months. Finally he was willing to ^{do} anything for them.
- (20f) The kader cards showed it exactly how often somebody went to the church. In spite of that, great crowds turned up in the church, even many Communists.
- (20i) Intellectuals attended the churches regularly. The same goes for the peasantry. On the other hand workers did not go to church. Neither did the youth.
- (20k) I think religion is less important to the youth nowadays than it was to their parents. This is one of the Communist ~~successes~~ successes. ~~In~~ In this respect

religious services so often as nowadays.

- (19b) Our family is protestant and I am protestant too. I went to church very seldom and only in Budapest mainly because of one minister. His name is Joo Sandor. He was the priest at the Pasaret. Now he ^{is} arrested by the Communists. He was a very excellent person, and excellent speaker, an exceptional ~~person~~ ^{person}. He ~~xxxx~~ attracted so many believers that it was entirely impossible to get in the church. Hundreds and hundreds were standing before the church on the square at the time of the Sunday service. Otherwise I did not go to church or very seldom, however, when I was arrested in ~~xxxx~~ Recsk I really felt that I had a deeper religious feeling in the distress. This whole situation was a great danger for the regime and the regime knew it. The regime did everything to discredit the religious leaders. They wanted to annihilate ^{them} physically. I have seen how the priests were treated at the different prisons, at the same time when I was there. At the same time the regime did not prevent that the priests should leave the country. They did not want to have any priests in Hungary. Of course, there was a great difference between the Catholic and Protestant churches. The Catholic church was more active in organizing the people. The Catholic priests and particularly the teachers of religion regulated their students and their families and such a visit meant very much for the families. In the case of the Protestant church the clergy was dependent upon the salary which came from the state.

and even in many clubs. It was played in the cafeterias and so on. For the average person the most important entertainment is a ball arranged by his place of work. Everybody goes there. Everybody goes there with his family.

- (18g) I think the friendly ties generally ceased. Nowadays it is impossible to hope for any aid from a good friend.
- (18i) I did not have any circle of real friends. People were living in a lethargy. Nobody wanted a friendly circle of his.
- (18k) Party members and non-Party members are friends very often. It does not mean anything to be a member of the Party. The Party had one million members out of whom only 20 000 were Communists. In Balatonfured the general manager was a Party member and he had all kinds of friends. We were in a rather good relationship. For example, he complained to me that the Communists were more distrustful against him than against me. The other Communists did not believe him that he was a good Communist.
- (19) There has never been such an intensive religious life in Hungary as it is nowadays. I realized it when I was in the cell of Andrassy ut 60. I saw there the inscriptions carved in the wall with the nail of the prisoners. One of them for example, said: "Help, my God". Distress always brings people nearer to religion. The situation was pretty much the same among the peasantry. The peasantry has never ~~was~~ attended

system. Everybody supports everybody else in stealing. After all it is stealing if the normcards, production cards, overtime cards are falsified. The system knows pretty well what is ~~generally~~ generally going on, however, the system wants it that way because it is a pressure upon everybody. There is a very great corruption. For example, everybody can emigrate legally who has a nice apartment somewhere. A family had just recently arrived here in Munich from the Lipotvaros. They gave their apartment with all the equipment to some AVO people and received a passport.

- (18) Because of my personal circumstances I have not had many friends. Having spent many years abroad then being arrested for such a long time I have not been left with many friends. I would say this is rather typical. The old friendly ties ceased. The form of life is a constant running and people are generally distrustful. It is impossible to make friends because people are transferred from one city into the other one. The police does everything that no friendly ties should be established. I think I had less friends because of my personal circumstances than the other people. I would say I had no other friends ~~than~~ than the members of my immediate family.
- (18c) The forms of social intercourse have changed very much. Very few people invited guests. People liked to play cards particularly bridge although it was called a capitalist game. Bridge was played in the coffee houses

there is still a certain distinction. There is a great ^{increase} decrease in the rate of population ~~increase~~. The insecure future influences the people. Parents do not want children nowadays.

- (161) The position of the women is nowadays free. There has been a great emancipation. From another point of view, however, their situation became much worse. Women are in the worst position. They are exploited to the greatest extent. They are ~~dishevelled~~ ^{dishevelled} and discontented. Nobody can afford the usual luxuries which are afforded by the women in the West. No woman can afford to stay at home and not to take up a job. Actually everybody has to have a job and has to have a paper about being employed. I remember, shortly before the revolution I was in a so-called espresso with a girl my acquaintance. Suddenly a police raid appeared with 3 plaincloth men. My girl friend who was actually working did not have her personal card with her. The plaincloth men wanted to arrest her ~~immediately~~ immediately. It took quite some time to persuade them that the girl will appear the next day at their office and will show her papers.

(17) The general morals lowered very much.

- (17b) Stealing is connected with the ~~idea~~ ^{idea} of social property. Everybody is stealing without any inhibition the social property. People do not steal more from individuals but from the property of the state or nationalised industry. Most people regard it as a duty because it weakens the

- (16b) Courtship in the old sense ceased. Nowadays the courtship is very simple and g fast. Platonic love ceased. The youngsters go over to the ~~main~~ main subject within a few days.
- (16e) Prostitution ceased except for a high level of the society where it still does exist. The new-rich people for example, have their own girls. In the lobby of the Hotel Astoria one ~~find~~ could find at least ten occupational girls. The waiters or the porters could recommend a girl any time to the foreign visitors. There are no public houses nor street walkers. On the other ~~skam~~ hand people in the high jobs have their own girlfriends. I understand that after the revolution prostitution became widespread again. Many girls lost their jobs, particularly white-collar jobs so in the lack of any other opportunity they turn to prostitution.
- (16f) The Communists loosened up the sexual morals. The ~~first~~ functionaries of the Party are very immoral. It is quite common that the 2 Party secretaries, a girl and a boy have an affair. Then again many former streetwalkers got Party offices.
- (16g) Birth control is general. In this respect there has been a great liberalization. In 1956 abortion was legally admitted. At the same time many doctors were rehabilitated who had been sentenced because of an abortion a few years earlier.
- (16h) The system did everything to change the attitude towards illegitimate children. In everyday life however,

(16)

The regime propagated the free love. A boy and a girl appeared at the summer resort place of the trade union. Well they spent a two weeks in love. Then the many dances and dance halls contributed to the same thing. The DISZ, for example, arranged a ball in the building of the ~~former~~ Parliament ~~building~~. The xx next morning all the corridors of the building were dirty from ~~vomiting~~ vomiting. I think the youngsters do not drink more than they did in old times. I would say that rather the people over 40 years are those who drink more. However, the youngsters lead a more intensive sexual life. Let's not forget the famous posture of the Communist Party with the text: "For a wife it's a duty, for an unmarried girl a glory to have children." There were many laws concerning the legal ~~position~~ position of illegitimate children which worked in the same way.

(16a)

People marry at a very young age wich is a bad system. In most cases they get married and soon get a divorce. Most marriages start with the fact that a boy and a girl are working at the same ~~place~~ place. There is a love. They get married. Then pretty soon the husband is transferred to another city so there is a divorce or an estrangement. After a marriage they usually go into a rented room or sometimes share the apartment of the parents. They live in an extreme poverty. There was a very strong propaganda against churchwedding but it could not be liquidated. Even leading Communists did go to the church ^{at night} ~~at night~~ to get married there.

the greatest blunder of the Communist system. Minister Gerö wanted to build a large subway system in Budapest, crossing the whole city in both directions. They spent 5 1/2 Billion ~~22~~ forints to make the necessary construction. This money would have been enough to improve the whole transportation system, however, the plan has never been finished. The work became poor and no subway system was running except the old one.

- (15) Yes
- (15a) Yes
- (15b) In most cases, yes
- (15c) No
- (15d) There are many differences according to social classes.
- (15e) The youth got the upper ~~hand~~ hand and the parents lost their old authority over the children. Let's suppose that a kid of 14 years became a secretary of the DISZ it was impossible for his father to slap him or to punish him. Practically the rearing of the children was taken out of the hands of the parents. When the little infant was 6 weeks old he had to be given into the nursery home of the state since the mother had to go to work. In this respect there was hardly any difference between the social classes. Nowadays there is no more an intellectual class. Among the unskilled workers one can find ~~my~~ many who in old times graduated from a university. On the other hand you can find at the different desks of the offices many uneducated people.

the movies or theatres, However, it was impossible to get tickets because everybody wanted to go there. Then again the main trouble was the poor transportation which took up a great part of the Peoples' life. From the city of Vao every morning 3000 people commuted on trains to Budapest. It took one hour just as it had taken in old times. For example, I lived illegally with my sister in Buda and worked in the hotel Astoria. It took me 3/4 of an hour to reach my place of work. The streetcar system and the whole public transportation system was in a complete bankruptcy. The Communists did not invest the necessary amount. It was more important for them to bring out cheap books and make propaganda. The ~~street~~ streetcar was running very infrequently and it was overcrowded. It ~~was~~ was simply impossible to get on the streetcar. One should not forget that the population of Budapest doubled during the Communist system. There were many peasants who moved into the city since they lost their land ~~in~~ and they wanted to make a living in the factories. Many of them said that it was still better to be an unskilled laborer in Budapest ~~than~~ ^{than} to work in a kolkhoz. Altogether the population of the city doubled. At the same time the streetcar and bus park decreased. ~~One~~ ^{It would} need millions and millions to ~~improve~~ improve the public transportation system of the city of Budapest. The Communists tried to do something but it ended up in a ~~complete~~ ^{miserable} failure. This was the famous case of the subway system of Minister Gerö. It became

- (11) My parents died. Question not applicable.
- (12) ~~Phrases~~ The same.
- (13) Not applicable.
- (14) I can speak only of other families. There was no family life in Hungary.
- (14a) The family loosened up. For example, the Party used the sports in a very clever way. The kids got plenty of opportunities to participate in different sports and the main aim was to keep them away from their parents.
- (14b) Not applicable
- (14c) I had no leisure time. In the last time in Balatonfured I worked 10 to 12 hours a day. Sometimes even more.
- (14g) The average person had perhaps 2 hours a day as his leisure time. The whole life was but one running from one place to the other. It was impossible that somebody should not work. Not even the wives could afford to stay at home. Their lot was the worst. A wife worked 8 hours on her regular working place. Then she was running from from one store into the other to get everything that was necessary for the household. The wives had to do their regular work plus their homemaking work, cleaning and so on. The wives really did not have any leisure time and even when people had some leisure time they had no money to use it. They could go only to those places where they did not need any money or which were cheap such as:

- (9b) Although the situation in the family of my brother and sister was much better, ^I they know that the parents had a great many problems. The greatest problem was that the time of the kids was entirely taken up by the Party, by the studying circles, by the pioneer movement. So finally there has not been any time left for them to spend in the family circles. The same refers to the parents too. The parents were too busy to spend any time with ~~their~~ their children.
- (9c) There were political difficulties and differences in the family in the first few years. But after 1948 the regime discredited itself completely and such difficulties did not appear anymore.
- (9d) I would say that about 95% of the parents were for religious education. Among the children the same rate was much less.
- (9e) Concerning sex education the parents were in a hopeless position. The regime openly propagated free love. The DISZ could be rightly called a house of prostitution. The political system was shrewd and used every means to destroy the family.
- (10) Yes, the authorities tried to destroy the family. They wanted to prevent that the family should be a close-knit unit. When it came to the summer vacation every member of the family had to go to different places. The husband was ^{sent} ~~sent~~ to one summer resort, the wife to another one, and the children to different summer camps.

- (5h) See above. The parents died.
- (5i) I lived alone.
- (5j) In a narrow meaning the word family means the parents and children. In an other meaning it included the relatives.
- (5k) It was to a grade detrimental. The class origin is still important in a Communist system although family life ceased. The husband is working for example at ^{night} ~~night~~, the wife by day. The Communist regime does everything ~~can~~ to separate the members of a family. There are many cases that the AVO simply builds in somebody into the family. That happened in the Tildy family where one of Tildy's sons was regularly reporting to the police.
- (6) I was not married.
- (7) Not applicable.
- (8) Not applicable.
- (9) Being a bachelor I have no experiences concerning my own family, however, I know that young kids were used by the AVO pretty often. It happened that parents when crossing illegally the border were captured by the police because they were denounced by their next of kin. For such things the AVO paid a great amount of money. This was particularly so among the intellectuals. The best example is again the Tildy family.

pioneers in her school. She got such a job because she is such an intelligent girl. A short while ago she was in the Eastern Zone of Germany for 3 weeks. She was sent there by the pioneer organization. She is not a Party member either. Finally the third kid of my sister is 15 years old. It took the family a very great fight till finally he was accepted in a highschool. He is doing there an excellent job. He and all his friends are against the system. The fate of the [redacted] family is interesting because it shows life under the Communist system. My sister was arrested and kept in prison for 5 months. This happened way back when the religious orders of the nuns were dissolved. At that time one nun asked my sister to keep a few belongings of the order. She accepted them. Pretty soon a police raid came, found the items in their apartment and she was arrested. After 5 months she was set free without any court trial or any other legal procedures. During the same time her husband was in a rather good position with the National Land Credit Institute. The [redacted] family had from old times on a villa in Buda. The villa was on the name of the children. It was nationalized quite a few year ago. Now a short while ago it was offered to return the villa. Of course, the Communists wanted to return it to my niece [redacted]. It is a great ~~xxx~~ propaganda for the Communist system to show that excellent artists and dancers live in luxurious villas and so on.

(5e) Much better off.

(5g) 5 persons.

My other brother attended the agricultural academy at Magyaróvár. He was active in the estate of our family. From 1944 to 48 he was a prisoner of war in Russia. At present he is unskilled worker in Budapest. Although he is an expert agriculturist it would be too dangerous for him to take up a job with a farmers' cooperative. Because of his class origin he would be open to any kind of attack. My sister is [REDACTED]. Her husband was deputy minister in 1941. His role can be well remembered. He had some part in politics after 1945 too. In 1946 he was a candidate to become finance minister. Then for a while he was economic advisor of the National Land Credit Institute. At present he is economic advisor with the central office of the cooperatives. My sister has 3 children. The oldest one is a girl of 21 years of age. She is a member of the state folk dance group and she married another dancer. Both of them are excellent dancers touring the world and having great success in Hungary and in many foreign countries. They have already one child and they do not think they will ever leave the country. They have everything they want. They may keep a car. They are not Party members. They do not believe in Communism since they have seen what has happened in the family. Her husband is [REDACTED] who has many distinctions from the Communist system, however, none of them is a Communist. My sister's other daughter is 20 years old. She is a teacher. She does not educate the kids in a Communist mentality. She is one of the leaders of

a greater responsibility. The Communism simply forced them into such an attitude, into a greater activity. ~~Some~~ Some of the young people achieved a great success at a very early age. Non Gyorgy a Communist was deputy minister at the age of 30. Here is the case of Bognar Jozsef. He was only 28 years old when he became a cabinet minister. The Party often neglected the older generation and based everything on the youth. This was another failure of the Party.

(4E) No

(4I) Age does not make any real difference.

(5) My family came originally from the county of Bereg. My father was in his younger years chief engineer of the canalization company of county Bereg. He lived in Beregszaz. When this city was taken over by the Czechs he left it. He moved to Szolnok, where we inherited an estate. So actually his occupation was the owner of a large estate. Concerning the other members of my family my oldest brother wanted to go into diplomatic service. He received his doctorate in law, however, he was not accepted in the foreign service. So he took up position in the interior service. He was secretary of the fõis-
pan then finally szolgabiro in Torokszenmiklos. In ¹⁹⁴⁴~~1943~~ my oldest brother escaped from Torokszenmiklos because of the Nazis. In 1945 he had many troubles. Finally he did not return into public service. But he is a Maszek at home knitting socks and making a living in this way.

spoke about the role of the Hungarian intellectuals. At the second time Gerö spoke about economic problems. Both of the lectures were very impressive. They were kept on a very high level, however, they did not achieve anything. Everybody had to see that the practice of everyday life is just the opposite ^{of} the theory of the Communists. Hungarians are very much opposed to any collectivism, and the Communist education could not overcome or mold such an opposition. In Hungary it was impossible to establish a private cooperative because of the individualistic attitude of the farmers. Now the Communists started to establish Kolkhoz. It was doomed to fail knowing the great individualism of the Hungarians. The Communist education was completely ineffective in overcoming this old individualism.

- (4c) Up to 1948 the Communists had a very strong influence on the teenagers. But later on such an influence disappeared almost completely. The youth lived in a great poverty. They became disillusioned about the Communism.
- (4d) The youth could expect success from the Communist Party. It is true, that there were 24 year~~s~~ old ministerial councillors. Something like this was very attractive for many teenagers. On the other hand the ~~mm~~ parents exerted a certain brake. The family life had a much greater influence ~~upon~~ upon the youth than school, Party or any other kind of education.
- (4e) See above
- (4g) The youths~~ix~~ ^{are} nowadays more active in politics. They have

- (1) I graduated from the highschool in 1935. Then I enroled at the faculty of law at the University of Pecs. In the meantime I spent 2 years in Vienna at the Consular Academy. In 1939 I received my doctorate from law at the university of Pecs.
- (1a) Altogether I attended schools from 1923.
- (1c) No.
- (1d) No.
- (1e) I wanted to work in diplomatic service.
- (2) Non applicable
- (3) Non applicable
- (4) I do not know very much about eduction in the Communist system, however, I have seen Party seminaries arranged by the Party or by a trade union. They were working even in the summer resort places of the trade unions. Everybody had to attend them. Of course, the people were only physically present. Nobody was interested in the Party seminary, nobody opened his mouth except the official lecturer.
- (4b) Communist education was entirely ineffective. It was ineffective although the Party tried to arrange political seminaries and lectures on a very high level for the intellectuals. For example, they had a serial of lectures., in Budapest at the Zeneakademia. I attended 2 of those lectures. The first time Revai Jozsef

workers. Particularly those who had land of their own but even the ~~kakhsy~~ kolkhoz peasantry lived better than the unskilled workers of the city. The unskilled workers had the smallest ~~z~~ salary. People in the white collar occupation who on the average made 1100 to 1300 forints a month had a somewhat better life. At the same time one should not deny that the youth had idealistic aims in the revolution. The youth were not led by material reasons.

example, Hungarian Salami was not permitted to enter America because of the poor qualities. The Hungarian machine industry could sell a few things in those countries which sympathized with the Communist system. For example, in Egypt. But the greater part of the world market was simply closed ~~to~~ before Hungarian products.

- (10c) Hungary's economic situation before 1941 was ~~much~~ unhealthy but still much better than the present situation.
- (10d) ^A Deterioration happened.
- (10f) In 1950 the private sector disappeared almost completely. In 1953 a few more permissions were given for private industry, however, even after that they tried to suffocate the private industry through high taxes. I understand that at present Kadar is again permitting a certain private industry.
- (10g) The standard of living was much lower in 1956 than in 1941. I would say that the forint of 1956 had a value of 1/15 of a pengő. The prices in 1956 were about 15 times so high as they were in 1941. At the same time the ^{were} salaries/only trebled . It is easy to see that the standard of living deteriorated. The standard of living was pretty much the same in 1953 and 56. In the meantime the wages were increased a little bit but even the prices were increased.
- (11) The material conditions had a decisive part. The living conditions were very sad particularly in the case of the industrial workers. The peasantry lived better than the

1948 became as Rakosi called it the year^{of} turn. The Communist economic policy was initiated which then led to a complete economic bankruptcy. In 1953 when Nagy Imre formed his first government this economic bankruptcy was very great. He tried to improve the situation and he achieved a certain improvement. After him things turned bad again up to the spring of 1956. Then the new liberalization came and it had its effects in economic life. The main causes of the bankruptcy were that private undertaking cannot be replaced by the state. Moreover, the Hungarians realized even Socialism in a very poor way. There were no experts. The heavy industry was overemphasised. Those industries and agriculture which were natural in Hungary were neglected. It is true, the Communism has achieved a great improvement in the industrialization of Hungary. The production increased in quantity, however, productivity decreased and the quality of the goods was lamentable. In old times the Hungarian textile industry produced for export. The products were very good. Now it was impossible to send it abroad because of the poor quality. Consequently the Communist foreign trade tried to sell the Hungarian products below their cost prices. The Communists wanted desperately to obtain hard currency and were willing to sell anything for any price. The hard currency was needed for the purposes of the Hungarian diplomatic missions or actually for the purposes of the Communist propaganda in the foreign countries. The export situation of Hungary was catastrophic. For

way awful scenes and fights on the streets. It is dangerous to walk at night time on certain streets.

- (9i) Nothing. My laundry was done in the hotel. I got my hair cut there.
- (9j) A very small amount. We received all the newspapers in the hotel and also most of the magazines. There I could read them. The books were cheap, however, I did not buy them. I had no time to read. For 20 forints one could buy a very nice book. On the other side some books were on the black market and cost a fortune. People were, for example willing to pay 200 to 500 forints for a copy of *Gone with the Wind*. *Jack* was not obtainable.
- (9k) Nothing.
- (9,l) Not much. I made official trips in which case I used the car of the hotel or I was reimbursed for my expenses.
- (9m) Nothing.
- (9o) There was no money for a black market. I purchased a few items from foreign guests. For example, from the Czech ones I purchased shirts and socks. Perhaps, watch is the only thing where there is a black market. In the store one could not buy a watch under 1 000 forints. In the lobby of the hotel ~~between~~ Astoria you could find good watches for 400 - 500 forints. There you could buy everything including ^{clothes.} English gloves.

- (10) After the war Hungary made a remarkable comeback ~~economic~~ ^{in its} economic development. In 1946 there was everything in the country. There was a great wealth again. But

- (9a) I had a good luck since I got a room in the hotel for 60 forints a month. During the season I had to move out and rent a room in a peasant home where I paid a hundred forints.
- (9b) The dwelling conditions in the cities were crowded, however, we in the hotel did not experience anything like that.
- (9c) I got my food in the hotel and daily 8 forints were deducted for that. That was a good deal again since it would have cost at least 15 forints a day to secure the same food at home.
- (9d) There was no money left for clothing. A pair of shoes cost 600 forints. You cannot obtain a pair of shoes under 1 200 forints.
- (9e) Not applicable.
- (9f) Tobacco was very cheap. The Kossuth cigarettes sold 3 ~~forints~~ forints a package. A heavy smoker could not spend more than 6 forints a day. I did not smoke. I did not buy any alcoholic drinks but I got a few times in connection with my business. The alcoholic drinks are very expensive. The consumption is very great. The hotel Astoria consumed 100 liters of hard liquors a day. Half of it was rum. There were many drunkards on the street. The wine was poor and very expensive. It was not ripe. I would say that in Budapest the average working man spent 300 forints a month for alcohol. Everybody was drinking much more than in old times which has a psychological explanation. Because of the many drunkards there are al-

who were sent by the trade union. This arrangement of the trade union was really good. Somebody paid 8 forints a day and he got a really good room and very good food. However, he had to attend the official Party meetings and lectures and had to listen ^{to} Party secretaries. The Communist aristocracy got special treatment. The Stakkanovite workers had a luxury hotel at Lillofured. Rakosi had a cottage in Balatonfured. I saw it during the revolution. It was a luxurious place with a large wine ~~room~~ ^{cellar}. I know that Rakosi visited it very seldom, However, he let it for other Communist leaders ~~xx~~ such as Berei Andor and Andics Erzsebet.

(8) In 1956 I had a leading position with a higher salary than the average person. I made 1 600 forints a month plus I could achieve 30% premium in case of the fulfilment of the plan. So altogether I could make something around 2 000 forints.

(8b) There were certain deduction, such as peace loans. There was a great pressure every year to subscribe to the peace loans. I could manage with a subscription of 500 forints. That meant that every month 50 forints were deducted for that purpose. The other deductions amounted to about 150 forints a month.

(8c) I could not obtain any additional income. Of course the waiters and so on had the tips. The ~~peasantry~~ peasantry made a good money.

- (4p) I suspected 2 people. I mentioned them above. I think people in the hotel business were watched more because we had chances to contact foreign guests. There were all kinds of spies. For example, quite a few of the foreign guests were suspected to be spies of the AVO. We did not dare to talk to them.
- (5b) Foreign trade.
- (5e) I do not have any plans on this point. Out of the jobs I really held in the Communist system I liked most being cellar ~~master~~ master. It did not mean any worries, any responsibilities and it meant good food. For a while I wanted to become a hotel porter since I speak several ~~many~~ languages, however, I was told that only a good kader could become a hotel porter since every hotel porter is supposed to report to the AVO. The porter in the hotel Astoria made at least 5000 to 6000 forints a month. The greater half of this income came from the black market and tips and so on.
- (6) I had my ups and downs since the war.
- (7) The salaries were not enough to make a living. Everybody tried to steal something. With cheating the norms, with stealing food or anything that came to hand people were able to take care of their food and clothing. The living conditions were awful. In every apartment there were several families living. Except for a small circle of people only those ~~which~~ could go for a summer vacation

He praised the norms and he gave a certain praise to the employees. In our place nobody else talked but after the summer of 1956 even the employees got up and aired and certain complaints.

(4i) There was no shop triangle.

(4l) There was not much official interference with our operations. For example, the local Party secretary tried to secure room for certain people. Our general manager often sabotaged such a request. The Party secretaries did not have a great authority. Everybody tried to sabotage or to ignore them. The local council had an even less authority. However, the ministry in Budapest was really something. Nobody dared to oppose a ministry or any central office. For example, in Budapest the officials of the ministry in charge of the hotel and restaurant business were no experts. Our main boss was a former worker. He did not know anything about the business but was ~~xxxxxxxx~~ reliable from a Party line. He was permitted a great freedom. For example, once he arrived in the Golden Star Hotel and made a great scandal. He ordered a musical band which was ~~xxxxxxx~~ supposed to play on the same afternoon in one of coffee houses to appear in our hotel. There in the lobby he was making music, singing and drinking. It was a public scandal. I understand that next day everybody in the ministry in Budapest knew of his behavior, however, nothing happened to him.

(4n) I would say that ~~xxxxxxxx~~ the good cadres we had in Balatonfured were the moderate Communists.

superiors ~~was~~ than it had been in old times. Some Communists higher up reproached me because of that. They told me that I am not energetic enough and they should establish a greater work discipline. Needless to say that everybody stole as he could. Actually the Communists higher up knew of it exactly. It was permitted because in such a case it was easy to keep everybody under pressure. The Communists openly admitted that there was a great cheating going on. At one time we had a meeting ~~was~~ of the plant committee where many Communists participated. The main topic of the meeting was how the norms can be cheated. The Communists did not protest against the proceedings.

(4f)

The trade union had no significance. The trade union committee was practically appointed by the Party. They got orders from the Party and carried out those orders. Nobody asked the workers. It happened only after spring 56 that in certain questions the opinion of the trade union committee was asked. By that time I was a deputy member of the trade union committee. Then we tried to establish a real trade union life, for example we could obtain certain funds for cultural and sport purposes. The executive committee held meetings rather infrequently. During the season there was no time for such meetings. Out of season we had a meeting perhaps once in every two months. In every 4 months or so the production committee held a meeting always with the same program. The general manager delivered a talk outlined the plan and its achievements.

ate regularly in the hotel and received a much better food than the average population of the country. Except for the high season we gave room to our employees. For example, I was living in the Golden Star Hotel. In the high season, however, I had to move out for about 2 months. As other benefits the health insurance was the most important, the so-called SZTK. It was a horrible institution. There were not enough doctors. People had to stand in queue for hours before a doctor saw them. It was even more difficult to get the sick exemption. The institution was unwilling to supply enough ~~medicine~~ medicine.

(4a) All kinds of people were represented among our employees. There were many of the ~~szélszék~~ declassé elements. For example, [REDACTED] a former lawyer and notorious hero of the 1930th was general handyman. A former captain of the airforce was maintenance man. An old colonel of the Husars once applied to me to get a job. I tried to get a physical job for him but it was impossible. In our hotel and generally in ~~Batna~~ Balatonfured there were many declassé elements. After 1953 many former deportees came to Balatonfured and lived there in a very great poverty. For example, I still ~~xxx~~ remember Haasz Aladar from the former Ministry of Education.

(4b) There was a good spirit between the working people. I did everything to maintain such a good spirit and I succeeded. The subordinate talked more freely with his

carried out ever since the state had taken over the different establishments. Because of the poor equipment we in the management had many complaints. For example, every day there was some complaint because of the hot water. On the other hand we served an excellent food. The foreign visitors found our prices very cheap. The Hungarian guests did not dare to complain. They were glad if they could secure a room. In 56 when we had many visitors from France, Finland, England. Some of them told me that the hotel was as they had ^{expected} ~~accepted~~ a hotel in a satellite country.

- (3f) The regular working ^{time} ~~hour~~ was 8 hours a day, however, in the managerial jobs everybody had to work as much as possible. The porter worked 12 hours a day but he got overtime for that. The porter as well as many of the maids tried to make their own private business. The foreign guests brought along nylon, perlon and many other items. The maids, waiters and waitresses, porters and so on sold such imported items. The square before our hotel was all the time like an oriental market. ~~Everybody~~ Everybody was doing business there.
- (3g) Generally 6 days and 48 hours a week is the working time. In the hotel business, however, there were seasonal changes. During the high season most of the people worked 60 hours a week or so. They got paid overtime for it.
- (3j) There was paid vacation, 12 days a year.
- (3o) The greatest benefit in the hotel and restaurant business was the keep and good food. The employees there

1 000 forints for ready-made shoes. Only the high officials, the prominent Communists could afford such shoes. Half of our guests were foreigners. Many of them from the Western countries. It was a custom in the hotel that the table of a foreign guest was decorated with the flag of his country. You could see there pretty often British, French flags or the flags of the Scandinavian countries. I do not remember any American guests there. Our hotel was actually not the most luxurious place. The most luxurious place was the Park Hotel in Tihany which was the former palace of Archduke Jozsef. There you could see a very great luxury. The guests there consisted almost entirely of foreigners. Once for example President Dobi spent 2 weeks there. He arrived there with an entourage of 11 persons. Next morning after his arrival President Dobi came down to the desk clerk of the hotel and asked him: "Could you tell me where I am?"

(3d) As an administrator of the hotel I had no personal problems with the employees. Strange as it may sound, all of them knew my past and my arrest, however, nobody tried to give me any special difficulties. Generally speaking all kinds of people came up among the employees. The basic wages without percentage and tip were rather poor. Consequently only those people became waiters, waitresses or maids who could not find a job otherwise. The whole hotel and restaurant business would have needed a great amount of investment. Very few investments were

ness as stated above.

- (2e) The organization of the hotel and restaurant business in the Communist system was too complicated. The Communists established a ridiculous system of control. One bill had to be entered at ten different places and ten different accountants or controllers had to look through it. In spite of that there were great possibilities of cheating. The employees in the business were rather well paid. They had a basic pay plus a certain percentage after the traffic plus tips. The tips amounted to quite a sum. To understand the situation one has to remember that 80% of the hotels around the Balaton were ~~in~~ official resort places managed by the trade unions and similar organizations. There were only a few hotels freely open before the public. There was a great scarcity of ~~rooms~~ rooms consequently the guests paid very high tips to a porter sometimes to a waiter who could ~~provide~~ provide a room for them. Our guests were the high functionaries of the Party and the state with a lot of money. Even the foreign guests who were mostly businessmen had a lot of money. The foreign guests could never come alone. They were usually the guests of a Hungarian plant or office. Then among our guests I want to mention a small number of private merchants or tradesmen, the Maszek people. For example an upholsterer or a shoemaker lived in a real luxury as he has never known it before 53. If such a fellow was able to get a permission to carry out trade he made a ~~big~~ lot of money. For example, a shoemaker charged

from the police of Vac telling me that I should report there without any delay. The ~~the~~ policeman in Vac wanted to arrest me immediately. Then after a long talk they permitted that I should submit an application and should receive permission to stay in Balatonfured. I think after that the police forgot about me. Anyhow I returned to Balatonfured and from that time on I stayed there up to the revolution. In December 1955 I was promoted again and became administrative leader. Then in March 1956 I became deputy manager. Three months later I became the ~~manager~~ ^{Golden} manager of the ~~Red~~ Star Hotel and of another smaller hotel connected with it. My job at the Golden Star Hotel was rather pleasant. It was a free hotel where anybody could come who could pay the prices. We had many foreigners among our guests, many prominent Communists, many writers and such ~~the~~ kind of people. In the summer of 1956 it was announced that President Nasser of Egypt will visit us, however, he did not come. It was an interesting job and the AVC did not seem to care about me, although the IVO had 2 spies there. One of them was a porter, the other one a waiter. Both of them talked with me rather freely and told even about their spying activities. In the meantime I put in an application to the supreme court for rehabilitation. I was promised that in the second half of November it will come up before the court. However, because of the revolution ~~the~~ nothing came out of it.

(2a) After 1955 I would say my main job was in the hotel busi-

noted to so-called cellar master. As a cellar master I had a much greater freedom of movements. I could leave the cellar and move around in the ~~xxxxx~~ premises of the hotel in my working clothes. I had quite a few humorous scenes when my old acquaintances met me there. In the meantime in the spring of 1955 I had to appear before the court in Vac. There I was charged that I had left the city illegally, however, the court prorogued the session and nothing came out of it. In June 1955 I was summoned again by the police in Vac. The AVO had all the data about me. They knew exactly where I worked and lived. They took away my personal papers and told me that I must leave Budapest right away. So I returned to Budapest to the Astoria Hotel and told to the Communist general manager what had happened. He tried to give me some help, made several phonecalls even to the Ministry of Interior. With his aid I could go to the AVO headquarters where I saw again a major and he gave me the advice that I should go somewhere else and should find a job in the hotel business. Any other place he said will be approved by the AVO. After a few more phonecalls by the general manager I was offered a job in Balatonfonyod where I became the deputy manager of the Rianas restaurant. In such a way I spent the summer in Balatonfonyod and I learnt the restaurant business. At the end of the summer season I was sent to Balatonfured, as the administrator of the hotel Gold Star. There I got 900 forints a month. I hardly arrived in Balatonfured when a new summon came

cellar

So I was working there in the ~~bar~~ with the different drinks. After a few weeks I got official summon from the police in Vac. They were asking me how did I dare to go to Budapest. I explained them that I was living in Vac and commuting every day to Budapest to work there because the work situation was so poor in Vac whereupon the police lieutenant told me that I should apply to the Ministry of Interior and get my judgement changed. So I did and in January 1955 I got a permission ~~form~~ from the ministry to be able to go to Budapest and work there, however, I had to report at the police of Vac on every second week. Practically I was ^{living} working in Buda illegally with my relatives. In the fall of 1954 the general situation eased to a great extent so I thought the time was ripe to start a commercial undertaking. So I organized a Maszek undertaking called Első Magyar Textilfestő Iparművészeti Alkotóközösség. I organized 11 young commercial artists who produced ~~knitwear~~ handpainted textile materials which could be well sold in the foreign countries. I became the commercial manager of the undertaking and we started our business under very good conditions. I could work there for 6 weeks then comrade Peter arrived from the Ministry of Folk Art who turned out to be a major of the AVÓ! He wanted to see me and asked for my personal data. Finally he told me and to the other members of the Alkotóközösség that my employment there is not permitted by the ministry. So I had to leave this job. I returned to the Astoria Hotel again working again in the ^{cellar} ~~bar~~ and soon I was pro-

tive way with wheelbarrow. For example we had to carry the cement with wheelbarrows. From time to time the foreman took me in his office ~~mix~~ to do the different paper-work since he was unable to do ~~so~~ ^{it}. One day for example, I was just working in the office doing the wages when an inspection came from Budapest. In spite of my working clothes they immediately spotted me as an intellectual. We had a few hard minutes, however, nothing came out of it. In the following time I was not permitted to enter the office. I worked there for 2 months then winter set in and all the workers were dismissed. Then I became unskilled worker with the shipworks in Vac. There I had an awful salary, 540 forints a month. It was a ridiculous sum. One ~~pair~~ pair of shoes cost at least 600 forints. For my little room which I had in sublet I paid 200 forints a month. After 2 months I left this job and returned again to the Utjavito Vallalot where I worked for another 2 months. By the time it was the spring of 1954 and I saw that the police was not caring about me. I had visited Pest several times and nobody cared about me. So finally I decided to take up a job in Budapest and I became a ^{collar} ~~collar~~ worker in ~~the~~ the Hotel Astoria in Budapest. On my documents I was still identified as living in Vac, however, I was living black in Budapest with my relatives. I got this job through my acquaintances. The deputy general manager of the hotel was a former merchant whom I knew from my former job. The manager of the hotel was a Communist. He knew everything about me, however, he gave every help.

October 30th 1953. On the morning of that day when I was in the interment camp of Kistarcsa the commander of the ward told me that I'll be set free on the very same day but I'll be excluded from Budapest, from many other cities and from the Western and Southern borders of the country. He asked what is the place where I want to live. I was supposed to give an immediate answer so I answered with the first name which came into my mind and said that I want to live in the city of Vac. On the same night I got ten forints and a summer suit and I was set free. My first trip led me to Budapest although I was excluded and I visited my relatives there. Next morning I went to Vac and reported at the police since I was kept under police surveillance. I had to report 2 times a week. Being an ex-convict it was not easy to find a job. Finally an uncle of mine a doctor found a job for me in Vac with the Budapesti Utjavito Vallalat. I became there a road maintenance man maintaining the main highway leading to Budapest. Our pay was based on norms and with different norm cheatings I made on the average 900 to 1000 forints. It was not a hard physical work and one could see there all kinds of people. For example, the widow of a former general or ~~knasxanas~~ a former colonel of the ~~faxasx~~ general staff. The other workers were friendly and nice. On the first day when I did not bring any lunch with me they invited me and shared their lunch with me. The workers openly spoke against the regime and everybody cheated on the norms. The road maintenance work was done in a very primi-

(1)

Interviewer's note: At this point the respondent gave a rather extensive report on the political situation between 1946 and 1948 and his individual role. Most details will be omitted in the following text. Only those details will be mentioned which have certain bearing upon ~~concerning~~ the events in the respondent's fate after 1950.

End of interviewer's note.

I returned to Hungary in 1946 and resumed work with the Ministry of Trade. In those times everybody had to join a party in order ~~at~~ to keep his job. The selection of one party was based not so much on convictions ~~as~~ rather on personal connections and so on. For example, I ~~had~~ ^{had} many friends who joined the peasant party. So I became a member of it and pretty soon I was elected a member of the political committee of the party. Then in the second part of 1946 the peasant party nominated me to become the vice president of the office of foreign trade. I was appointed to this job although the Communist Party opposed it for a while. In my job I tried to continue the foreign trade on the old liberal principles of the economy. I had to make several trips in foreign countries and was away from Budapest several times for a longer time. In the meantime the Communists were taking over the field of foreign trade too and we had an increasing number of difficulties in the office. In October 1948 I was arrested. The history of this arrest will be recorded later on on its appropriate place. I was set free on

saw the real situation. At that time I heard that deportations were going on. The government announced an amnesty but nobody believed in it. I left the country on November 18th. My first aim was to leave Hungary because of my own personal security. My second thought was to emigrate to the United States. I was registered by the US Immigration authorities on November 29th, however, so far I have not heard anything more about it. I do not even know why I have not been permitted to go to America.

was in a great contradiction to Stalinism. This is why he was taken out of the mothball by the Communists in Moscow in 1953 and this is the same reason why Rakosi and Gerö opposed him. Nagy could have prevented the revolution.

(11f) The writers were very important: the literary direction of the revolution. Bibó and Farkas Ferenc were important. The Social Democrats were rather passive. They were crushed by a previous purge by ~~of~~ the Communists. When the ^{coalition} first ~~national~~ government of Nagy Imre was established the ~~Slovak~~ Social Democrats could not delegate any ministers for 2 days. They were so dispersed and divided. Concerning the small-holders party Kovacs Bela was an honest man with a sound judgement. His judgement was so sound that he did not even come to Budapest to actually participate in the events since he foresaw the events. Then B. Szabo came out from the old small-holders party, however, the party did not furnish any other great names.

(11g) The real motor of the revolution were first the students, in the later days the industrial workers. Both of them completely identified themselves with the revolutionary ideas. The peasantry was passive, the intellectuals were divided half and half. I mean half of them were passive. The irresponsible elements although present could not get any real role during the revolution. They did not affect the events.

(12) I decided to leave Hungary around November 12th when I

the right. If there was a real free election Nagy Imre would have lost his premiership,,but he would have stayed on in the government.

- (11a) Concerning the near future the revolution ~~was~~ ^{was} a damaging thing. Concerning the far future, however, it was just the opposite. The Hungarian people rehabilitated ~~itself~~ ^{itself} of itself. At present, however, there is a tragic situation at home. People are in a lethargy even the jokes ceased to exist.
- (11b) The revolution could have succeeded only if the Western world does something through the UN. For example, they should not have attacked Suez or to make a connection between Hungary and Suez. Nagy Imre ~~is~~ ^{is} was asking for neutrality. The Indian delegate at the UN Krishna Menon had a very good idea. UN secretary Hammerskjold should not go to Budapest but to Moscow and should try to negotiate there in the name of the UN. However, nothing happened. The UN was a great failure just at that time when Poland and China 2 important satellite countries were sympathizing with Hungary.
- (11c) I did not expect any military aid but a diplomatic one. I hoped ~~that~~ ^{that} that the UN will find a way out.
- (11e) He is a sedate wise politician of great ability. He is a Communist but he has constructive ideas. He is the most popular man in Hungary at present and he deserves it. When he became Minister of Agricultural Collection in the spring of 1952 he came out with a new plan which

Parliament. The employees went on strike and did not work, however, they turned up every day in their offices. In every ministry in Budapest a revolutionary council was established.

- (10h) The local councils stayed on as administrative offices.
- (10i) In the countryside 1 or 2 Protestant priests were removed.
- (10g) The Mefesz was the peak organization of the revolutionaries.
- (10k) Many new organizations came up. For example, the Politikai Uldozottek Szovetsege, however, the time was too short to consolidate any of these new organizations. During the short time they gained a certain popularity. For example, Ekkas Tildy officially signed to become a member of the Politikai Uldozottek Szovetsege.
- (10,l) We learnt through the radio that there are workers' councils in Budapest. So we decided to establish a similar one in Balatonfured, however, there was a great insecurity concerning the rights and the function of the workers' councils. We would have needed more time to establish a proper procedure. The whole idea of workers' councils had come from Yugoslavia. The people knew of their existence for quite some time and liked the idea. So when the first possibility came in Hungary they tried to realize it.
- (10m) A coalition government consisting of the 4 parties and under the leadership of Nagy Imre would have emerged. There would not have been any further change ~~xxxx~~ to

right away. The kader cards were turned over to the people. The leader of the kader department had to appear before our council. We told him that he had behaved quite alright. Consequently he should take a vacation of 2 weeks, should come back and then we will see what kind of job he should get with our company. We did not want to dismiss him. I know there were some places where the kader person escaped because he had been such a great scoundrel.

(10b) The local Party organizations remained. The local Party secretary made a long speech and identified himself with the revolution. On October 29th the Hungarian Workers' Party ceased to exist and they started the organization of the new Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. Up to this time they have been unsuccessful in bringing together this party. In our neighborhood none of the party officials escaped. Nothing happened to them. On the countryside there were a few cases that farm co-operative officials were beaten up. But there were no great atrocities mainly because of the general liberalization of the last year.

(10c) The blue police sided immediately with the revolution.

(10d) In Veszprem nothing happened to the AVH. Most of them were told to stay at home and not to try to escape. In Magyarovar and in some other places ~~xxxx~~ where the AVH resisted with arms the situation was, of course, quite different.

(10g) When I was in Budapest I saw a very great crowd in the

had done. For example, they repeated it every night at 7.30. I know of many cases that after the first broadcast the AVO man in question was notified by his friends, whereupon he ran home and listened to the Voice of America. This program really worked well. It withheld many AVO people from more brutalities. Generally speaking, many people listened to all possible radio stations.

- (10) In the country everybody stayed in his office or position. The revolutionary councils took over the leadership on a higher level. They wanted to cooperate with the different office holders. The actual administrators remained the same, during the days of the revolution. For example, in our hotel business the situation worked out as follows: when the temporary revolutionary council was established we announced to the workers that we want a discipline and we want the old leaders to continue in their job. The old leader named Perczel Lajos acknowledged that the higher directions will come from our council. For example, the personnel matters were left in the hands of the council, however, if Perczel wanted to hire or fire somebody we took a look at it and usually approved his idea. There were very few cases where the old managers were removed.

- (10a) The time of the revolution was too short. None of the old institutions collapsed. If liberalization would have been going on the situation would have changed. The kader department was the only one which was abolished

If somebody was through with such a newspaper he left it to his friends.

(9b) For example, we could talk with the leading personalities in Veszprem. We did not talk very much about the Russian intervention. The main topic of the conversation was how to return to the normal course of life. Our main aim was to start a new life on November 5th, a new normal democracy that was the main topic of the talks.

(9c) Everybody listened to the radios. Many people put the radios into the windows. When ~~wka~~ walking on the streets of Budapest one could hear the radios blaring in a window or in an apartment. The Iroszovetseg took over the Hungarian radio. Then the Kossuth radio station became a reliable ^{news cast} station. It tried to give good neutral ~~station~~, however, it did not want incite against the Russians. The Radio Free Europe was very passive and non-committal in the first two days. Obviously they did not know what happened in Hungary. I listened to it every day and I did not hear the Free Europe Radio exciting the Hungarians for revolution. On the other hand it had a program of a very low level. Out of the money those people had they could have made a good program. The Radio Free Europe had a very low level but it did not incite. The radio BBC is entirely reliable. It had a very great influence upon the intellectuals. The Voice of America is better ~~than~~ than the Free Europe. Particularly it had an excellent ^{crimes} program about the personal ~~crimes~~ of the different AVO people. They told it every day 2 times what this or that AVO man

staying in Budapest for a long time. They have made many personal contacts. They have seen the enthusiasm of the population, they have become unreliable. The attack against Budapest was done by the new troops. As far as I know they did not commit any personal brutalities ~~or~~ or atrocities but they used heavy artillery whenever they met with armed opposition. This is ^{how} the 7th and 8th districts of Budapest were ruined. In Veszprem the students held out the fortress. The Russians shot with heavy artillery. Even in those times there was oppositon going on since people were still hoping in armed help. In Veszprem there was a chemical university. 90% of the students took up arms. All the Communist organizations around the university failed. The MNK ^{taught} ~~taught~~ the students how to use arms and the students used it in the revolution.

(9) I found out about the events through my own experiences. I saw many things between Budapest and Fared, then I listened to the foreign radio stations. When the radio station transmitted the meeting of the UN more than a hundred workers in our hotel listened to it. The workers were working late in the night, so often they stayed on and the radio of the hotel was used to listen to the foreign stations.

(9a) People read a lot of newspapers. Everybody tried to buy every paper he came across. The revolutionary papers were published on October 27th and 28th. They were very cheap and they were thin. A newspaper consisted of 2 pages only.

it was very unfortunate that he asked for the right of asylum of the Americans. His behavior was rather unfortunate. It turned ~~xxxx~~ out that he was unwilling to carry out his own political role. He became a colorless figure in Hungary.

- (8) troops
The Soviet ~~xxxx~~ behaved in a passive way. Particularly on the country side. During the revolutionary days many Russian soldiers came to Balatonfured but mostly for a drink. Most of the Russian troops sympathized with the Hungarian revolution.
- (8a) There were no differences.
- (8e) I don't know of any defections by Russians during the revolt, however, the Russians behaved in a passive way which could be interpreted as a support given to the revolution. For example, in Buda one Russian group put out the red-white-green emblem. In Veszprem ~~xxxx~~ their attitude was uniform, a passivity. I understand that in Győr the Russian commander called on Szigethy Attila and told him that the Russians did not want to interfere. On the contrary they wanted to get asylum in a future neutral Hungary. This was the situation and that made it necessary to bring in fresh Russian troops to Hungary. The fresh troops consisted of young people from Asia, for example out of Kirghize people. These fresh troops were delivered in Hungary in ~~xxxx~~ ^{closed} box cars and did not know where they were. When seeing the Lake Balaton one of them asked whether this was the Canal of Suez. The old Russian troops have been

very active in political lines. It was quite amazing to see the same people who had been quite passive and disinterested in politics for such a long time now came out with a feverish activity. People whose word could not be heard for several months came suddenly up with excellent ideas. Everybody tried to help the cause of the revolution.

- (7) There were no great names. The revolution did not throw up any great ~~new~~ names. The people knew that there was a Malater and Kiraly Bela but there was no personal cult. The newspapers of those days did not try to popularize anybody. The ~~newspapers~~ newspapers contained very few names. They were mostly full of official announcements political programs and leading ~~articles~~ articles.
- (7a) There were no conflicts or disagreements among the rebels. There was no disagreement even around the person of Mindszenti. His significance must not be overestimated. Everybody was glad that he regained freedom but he was not regarded as a political factor. Perhaps the revolution-
ary to
~~the many~~ events contributed ~~to~~ such case. Under ordinary circumstances the arrival of the primate in Budapest would have led to a mass demonstration. But actually in those time very few people noticed it. Mindszenti's political announcement was rather cautious. He made some peaceful concessions to the Russians, however, his announcement did not arise the public interest. People had more things on their mind than the person of Mindszenti. Concerning his political role my opinion is that

fired on October 24th in the morning between 9 and 9.30 p.m. The mass was marching peacefully. On the two sides the army and the local police were marching. Everybody had red-white-green emblem. The mass cheered the army. The army gave the truck to overturn the Russian military monument. It was bound to the truck and dragged down.

(5b) The hotel business came to the conclusion that we cannot make a general strike. We had to give food to the people who regularly came to us to eat, however, we cut down on the extraordinary or luxury meals. ~~xxxx~~ The regular services ~~xxxxxx~~ went on. We offered our hotel for the wounded people in the revolution. In Balatonfured the brick factory, the ship works and the rail stopped working on ~~October~~ ^{October} 24th. It was decided that they will resume work on November 5th. Because of the Russian intervention the work resumed on November 10th only partially but even then they had many troubles. Half of the workers of the shipworks left the country. After November 4th the main business of the truck of our company was to deliver people to the border of the country who wanted to escape.

(5e) The printing shops in Balatonfured and Veszprem printed leaflets. The leaflets repeated the announcement of the revolutionary council of Győr and some other announcements ^{peacefully} ~~they~~ told the mass to behave ~~peacefully~~ and not to provoke any incidents. In Veszprem there was a revolutionary newspaper printed. I saw one issue of it but I ^{can} ~~could~~ not recall its content. During the revolution everybody became

During my visits in Budapest I took up connections with my friends in the Petöfi part which was the continuation of the old peasant party. Some of my friends told me that after the revolution I could go back to the office of foreign trade. The road between Balatonfured and Budapest was free. At Szekesfehervar the Russians were checking everybody, however, everybody could go on who had his papers^{for} legitimization. The Russians were interested only in checking the delivery of ammunition to Budapest. For example, we received papers ~~from~~^{from} the local revolutionary council in Hungarian and Russian language. There were no trains ~~running~~ running. Many people were on the highways walking or getting a ride on the different trucks.

(4a) When I was in Budapest on October 25th and 26th I did not see but I did hear some shooting. It happened in daytime. As we could put the news and the sounds together the revolutionaries and the army was fighting against the AVD people.

(4b) No Hungarian troops defied their orders since there were no concrete orders. By the way, this is one of the Communist charges against Nagy Imre nowadays. The army was a failure from the point of the view of the Communism. It simply sided with the revolutionaries. The officers sided with the revolutionaries, gave orders and the crew followed those orders I would say enthusiastically.

(4c) No.

(5a) I did participate in the mass demonstration in Balaton-

to acknowledge the Communist Party in the coalition. As Nagy Imre established a coalition it was a good and workable compromise. The whole country would have accepted Nagy, Kadar, ^{Losonczy} ~~Losonczy~~ Communists. ~~Communism~~ At the present time there is no more popular person in Hungary than Imre Nagy.

- (3,1) There were some right extremist people in the revolution, however, the Horthy people had no real role. Maléter prohibited that any of the Horthy officers should have any role or any office. Similarly there was no rôle given to those people who just left the jail. The former Szolgabiro did not get any office either. On the other hand many of the highschool teachers had important posts in the new administration.
- (4) Between October 23rd and November 4th I spent most of the time between Balatonfured and Budapest. I did not take any parts in fighting and did not accept any political jobs. It was known to everybody that I had been arrested. My person would have been a political liability in any political job. At the time of the revolution I was manager ^{of} ~~for~~ 2 hotels in Balatonfured. Because of such position I had to participate in the organization which wanted to supply the revolutionaries and the civilian population of Budapest with food. For example, we gave the trucks of the hotels for such purpose. The chairman of the local revolutionary council organized the collection of the food. With the trucks I went down to Budapest 2 or 3 times.

seven members was elected. Only one of them was a Communist. I became elected as a member too. Then we agreed that after November 4th a final workers' council will be elected. Then there was a second election and the final workers' council consisted of the same 7 members.

(3h)

The most popular slogan was after October 24th: "Out with the Ruskis". The other important slogans wanted freedom, freedom of press, freedom of speech and so on. Many slogans claimed certain economic aims for ~~example~~ ^{example that}, the trade agreement with Russia should be published. In this respect the Hungarian uranium deposits were on the minds of the people. People talked about it very much. There was a general feeling that the country could be very rich with the uranium deposit found within the country. There were many slogans and even more parties but ~~the~~ few of the political parties had any mass behind them. The 4 large parties of the coalition were popular. The other parties which mushroomed up had nothing but the leader. There were numberless small parties. Almost everybody who wanted to put up a ~~high~~ sign, ~~and~~ established his own party. The announcement of Imre Nagy that there will be a coalition of 4 parties evoked a general ~~enthusiasm~~ enthusiasm. There were changes in the leadership ~~of~~ of the Communist ~~Party~~ Party and the people who came up now such as Nagy Imre, Szanto, Kadar, Vas were rather popular. Then again Kovacs Bela was popular out of the small-holders party. Even Tildy behaved himself very cleverly.

(31)

The revolution was not anti-Communist. Everybody wanted

openly said that they wanted to restore the situation as it had existed in 1948.

- (3c) The general aim was to have a more liberal government. They wanted Nagy Imre as primeminister. Of course, there were many shades. The majority of the youth wanted a policy on the lines of Tito, perhaps later on a coalition of the parties but they did not want ~~anything~~ anything more rightist than the Gomulka government. Actually Gerö is responsible that out of such moderate demands a revolution emerged.
- (3f) It is hard to say. Nobody wanted bloodshed. On the other hand nobody expected success from the revolution. Everybody was afraid of a Russian intervention. The revolution was not prepared, however, when once it was on its way it was impossible to stop it.
- (3g) There were ~~not~~ hardly any neutral people. 95% of the people accepted the aims of the ~~people's~~ revolution. The old middle class showed a certain passivity. The main ~~main~~ factors of the r^evolution were the youth and the working class. The peasantry could not get any part in the revolution but they sympathized with the revolution. They gave food for nothing. The attitude of the workers was very interesting. For example, in our Essakbalaton Vendeglató Uzem we called a meeting of the workers together where the workers' council was supposed to be elected through secret vote. We had to persuade the people to vote. First they did not want to. Finally a council of

in every line. It would have been possible to prevent the revolution ~~was~~ provided a certain liberal policy was followed. Neither the Petöfi kor nor the Iroszovetseg wanted a revolution. Concerning the liberal tendencies prevalent in the summer of 56 I want to mention an example concerning Erdefer Ferenc. He was the left extreme leader of the peasant Party. By the way he had spent 3 weeks with Tito and he was openly praising his system. In the summer of 56 Erder invited Parkas Ferenc one of the former leaders of the peasant party whom he had liquidated. Erdefer invited him for a friendly dinner and made a political compromise. He wanted to secure his political future by taking up friendly relations with other elements. About the same time an interesting change could be observed in the leader ~~policy~~ ^{struggle} policy of the Party. The class ~~tax~~ was simply suspended. Now the Party wanted to employ experts, not people of proletarian origin.

(3b) In 1956 or perhaps even in 1955 the ~~system~~ system of controls was by no means efficient neither complete. On my personal identification card for example, it was stated that I am excluded from the city of Budapest. I went to visit Budapest though. Nobody checked on me. The achievements of a liberal policy came like members of a chain. More and more people were set free from the jails. There was a council of rehabilitation and people were rehabilitated on an assembly line. The Communists

Originally he had been an agricultural worker. Then he joined the AVO! Once he told me for example: "I would really like to carry out physical work again". By the way many Communists were against the Russian intervention and openly stated that they disagreed with it. For example, the leader of the hotel business in Balatonfured, a Party member, announced at the meeting of the workers that he disapproves the Russian interference. All the workers shared the same opinion. Concerning the effect of the revolution I would like to state the following things. In 1956 during the time of Gerö a great liberalization started in Hungary. This liberalization could be very well felt in the field of trade and commerce. There were plans, for ~~example~~ ^{example that} the hotel business should be given back ~~back~~ to its old owners. There was another plan about creating a large tourist traffic in Hungary. They wanted tourists from the Western countries. In the summer of 56 former landowners were told to ~~apik~~ apply for state jobs in agriculture. Then again Vas Zoltan got an important job. If Nagy Imre was permitted in July to form a government there would not have been any revolution and many of the liberal achievements could have been preserved.

- (3) The major factor leading to the revolt was the low standard of living. Everybody had to cheat in order to make a living, added to that was the general insecurity of life and freedom. Insecurity for every person ~~for~~

On the morning of November 4th the situation looked as if the revolutionaries would have achieved complete victory. On the next day work was supposed to be taken up in every factory. The revolutionary councils were working pretty well almost everywhere. Then sudd only on the same day came the statement of Kadar issued from Szolnok where he announced that the government acknowledges some of the demands of the revolution. At that time ~~strike~~ most people ^{still} ~~hoped~~ hoped in a miracle. Actually what happened was that Kadar was kidnapped by the Russians and forced to go to Szolnok and to do what the Russians told him about forming a government and ~~making~~ carrying out all the orders of the Soviet. When the people realized what had happened they went into a passivity. Nobody wanted to work. Up to November 19th Kadar was unable to blackmail the Hungarians. In the early days of November the Russians were not yet prepared to crush the Hungarian revolution. I heard it from an AVO man in Balatonfured who was a daily guest in our hotel that on November 6th he was ordered to appear in Veszprem where he was summoned he should take up Russian uniform and should participate in crushing the fascist revolution. He refused to do so. In the whole county of Veszprem only two AVO people took up the Russian uniform. The Russians did not have enough troops in Hungary so they turned toward their natural allies the AVO people. One must not forget, however, that even among the AVO people there were some less enthusiastic ~~Communists~~ Communists. ~~Communists~~ For example, the fellow I have just mentioned.

people. On the next day one could see that the revolution is spreading. The rumor about it spread over the country-side. In Balatonfured for example, the triumph of the revolution did not require more than 30 minutes. 300 workers from ~~the~~ the shipworks came out as a demonstration. They tore down the red star from the building of the factory. They stood in attention and sang the Hungarian National anthem. After that a civilian demonstration in which about 10 to 15% of the population participated overturned the Russian military monument. It did not take more than one day that county Veszprem should be taken over by the revolutionaries. All the Communist office holders stayed in their offices. They were asked to do so by the revolutionaries since they wanted to work them in common. For example, the local AVO commander in Balatonfured was a rather important person since Rakosi had a large cottage in Balatonfured where he received many important Communist guests. This AVO commander was not arrested but asked by the revolutionaries to stay in his apartment in his own interest. There were no atrocities in the countryside. The change went on peacefully. Everybody was too optimistic in making a judgement. We hoped that the UN will come up with some help. I understand that the Soviet ambassador in Budapest informed the foreign ~~and~~ diplomats that there were negotiations going on between the Hungarian and Russian government about the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Hungary. ~~There~~ There were actually such negotiations.

the speech of Gerö. There at the radio station the AVO people shot into the mass. Gerö had very clear conceptions about the situation. He knew that a revolution was in preparation, however, his strategy was that the revolution can be liquidated within a few hours with the aid of Russian military ~~intervention~~ ^{intervention} and that he can prove to Moscow that the line of Stalin ~~has~~ has to be continued in Hungary. However, he made one mistake. The Russians were not prepared to such an action. The Hungarian ~~army~~ ^{army} and police forces sided with the revolution with the exception of the ~~AVO~~ AVO. The Russian troops stationed in Hungary were not reliable. For example, the Russian commander in Győr declared that they did not want to interfere. They did not want to fight against the Hungarian people. The greatest mistake in Gerö's strategy was that at that time even Moscow was hesitant and did not want to interfere openly with the Hungarian affairs. After the start of the revolution the army sided with the revolutionaries. The AVO people seeing the situation and particularly seeing that there was no ~~Russian~~ ^{Russian} intervention did not come out openly against the revolution. It happened in Budapest that a depot of ammunition and guns was ceded by the AVO people. So it happened that from the first few hours the revolutionaries had guns and ammunition. I do not think that the morale of the AVO was broken but they did not try to challenge the overwhelming force of the revolutionaries. On the night of October 23rd Nagy Imre became prime minister but Gerö stayed on as secretary general of the Party. This situation irritated the

example, it was permitted that the play of Nemeth Lasz-
should
lo ~~of~~ Galilei ~~could~~ be performed, although it had been
prohibited for 5 years. About the same time Gerö ~~is~~ visi-
ted Tito and Kadar Janos was a member of the delegation.
Gerö's visit caused much resentment in Hungary. Everybody
knew that Tito wanted friendly relations with Hungary
but at the same time he neglected Gerö. Then came the
Polish events. The rumors spread very fast in Budapest.
We learnt right away about the fact that Bulganin and
Krushchev were visiting Warsaw. The general opinion was
that the Polish people are behaving in a courageous way.
So finally the students decided that on the 23rd of Oc-
tober they will arrange for a mass demonstration in the
sympathy with the Poles. On that day I was in Budapest
again and saw many of the events. The mass really did not
want anything but a mass demonstration in sympathy of the
Polish people. A 100 000 people ~~came~~ turned out but
the Polish character has been maintained. They marched to
the statue of General Bem. There Veres Peter delivered
a speech in nationalistic spirit. Gerö returned on the
same day from Yugoslavia and in his speech delivered in
the radio he used menacing words. He said, the Party knew
how to handle the situation. He announced that the Party
leadership will have a meeting in a week. He told those
things at 8 p.m. through the radio at a time when every-
body was on the streets and was expecting the prompt
abdication of Gerö. The mass became very excited and
marched to the Radio Station. They wanted to interrupt

for such purposes. Finally on October 1st the announcement came that next Sunday night the paper will be on the street. On that Sunday night from 8 p.m. on masses were on the street waiting for the paper, particularly on the Korut of Budapest masses were standing on every streetcorner. 70 000 copies were printed. But they were not enough to satisfy the demand. People tore the paper out of the hand of the newsvendors. Many people became injured in the melee. The police had to interfere. Everybody felt that something new is coming. The leader of the first issue was written by Boldizsar with the title "Tiszta Lappal" (With Clear Account). It was an open attack against Rakosi. He demanded Nagy Imre, he demanded a new road of politics. It was the voice of a formal opposition. By the way, the paper was written mostly by Communists, 80% of the ^{contributors} ~~százközeztized~~ were Communist. For example, Vasarhelyi said that we must be almost neutrals. The paper had a tremendous success right on October 1st. Then on October 17th and 18th came the students' meeting in Szeged where a new students' organization was established. The demands of the revolution were established there. The delegates of the students of Budapest behaved themselves in a diplomatic way. They wanted that the DISZ should stay on and they did not want to make any statements against the Russians. The students' meeting took place on a Saturday and the Hetfői Hirlap reported on it on the first page. There were many other changes on the intellectual line. For

exchange

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ of words during which Kadar said to Rakosi:

"We are separated by mountains of corpses". This meeting of the Party ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ leadership was still in session when Mikoyan arrived in Budapest. Mikoyan seeing the situation in Budapest contacted Moscow and a few days later ~~XXXX~~ at the beginning of July Moscow permitted that Rakosi should be replaced. As a ~~xxx~~ guarantee for Moscow Gerö was selected to succeed him. The announcement of Rakosi's dismissal had tremendous effect upon public opinion. In Balatonfured there had been more champagne consumed on that one evening than over a whole year. Everybody felt that a great change in the Party line must come. Gerö ~~xxxx~~ felt that he cannot keep up the shift to the right, however, he tried to sabotage it or to slow it down. For example, the Irodalmi Ujsag was very important in the ^{newsprint} changes. Gerö did not give ~~xxxx~~ for the Irodalmi Ujsag. By the time one could hear many opinions in the line of a national Communism and many people demanded that Nagy Imre should return. In the second part of August I was in Budapest for a few days on a official trip. At that time I met Boldizsar Ivan an old acquaintance of mine from the peasant party. Boldizsar told me that a new newspaper will be started under the title Hetfői Hirlap. He asked me to have a tourist column ~~xxxx~~ in the paper. In connection with this plan I visited Boldizsar several times in his office which was in ~~xxx~~ New York Palace. Originally we planned to issue this paper on the first Monday of September, however, Gerö did not give newsprint

long time. The right wing of the Communist Party regained its voice. Rakosi and Gerö tried to counterbalance such movements. Rakosi tried to sabotage the change. Even Moscow found it disagreeable that the Hungarian Party leaders were so stiff. Particularly it was so in the Yugoslav problem. The press in Yugoslavia was constantly attacking Rakosi and his clique. Finally Rakosi delivered a speech in Eger where he remembered the 20th Congress of the Party and talked about the rehabilitation of Rajk. When his speech was printed in the newspapers the people tore the papers out of ~~the~~ one another's hands. They were so eager to read it. Everybody felt that the change is right on the corner. At that time Kadar Janos was one of the leaders against Rakosi. The fight against Rakosi was particularly conspicuous in literary and intellectual life. The Iroszovetség had a leading role. The writers were Marxists but they wanted a change. The first meeting of the Petöfi kör was a mass demonstration. Most of the speakers were Communists but they wanted freedom. The second meeting of the Petöfi kör was held in the Park klub and led to stormy scenes. Many people wanted a freedom of speech there. The leader ~~of~~ of agitation in the Party Nogradi Sandor accused the writers with rightist deviations. There were stormy scenes at the Party meetings. At one time Rakosi put down 400 names on a list and he demanded the arrest of all those people. But the Party leadership voted him down. It was during this meeting that Kadar Janos attacked Rakosi. They had an

Interviewer's note: At the beginning of the interview the respondent made the following introductory remarks about himself. "In 1940 I entered the service of the Ministry of Trade in Hungary. In the same year I became Hungarian commercial attache in Pozsony. Then later I was transferred to Koppenhagen, Denmark. In the fall of 1944 I escaped to Sweden because of my involvement in the Gazy resistance. I returned to Hungary in March 1946. In Hungary I became a member of the peasant party. In December 1946 I was appointed to the Vice president of the office of foreign trade. I worked there to October 1948 when the AVO arrested and charged me with a plot against the state, and I was convicted and spent 32 months in Reck. In 1953 after the general amnesty I was set free. At the time of the revolution I was living in Balatonfured. During the time of the revolution I was several times in Budapest. After the Russians overturned the revolution I escaped and arrived in Austria on November 19th. Later on I was questioned by the UN committee investigating the Hungarian affairs."

- (1) Nothing new can be said about it.
- (2) The 20th Congress of the Communist Party brought a decisive change. We heard from the Western radiostations about the talk of Krushchev. People felt that some great change is coming. Even the people of the Communist Party felt that the line of Stalin cannot be followed for ~~xxxxx~~ a