

(1) The events in Hungary clearly proved that Hungarians and other East European nations are not willing to live under communism, under any form of communism not even national communism. It further proved the failure of ~~ex~~ coexistence, the impossibility to co-exist with the Soviet Union. The Hungarians proved and stated that they were not willing to live ~~any~~ under ~~any~~ Soviet tyranny anymore. The Soviet Union in spite of its recent tactical moves of friendship proved during the revolt that it was not going to give the satellite nations their freedom. The Hungarians on the other hand decided and stated that neutrality was to them the only possible road. It was also revealed that although the West talked about freedom it refused to take even the slightest step against Soviet Russia at this time, not even such a minimum step as economic sanctions against the Soviet Union.

(2) The Revolution began when <sup>Rakosi</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ came to power. It all began with 1945 the so-called liberation. Hungary didn't have a good opinion <sup>of</sup> ~~any~~ the Russians at ~~is~~ that time. There were free elections in 1945 and later and Hungary proved already then, that she did not ~~is~~ want to have a communist government. The

Communist Party received only 17% of the votes in spite of the fraudulent voting practices which made the Communist vote higher than it actually was. Then came the Rakosi-salami tactics, to get rid of the opposition inside and outside the Party. In 1948 the Communist Party came to power. Up to 1949 the standard of living rose, then came the Five-Year-Plan and the standard of living began to drop swiftly. This was accompanied by a strong wave of terror, which heightened in 1952 when at its climax there was a wave of deportations. The purpose of this was to get rid of the so-called class aliens including the corner grocer. In 1952 they also deported from areas along the border people of Croat and Serbian origin. This was the height of the hostilities with Tito. I saw this in my own country, the country of Zala. There was a series of trials including the trials within the Communist Party. By 1953 it was obvious that the Five-Year-Plan and the terror could not be carried out. At this point Imre Nagy's government came to power. The first labor camps including that at Reck which was worse than Auschwitz, were dissolved. This was followed by the new consumer goods policy. People began to breathe more easily and there was an easing up in the intellectuals and literary field too. Many Party members were disillusioned when they saw the failure of the Party's policies. But the

Imre Nagy regime meant no basic changes; it merely calmed down people somewhat, and made the atmosphere somewhat easier. Of course, there were still political prisoners, collective farms, etc. But everything seemed easier. In March the Party resolution against Rightist deviationists was connected with the fall of Malenkow and the rise of Bulganin. Then the terror started again, the writers, who had collected around Nagy were suppressed and the economic changes disappeared. Rakosi was in saddle again.

The 20th Party Congress gave the writers an opportunity to write more freely and to agitate against the Party. An example of this agitation was the December letter to the Party about Hemeth's Galilei, etc. At the Party meeting of the 13th district in Budapest a teacher got up and demanded that Rakosi resign. In general the press began to voice its opposition against the regime.

The Petöfi Circle. (See end of interview for respondent's comments on Petöfi circle debates in greater detail.) The Petöfi circle began with merely technical professional debates; they debated problems of historiography, economics, philosophy etc. Then the debates were extended to discussions of matters

of national importance. There was a <sup>deal of</sup> great interest in these debates in spite of the silence of the press and the opposition of Szabad Nép. AT the press debate ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ there was a sharp attack on Kározi and the regime in general. At this point things accelerated. The interest in the Petöfi circle grew especially among university students. In September and October the youth began to voice its demands. At the Polytechnic institute they stated their demands in sixteen points. Then came the October 23rd demonstration. This was not an anti-semitic nor a dangerous demonstration. Next came the Gerö speech in which he called the people Fascists etc. And then they fired on the crowd.

The Revolution fought for political, economical and human rights, against Communism. All of the factors listed contributed to the outbreak of the Revolution.

(2b) The Revolution was not caused by the agitation of writers and students. It would be foolish to say that it was. ~~XX~~ <sup>It was</sup> ~~The~~ regime <sup>which</sup> made Revolution. It prevented people from living normally, as befits human beings.

Economically the norms system exploited the workers. These loans and other deductions took away a goodly percentage of the earnings; real wages were low as a result and one could buy little for them. Hous-

ing was poor; in the war many houses were destroyed and very few new houses were built in spite of the high birthrate. They built Party buildings and other public buildings. The housing situation was worst in Budapest and in the growing towns, in industrial towns like Miskolc and Várpalota. The political causes ~~XXXXXXXX~~ were the following, political meetings took up a great deal of everybody's free time. At these meetings one had to protest about <sup>the</sup> Rosenbergs and about Beloiannis. People were forced to go ~~back~~ to these meetings after work. The regime tried to fool the workers with slogans which didn't mean anything. When the Communist regime was established it took from the Lumpen proletariat people who were otherwise useless and placed them in Government jobs. Such people became the so-called worker aristocracy which were only <sup>a</sup> very small percentaged, about 1-2 percent <sup>of the century</sup>. They lived well and forgot their origin, their fathers, their mothers. They had special shops, villas, cars, vacations. They didn't know how to run the country nor how the people were living, they knew nothing about their jobs. In the summer of 1956 Hegedüs ~~answering~~ an interpellation in parliament didn't know the price of butter. He didn't know anything about running the country's economy. <sup>Petöfi Circle</sup>  
The social problem: in October 1956 ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ wanted to make a sociological study of the life of the

Budapest workers. The facts revealed about the life of the workers in Budapest were shocking. The worker's children were on the street without supervision. There was a great rise in juvenile delinquency. There was no place where the children could go after school and as a result the crime rate increased. The regime talked about giving everyone a chance to get an education. The situation however was that not only class aliens but workers also were denied the opportunity to get an adequate education because they just couldn't afford to send their children to school. Children didn't even finish the general school ("általános iskola", 8 year school). Of 150,000 children only 100,000 finished the general school. The situation of children living in isolated rural settlements was especially bad in this respect. Workers at least had the opportunity to work even though they were exploited. They could at least live. The peasants did not have this opportunity. The so-called Kulaks, the spine of Hungarian agriculture, were liquidated. This group was never high in number. In 1955-56 there were six-thousand, among whom were many middle peasants, who had 25 holds of land and a certain monetary attitude then he was called a kulak even though he

was a middle peasant with 10 holds property or up. This stratum was ruined economically: their delivery quota was higher than their yearly production. And those peasants who owned less than 10 holds of land were forced into collective farms. They joined because the taxes were lower. The collective farms were very uneconomical because they produced crops which were unprofitable. ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>Farmers</sup> didn't like to join the collective farms.

Since the regime was ideologically committed to large-scale agriculture it forced people into collective farms. The country ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>lost</sup> money on many collective and state farms. The state farms hired laborers ~~XXXXXX~~ consisting ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ of landless ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ peasants and ruined kulaks. The ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>indigent agrarian</sup> proletariat ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>increased</sup> in number ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~. The only ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>advantage</sup> was that at least in the villages they had enough ~~XXXXXX~~ to eat. There was another fact which contributed to the agriculture problem. A large number of the ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>rural</sup> population especially young men of 16 - ~~20~~ 30 left the villages and got jobs as factory workers in the cities. Villages became depopulated.

The miners were also badly off economically. Many miners had a small amount of land on which they grew food; the regime fought against the miners owning land while they worked in the mines. (Kétlakiság).

The regime didn't like the miners to own land because it had less economic power over them if they had enough food to eat.

The intelligentsia was in the worst situation. The technical intelligentsia was praised by the regime although it was paid badly. There was a small number of scholars and engineers which was singled out by the regime for special rewards. The rest was badly paid. As for the non-technical intelligentsia a small number of great artists made X 100,000 forints ~~XXXX~~ year but they couldn't work freely and couldn't travel abroad. The rest of the middle class, the civil servants and similar office workers were in the worst situation. They got the lowest pay and were in the greatest danger of being fired, without the opportunity of finding X new jobs. They ~~xxxx~~ <sup>were</sup> the hardest <sup>pressed</sup> ~~xxxxx~~. This was obvious even in the Revolution. One could see that they participated less in the Revolution than the workers and other strata. They received 800 - 1000 forints per month, they were the ones who were most terrorized. They were afraid of everything because they have been attacked so much. This was especially true of the provincial lower middle class. In the office it was easy to supervise them.



This was the general social situation, which contributed to cause the revolt.

As for Western events in spite of the Western Radio stations people were not correctly informed about international affairs. They were unable to measure and judge the relative strength of this West and the Soviet Union. This is not true of everyone but of a great many people. They hoped ~~there~~ that if people died in Hungary the West would help. This is the fault of the Western Radio stations, except ~~the~~ <sup>they</sup> BBC, since ~~they~~ exaggerated the statements of Western political leaders ~~or~~ <sup>or</sup> else they commented on these in a fashion which led ~~the~~ people to believe that they meant more than they actually did. The feeling was that the West was saying if you do something we will help. They did not necessarily expect armed help but political help. People trusted ~~in~~ themselves - they said, ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> 'll survive these times.

(2b)

Among international events the Korean war contributed. Everyone knew that South Korea wouldn't attack Russia, that the Northerners were the aggressors. People thought that if once we were in such a situation the South Koreans ~~would~~ <sup>would</sup> help us too. Such psychological details made people think that the West would help them.

Stalin's death gave people hope. It was a happy event. Berlin meant something too though people knew little of it.

The 20th Party Congress meant a great deal; not so much the words or the facts about Stalin which were known, but the fact that in Hungary the Congress was quickly overestimated. It presented an opportunity to attack Rakosi with ideological arguments.

The Yugoslav circus affected people too. It had a varied effect. It solicited sympathy for the Yugoslavs, although not towards the Yugoslav Communist regime. The fact that the small Yugoslav nation could resist the Soviet Union was impressive. People said: "It would be good for us too, to be separate." But it was the Austrian neutrality agreement which had the greatest affect. People felt the same agreement should be made regarding Hungary and Rumania. Most people said "let's follow the Austrian example." It was not an accident that a neutral Hungary was proclaimed during the Revolution; 98 % of the country backed this.





<sup>were powerful</sup>  
 and ~~rather~~. After the 20th ~~Hungarian~~ Party Congress  
 the role of the writers increased in importance. It  
 was they who mirrored and reflected the peoples  
 mood. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ <sup>Their stand</sup> helped to develop and streng-  
 then the dissatisfaction of the people. The opposi-  
 tion to the regime increased as a result of their  
 work. For instance a writer would attack forced  
 collectivisation. Until now <sup>2 hundred</sup> ~~1000~~ people knew about  
 that, now 1,000 knew about it. How great an interest  
 there was in their work is demonstrated by the fact  
 that people struggled to get Irodalmi Ujsag and  
 Nétfői Hirlap. One news vendor was chased up the  
 statue of Pázmány because he was <sup>in danger of being</sup> crushed so by those  
 who were trying to get a paper; he handed them down  
 one by one to the people. 50 - 60 people stood in  
 line for Irodalmi Ujság at each vendor. One of them  
 said to me: "I can't give you a paper because you  
 don't buy at my stand regularly."

The writers were especially popular after the press  
 debate of the Petöfi circle. It was especially the  
 intelligentsia which showed an interest in them. The  
 workers were less interested in literature, ~~until~~ <sup>until</sup>  
 the press debate. After the press debate the workers  
 and others also became interested in the intellec-  
<sup>revolt</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~XXXXXXXX~~ and in the Petöfi circle. It was a  
 debate where the writers made a stand against the

regime. Among them were Déry and Tardos. The revolution had two strong forces; one: arms, two: the press. Never before during a revolution in Hungary was the press so ~~scored~~ <sup>that</sup> to the extent ~~as~~ it was ~~scored~~ during this revolution. People ran after the papers and ate them up. It is true what Togliatti said, that the writers crushed the Party and the regime; although they did not do it by themselves.

Of the leading writers who participated in the intellectual ~~revolt~~ <sup>revolt</sup> Déry was outstanding, as just about the most ~~decent~~ <sup>decent</sup> Communist writer. He ~~was~~ had been attacked since 1949 when he was already distant from the Party.

Actually, ~~we must distinguish~~ <sup>we must distinguish</sup> ~~between~~ two groups among the writers:

1. writers, who were not Party members and were not allowed to write until 1955/56. Among these were László Németh and Lőrinc Szabó.
2. Party members, who were members of the opposition group within the Party. Among these were Déry, Hay, Novobácsky, who wrote the international column for Szabad Nap, Tibor Tardos, who was expelled from the Party after the Petöfi circle debate in which he participated. Others were Miklós Gimes of Szabad Nép, Méray, the Korean reporter, who behaved decently towards ~~the end~~ <sup>the end</sup> ~~and~~ Zoltán Zelk. At the beginning Méray was hated most because of his articles on Korea. Even

the stupidest child knew that the stories about germ warfare were untrue. You can't make germ warfare in freezing, below-minus weather. Not - party writers ~~WERE~~ became more important after the beginning of the intellectual ferment. László Németh was very popular among the young people although he was almost a forbidden writer.

(2f)

After the 20th Party Congress Irodalmi Ujsag was in the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>vanguard</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~. For some time Művelt Nép was quite good too, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ but then it became stale. More interesting was Hétféli Hírlap which was edited by Iván Boldizsár.

In the provinces ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Magyar Nemzet~~XX~~ was popular; although it was not revolutionary in tone, it did show a somewhat freer spirit.

Among the intelligentsia Uj Hang, the new magazine of the Writers' Association was popular.

(2g)

I remember a satirical article by Tibor Déry in which he ~~xxxx~~ <sup>shot</sup> ~~as a big xxxxx~~ Party member ~~is buried~~ in the Kerepesi cemetery which is reserved for Party dignitaries, and Révai~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ delivered the juridictic funeral oration.

I also liked his ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>Brick Wall</sup> ~~(Teglafal)~~ <sup>the</sup> short story for which he was attacked. I also liked Novobáczky's

Strange People in Irodalmi Ujsag about the fact that Party members are peculiar people. Háy's articles about comrade Kucsera were also very good. About two weeks before the Revolution Gimes wrote a very good article in Hétfői Hirlap in which he ~~tried~~ implied that although Rákósi and Farkás were the leaders in Hungary it was the Soviet Union that was really responsible and that through the trials of Rákósi and Farkás it would <sup>actually</sup> be the Soviet Union that would be put on trial. Mériai's article in Irodalmi Ujsag about Rajk's funeral was also good.

(3) See question 2 above.

(3b) The Soviet-imposed control system was not so perfect. At its top was the AVO which was hated by everyone including the majority of those Party members who were not on top. Everyone agreed that the AVO must be dissolved, and its members put on trial for their crimes. The majority of the country was against the AVO. Although the AVO could imprison a number of people, it could not get rid of the masses of Hungarians who hated it. There was a very strong mass emotion against the AVO and its terror organization in these days.



(3c)

The purpose of the demonstrators on the 23rd was everything but ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Revolution. The Revolution came spontaneously. On the evening of the 22nd there began a movement for the university students to leave ~~IKIK DISZ~~ for a new MEFESZ organization, thus imitating the university of Szeged. The Polytechnic institute <sup>further</sup> added ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ demands, making it 16 demands altogether. The same day all the universities had meetings. They decided to show their sympathy for Poland and recent events in Poland, <sup>by staging</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ a silent demonstration. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The Polytechnic institute released its 16 demands. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ <sup>It all</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ began as a simple demonstration before the Bem statue, with the further intention of handing the 16 demands to the government and to the Radio. Students went to the factories because Marosán and other regime representatives said that the universities wanted to have an organization which did not include <sup>workers</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~. They wanted to prove that this was not so.

Then came the march to the Radio. to tell our ~~XXXXXX~~ story. At the Radio <sup>Geri</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ made a speech attacking the demonstrators as fascists etc. Tear gas bombs were thrown at the crowd and when people from the crowd began to throw stones they were shot <sup>at.</sup> This is how the Revolution began. The demonstrators <sup>gerely</sup> wanted to show their sympathy for Poland, and at the same time

(3f) Even on the 23rd when they were shot at, people didn't realize that this was a Revolution. In three or four days it was obvious that this was a Revolution. But even when this realization came there was no opposition to it. Those who stayed at home didn't realize it was a Revolution; only ~~people~~ <sup>if you were</sup> on the street it was <sup>it</sup> obvious. One couldn't oppose the Revolution because one couldn't stop participating in it. ~~But~~ <sup>By this</sup> I mean <sup>that</sup> ~~when~~ once the Revolution was started one couldn't stop and ~~they~~ <sup>he</sup> shot the next day by the regime. Only the Party leaders could oppose it and did ~~it~~ so. The decisive moment during the Revolution was when about 250 people were shot before the Parliament. At that point the Revolution couldn't stop. Even those who had ~~stayed~~ <sup>sat</sup> at home before were now outraged.

(3g) No one. This didn't exist because even if one sat in the basement one was on one side or another. Everyone stood somewhere. The majority of the active participants were workers and youths. A part of the intelligentsia participated ~~XX~~ <sup>through</sup> the press and the Radio. The technical intelligentsia participated as members of workers' councils. As for the peasants they were passive to some extent since they did not participate with arms, however they sent food to the

town. They dissolved the collective farms and chased away the Party ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>secretary and</sup> council president. They also burned the tax ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>sheets</sup>, carefully keeping the land registers intact. Outside of Budapest the armed <sup>was</sup> revolt/ concentrated in the industrial centres, and was led by workers. But although the peasants didn't participate with arms, the majority was on the side of the revolutionaries, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>Their methods</sup> were different, that is all.

Youth was 100 % on the side of the Revolution.

(3g) "Down with the AVO", "Ruski go home", ~~Majority!~~ "Neutrality", "Independent Hungary", "Free elections", and "We <sup>won't</sup> ~~were~~ return land or factory", (Földet-gyárat vissza nem adunk.)

(31) This can be understood two ways. If you mean anti-Communist in the sense that all Party members should be hanged then it was not anti-Communist. After the 25th of October Dohány Street was full of torn-up Party books. Among the fighters, amongst those who died, fighting against the Soviet Union, on the side of the revolt, were ~~included~~ <sup>many</sup> former Party members. The Revolutionaries hurt no one simply because he was a Party member.

On the other hand the revolt was anti-Communist in that it rejected all forms of Communist regime for Hungary. It opposed all forms of Stalinism. The revolt was against the Communist regime but not necessarily against Party members.

In Hungary nobody fought for Marxist these during the Revolution. In 1945 Hungary demonstrated that she doesn't want the Communist regime. Communism is an armchair theory which can't be realized in real life. Hungary doesn't want Communism in any shape or form.

- & (4) I was alive and I was glad to be alive. I participated in the demonstration on the 23rd; I was before the Bem statue, before the Parliament, at the Radio. I was glad that I was not shot to death. I just watched and marveled at what was going on. On the 23rd I was at the university, and later I spent some of my time at the headquarters of the university revolutionary council. I helped edit University Youth (Egyetemi Ifjúság,) the newspaper of the

university during the Revolution. On the 29th and 30th and perhaps even on the 31st I was in Győr and Sopron to report on events there for my newspaper. On the 29th ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>or 30th</sup> I participated in a meeting of the Győr (Transdanubian) revolutionary council, whose president was Attila Szigeti. Then I returned to Budapest. At the beginning of November the university in Budapest sent 8 or 10 university students to provincial cities to inform them of the events in Budapest. I went with them but my job was to write articles about the situation in the provinces. On November 3rd I went to Győr again, <sup>and was there when</sup> The second quote liberation unquote took place there. On November 9th I left Hungary.

Question: What did you think about the situation in Győr and the role of Szigeti. I thought Szigeti's behavior ~~XXXX~~ was realistic and correct. People in Győr who participated <sup>in</sup> ~~XXXX~~ the meetings of the revolutionary council had had no experience <sup>public</sup> in speaking and political life. But I think in spite of that the council would have worked if it had not fallen so soon. It was a serious representative organization; people came, workers told their grievances. Szigeti balanced all the various demands well. Their main trouble was that they had no arms to fight the Russians. As a result the council fell apart. Győr had no organized armed ~~XXXX~~ forces. Although the army and its officers went



(7)

This is a difficult question. The Corvin and the Kilián groups seem to be the most popular now. Corvin, which I visited, was well armed and got ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ tanks and other equipment from the Russians. Kilián also had tanks ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~. Others which had prestige were the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ group on the Széna Place. ~~XXX~~ After November 4th the group on Móricz ~~XXXX~~ Zsigmond Circle was active. The Dudás group at the Szabad Nép building also had prestige. These were the ~~the~~ standing groups. The others got together, fought, went home, then others came and continued the fight. People changed all the time. The above mentioned groups had a more stable personnel.

(8)

Only a small number of Russians actually participated in the fight. Many put out red-white and green flags; ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the Russians were merely glad that they were not being shot at and they were terribly terrible afraid. I talked with some of them and ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>we</sup> also made some leaflets for them. On the 27th or 28th I talked to a Russian and asked him where he came from. He said from the Caucasus. I asked him why he fought at which he pointed at the memorial on the top of Mount Gellért, and said "za <sup>?</sup> mir" for ~~XXXXXX~~ peace. Other Russians again, shot at groups of people and into crowds. At the front of the Parliament the AVG

shot at some of the Russian tanks. The Russian thought that the shots came from the crowd and fired at the group of demonstrators.

(9 (8e)

I saw a case of this at the 25th. There were many Russian tanks before the Astoria. The crowd started shouting "Ruski, go home, Ruski, go home." The Russian didn't shoot, they waved, jumped off the tanks, waved Hungarian flags and embraced the people.

(9a,b,c)

I saw them. We were relatively well informed at the university revolutionary council. The council had talks with SZOT (Szakszerveretek Országos Tanácsa) National Council of Trade Unions, Kopácsy, Imre Nagy, Dudás, and the delegations from the provinces. The council also sent people to the provinces, published a newspaper, and monitored foreign broadcasts. Although I didn't listen to the radio I was aware of the broadcasts through the university monitoring station. I was lucky in this, luckier than most people since often people didn't know what was going on in the next bloc.



- (10a,b) Unfortunately they remained intact. Some Party organizations were active; the revolutionaries arrested some of the functionaries ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Other people Party ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ went in to hiding at home. In general those who didn't lead the AVO ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Revolution ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ staid alive. People were extremely scrupulous about not hurting anyone except members of the AVO and those who fought against the Revolution. In the factories the Party functionaries and organizations were simply expelled from the factory. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
- (10c) The police didn't do anything or else it fought ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ on the side of the revolt.
- (10f) Thus ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>ultranationalist</sup> officers remained at the head of the army. Few of the Budapest army units ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ joined the Revolution, although the army disintegrated and soldiers joined the Revolution singly, as individuals. Among these were some of the lower ranking officers. Some of the officers who joined the Revolution ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ returned to the army after November 4th. The cadets of the Officers Academy were most active in the Revolution to everyone's great surprise. Some of them already fought with arms at the Radio station on October 23rd. This was surprising to many because this were presumably the young people who

were most loyal to the regime. Also surprising was the fact that the small cadets of the Rákóczy School also joined the Revolution, and were among the active fighters.

The following case <sup>is characteristic of</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the attitude of many of the officers. When the revolutionaries went to one of the Budapest army units to ask for arms the commanding officers pointed to the keys of the arms ~~depot~~ <sup>depot</sup> and told them that what they were doing was without his knowledge or orders.

(10g)

The ministries discontinued their work <sup>as administrative</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>organs</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~. They all had revolutionary councils which expelled the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ leaders. They were all preparing to go on with their work with the coming of peace. The Foreign Ministry was the most active during the Revolution since it had to keep up contact with the West. In the ministries the revolutionary councils did ~~XXX~~ most <sup>of the</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ work. In the Ministry of Interior on Jászai Mari Square everything was in the hand of Münnich who was a member of <sup>the</sup> ~~α~~/cabinet. Here Münnich insisted that all the compromised chiefs of the ministry remain, since they were now on the side of the Inre Nagy government. As a result the top echelons of the Ministry of Interior remained intact <sup>due to</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ Münnich's protection.

- (10h) They were discontinued.
- (10j) There was no question of using the administrative system of these <sup>existing</sup> organizations. Each organization formed a revolutionary council ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and these councils had the real power. These organizations were not prepared for the practical tasks of the Revolution: ~~XXX~~ the transportation of food, the procuring on arms etc.. DISZ had no real solid basis which could have been used.
- (10k) The new organizations were the revolutionary councils and in the factories the workers councils. The latter were serious and important organizations especially after November 4th when they led the workers in the strike.
- (10l) ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ They chose as leaders those who were most trusted including workers, engineers and office employees. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ All factories participated in a ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>joint</sup> meeting of the Budapest workers council. The elections were extremely democratic.
- (10m) ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Administratively there would <sup>have been a smaller</sup> ~~XX/XXXXXXXXXX~~ number of ministries ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ less bureaucracy, everything would ~~NE~~ <sup>have been</sup> have been simplified. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ There would ~~be~~ <sup>have been</sup> democratic elections. People would ~~XXXX~~ <sup>have trusted</sup> the government of Imre

Nagy until then. After the elections there would ~~be~~ have been a multi party system whose representatives, elected by the people, would form a <sup>democratic</sup> government. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ not<sup>a</sup> communist or fascist government. The most popular members of the government would be Béla Kovács, Imre Nagy and Anna Kéthly.

(11)

Yes, I do think about it. When my friends and I get together 50 % of our talk is still about the Revolution. This was especially true of our first few months in the West. At first we all had nightmares about the Revolution, for instance a friend of mine woke up just at the moment when he was supposed to have been executed by the AVO. And I often dreamt about some bloody details of the Revolution. I remember dreaming about a corpse lying ~~on the~~ <sup>on the</sup> sidewalk in Budapest with a long stream of blood dripping from his body down the sidewalk and into the gutter. I also dreamed about the charred ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ remains of Russian soldiers who were burned in their own tank.

(11a)

It was undoubtedly a useful thing in spite of its failure. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>is</sup> It ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ unfortunate with regard to the home situation that it ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>XXXXXXXXXXXX</sup> increased the terror but as far as the West is concerned it meant a definite

gain because it proved to the West that co-existence was impossible. It also proved that there was no Fascism in Hungary.

(11b) Yes, it could have succeeded if the Soviets had not interfered. Actually it was successful in so far as the Hungarian regime was concerned. But you can't succeed against the Soviet Union.

(11c) Yes, we did expect help from the West. This was because of the blind faith which people had in the West. It was <sup>a</sup> little <sup>like at</sup> ~~XXXXX~~ the beginning of the century when one expected the rich American uncle to help out. ~~XXXXX~~ This was the moving force of a lot of things. <sup>encouraged this expectation.</sup> And the West ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ During the Revolution people felt that if the UN sent troops to Egypt, Hungary had the right to expect the same. Hungary expected a strong political <sup>support</sup> ~~XXXXX~~ from the West. After all it is not only the West which fears the atom bombs but the Russians do so too. It was quite obvious during the Revolution that the Russian soldiers were afraid. If the West could interfere in Korea without <sup>fearing the</sup> ~~a~~ danger <sup>of a</sup> ~~XXXXX~~ world war why ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>not</sup> in Hungary? For years the Hungarian press had talked about the fact that the West was deluged with arms and munitions. People expected ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ arms from the West. Of course we did get medicine and similar things but this by <sup>sort</sup> ~~XXXX~~ of

good will was not very useful. People were angry about Egypt. They felt that nothing was done in Hungary because of the Egyptian situation.

(11e) Imre Nagy was very popular during the Revolution, especially ~~in Hungary~~ because of his policy ~~in 1953~~. ~~Nagy had been a~~ Moscovite Communist. When he issued his neutrality statement he ~~was~~ <sup>stood</sup> before a definite choice. He had to choose between his country and his Party. He knew that the Communist Party would get a very low vote in a free election; that the Party would get under five percent of the votes. In spite of that he chose in favour of the Country and against the Party.

Nagy is a very talented man; he is a first-rate expert on Hungarian agriculture. ~~His disadvantage~~ His disadvantage is that he is a scholar and not a practical politician. He is not a strong leader. He was pushed into the role of a leader. ~~but he was unable~~ but he was unable to organize his leadership. If he had done so he could have resisted better. He is not a forceful man and in the Revolution there was a great need for a forceful leader.

(11f) Dudás was a popular leader of the armed resistance. Béla Kovács had an important role too. Within the Party Losonczy and Maléter were popular. Other leaders were Attila Szigeti, István Szabó. Anna Kéthly was important because she maintained contact with the

West. Then there were <sup>the</sup> people who were connected with the Press Obersovszky who worked on Igazság (Justice) the people who worked on Magyar Függetlenség (Hungarian Independence), ~~XXXXXX~~ Dudás's paper, and Egyetemi Ifjúság, (University <sup>Youth,</sup> ~~News~~). The people who wrote the November 2nd <sup>issue</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ of Irodalmi Ujság were also important. And we should not forget the leaders of the workers councils.

(11g)

I would place youth first, workers second, the active intelligentsia and peasants third. <sup>By</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ /active intelligentsia <sup>I mean those</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ in Budapest ~~XXXXXX~~ who participated in the worker's councils and ~~XXXXXX~~ edited the newspapers. Soldiers next - they participated only in small numbers. I would place irresponsible elements last. There was only a very small number of these and they were not decisive. Thieves and similar <sup>politically</sup> criminals were taken care of, and as for ~~XXXXXX~~ ir- responsible elements they had no importance, they had no arms and no press. The freedom fighters and the press were strongly against them. This was demonstrated by the fact that one of the important slogans of the Revolution was "We <sup>won't</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ return land or factory". The Revolution definitely opposed Fascist elements. When I attended a meeting of the Győr re- volutionary council three people <sup>mouthered</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ some Nazi slogans and they were almost shot by the rest

of the participants.

(11b) No, I wouldn't have thought so. Half a year ago it wouldn't have occurred to me. I thought that if any demonstration took place the students would have an important role but I didn't realize it would be such a leading role. The reason for this is that it was impossible to talk. If one can't talk, one is incapable of <sup>finding out</sup> ~~finding out~~ how people feel and what they are capable of <sup>out</sup> ~~out~~ students. ~~XXXXXX~~ I knew that 46/50 ~~XXXXXX~~ didn't agree with the Party but <sup>dis</sup> ~~this~~/agreement was not enough. I didn't realize that there was such a strong force of resistance in the students.

(12) I decided to leave Hungary on November 4th, ~~XXXXXX~~ when the Russians <sup>came in.</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~. Ten years were enough.



(1) I was a university student. I was finishing my fourth year at Eötvös Lóránt university specializing in history and literature, I was preparing to be a journalist.

(2) I never had a job.

b 1 I would have liked to become a diplomat, to attend the Foreign Service Academy. But this was only for privileged people.

(33) As to the attitude of youth see the article of Cs. Szabó about youth in Látóhatar. He sees these things well. Regarding the attempt people made to get ahead we can differentiate between two kinds of people. There were those who tried to get ahead over other peoples bodies. The majority didn't try this way but the normal decent way. But people did try. Furthermore in addition to professional advancement everyone tried to <sup>gain</sup> ~~gain~~ material advantages; everyone felt that it was right to exploit or rob the State if possible.

(3e) I would like to travel. For years we <sup>were</sup> / locked up in Hungary shut away from the West. ~~That's~~ As a result we developed this tremendous hunger for travel.

- (5g) Was knows. Perhaps it is better to be an engineer than a journalist though this is very far away - since I am not even married.
- (6) We were worse off after the war than before. There was no change in my father's salary; he ~~XXXX~~<sup>earned</sup> about the same ~~XXXXXX~~ in 1950 as before. He was an office employee. The trouble was that we could buy less for it. My father was a fairly well paid person; we were not among the poorest.
- (7a) The following is my father's salary.
- (i) 1947 1,000 or 1,100 forints
- (ii) 1952 1,600 or 1,700 forints including premiums
- (iii) 1955 2,000 to 2,100 forints.
- The above ~~XXXXXX~~<sup>figures represent</sup> the family income per month.
- (7b) Our family's ~~income~~ income was quite fair. If the family had been together it would have been quite easy to live on it. Workers had the hardest time of it; They had more children than middle class families and as a result both parents had to go to work. If workers had too many children they had to live under terrible ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ conditions because the mother was unable to go to work.

(7c) I could see how badly off the peasants were because they were hardly able to send 100 or 200 forints to their children in town who were attending the university. Often peasant boys didn't eat supper for weeks. Girls ate only one dinner between the two of them in order to be able to buy a pair of nylon stockings. Some of the girls ~~got~~<sup>get</sup> sick as a result. University students on the whole were very badly off. They had no opportunity to get jobs except perhaps to shovel ~~XXXX~~<sup>snow</sup> or something similar for very small sums of money.

(7d) One.

(8) The following ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~<sup>figures</sup> are for father's income per month in 1956.

(8a) 1,700 to 1,800 forints per month plus premiums.

My father was ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~<sup>the accountant</sup> of a factory and received premiums according to the production results. His monthly salary with premiums for the first half year might be 2,000 to 2,100 forints, for the other half year 1,700. That is, he did not receive premiums then.

(8b) 1,400 to 1,500 forints plus premiums which would make it 1,600 to 1,700 forints. In addition my sister received <sup>200</sup> forints <sup>per month</sup> /scholarship and I received 300 to 400.

- (8d) Peace loan 1,500 to 1,700 forints per year that is 150 per month. Trade Union fee 50 forints per month.
- (9) The following <sup>represents</sup> ~~the~~ family <sup>expenditures</sup> ~~expenditures~~ in percentage of income.
- (9a) 70 forints a month for the family. This was an ~~an~~-unusually ~~cheap~~ apartment. I paid 50 forints per month at the university dormitory.
- (9b) In the provinces and the country the housing situation was better than in Budapest. In the industrial cities Miskolc, Várpalota, Pécs with their new influx of workers the housing situation was extremely ~~grave~~ grave and rents were very high. It is well-known that Budapest's housing situation was the worst. Several families had to share apartments or rent parts of their apartments to others. These were good ~~for~~ cabaret topics. ~~There~~ There was a tremendous black-market in apartments. One had to pay 5,000 to 10,000 forints in order to get an apartment in addition to the rent. I know of one room with a kitchen which costs 4,000 forints not counting the rent. Workers housing was especially poor; there were too few rooms for too many children. Since my family lived in a provincial town our housing conditions were not bad.
- (9c) 40 % of total income for the family.
- (9d) 20 %.
- (9e) 8 %.

- (9f) 3 %.
- (9g) 20 %.
- (9h) 1 %.
- (9i) 4 %.
- (9j) 1 % for the family.
- (9k) Nothing.
- (9l) 2 %.
- (9m) I don't know.
- (9o) We spent none on the black market, I don't know ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ about the rest.
- (10) I have the worst <sup>possible</sup> opinion of it. Although I have no special technical knowledge of economics even I could see that it takes a special talent to <sup>ruin</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ Hungarian agriculture and industry to the extent that the regime ~~XXXXXX~~ ruined it. There was an undue emphasis on industrial production, with constant deficits. Nobody said that Hungary's economy was in a healthy state. My engineer relatives and others who knew what it was all about also said that the economy was in a very bad state.
- (10c) I do not know <sup>about this from</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ personal experience but from ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ my university studies. The situation before 1941 was not good. The troubles were chiefly in agriculture because industry was quite well managed. In agriculture the chief problem was the system of

large estates. The trouble was not that large estates existed but the fact that they ruined the small peasants who could not compete with them. Agriculture was Hungary's gravest problem. Of the estate laborers some lived well and others did not. Thus the existence of the estates contributed to the growth of an agricultural proletariat. A further problem was that there was no economically strong bourgeoisie in Hungary as in the West. This fact brought about many of the faults of Hungary's economic and political development.

The problem of inequitable land distribution could have been solved by landreform before 1945. The 1945 land-reform solved the problem badly; obviously there were other considerations in this than the health of Hungary's agriculture. The trouble with Hungarian agriculture was the employment of extensive instead of intensive land cultivation, which is absolute, and as a result of which Hungarian agriculture was easily ruined by Canadian and US grain exports as in 1930. Land-reform and intensive cultivation would have been the solution.

The situation in industry was much better because the industrial establishment was based on a realistic estimate of Hungary's raw-material supply. Of course the living conditions of the workers and miners was deplorable.

But that is a different question.

(10d)

In 1945 Hungary was in a difficult economic situa-  
tion; the Germans and Russians had ruined the country, but  
things were <sup>being</sup> re-built relatively fast. The landreform  
gave the peasants an incentive to produce. However  
there were a great many mistakes made in ~~the~~ <sup>carrying out the</sup> land-  
reform, for instance the agricultural equipment of  
~~the~~ <sup>destroyed by the peasants,</sup> large estates was ~~XXXXXX~~ in many cases. Pro-  
duction began in the factories too. After ~~the~~ <sup>an</sup> arti-  
ficially induced inflation economic life was turned  
into normal channels by 1946. Meanwhile the facto-  
ries were nationalized; ~~XXXXXXXX~~ for ~~XXXXXXXX~~ po-  
litical not economic <sup>reasons</sup> ~~There was a~~ <sup>constant improvement</sup> ~~in~~ Hungary's  
economic life till 1948. From 1948 till 1949 it re-  
mained on an even level. Until 1948 the forint had considerable  
~~XXXXXX~~ buying power and people were able to get con-  
sumer goods <sup>in</sup> despite of the reparations agreement  
with the Soviet Union. This ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>downward</sup> trend began  
~~XXXXXX~~ after 1949. The Five-Year-Plan had many  
~~faults;~~ <sup>heavy industry was stressed regardless of the in-</sup>  
~~XX~~  
adequacies of  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Hungary's raw-material supply. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XX~~  
~~XX~~ As a result mining  
had to be speeded up to produce raw-materials for  
heavy industry. In addition Hungary had to buy raw-

materials abroad including coal and steel. To pay for this the country sold agricultural goods which resulted in a rapid lowering of living standards. The quality of goods deteriorated. The situation was worst in agriculture which was ruined almost according to plan. It would take many years to put it in order again.

As a result of <sup>all</sup> this the standard of living kept dropping until 1953. Government stock piling did not improve the situation. The state hoarded food for war, and this lowered the standard of living. In 1953 this stock piled food was thrown on the market. The same happened <sup>now</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ after the Revolution.

Thus after 1948 there was <sup>constant</sup> deterioration, <sup>although</sup> and <sup>from</sup> 1953 to 1955 there was some improvement in the standard of living, <sup>there was no significant</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ change in economic planning; ~~the~~ the balance between heavy and <sup>remained the same.</sup> consumer industry. After 1955 the situation deteriorated again. ~~XXXXXX~~ The reasons at this time were <sup>the entire economy</sup> different; ~~XXXXXX~~ was exhausted, ~~XXXXXX~~ which is one of the reasons why the railways stopped for three weeks in 1956. Since there was no <sup>oil</sup> ~~XXXX~~ for exports, for which coal could be bought to run the railways there had to be a railroad slow down. This happened in September 1956 when 75 to 80 % of the



trains were stopped.

(10f)

The private sector was not significant either under the Imre Nagy regime or before the Revolution. Only a very small percentage of the nation's capital was in the hands of the private sector and they had no role ~~xxx~~ in directing the market. The state kept this in its hand.

(10g)

In 1956 the economic situation ~~was in a state of rapid deterioration.~~ <sup>was in a state of rapid deterioration.</sup> This was especially true in ~~the production of such raw material~~ <sup>the production of such raw material</sup> ~~such as oil and coal.~~ <sup>such as oil and coal.</sup> In 1955 the Szigetköz flood and in 1956 the Mohács flood caused great losses in agriculture.

(11)

They had a considerable role. At the university this was an important consideration especially with regard to the technical intelligentsia. ~~When the economy was in a state of rapid deterioration, the salaries of the technical intelligentsia were very low.~~ Beginning engineers and other technical graduates were very badly paid on the whole. Economic grievances were also important to the peasants and the workers.

- (1b) I graduated from the gymnasium in Nagykanizsa in 1953. From 1953 to 1956 I attended Eötvös ~~Károly~~ Lóránt university in Budapest. I had six <sup>semesters</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ here and was in my fourth year. I would have been finished by now if I <sup>had</sup> stayed in Hungary.
- (1c) I was good in history in secondary school and as a result I decided to take it up at the university.
- +
- (2) Yes.
- (2a) Just about the same.
- (3) Yes all through the university. There was Marxism, political economy and military training as well as three years of Russian language instruction. This was the same at every university.
- (3c) Everybody hated these ideological subjects.
- (3d) Military training <sup>was</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ useful to the freedom-fighters during the revolt. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ In secondary school <sup>we</sup> ~~XXXX~~ received instruction in lighter weapons and at the university in the use of canons and heavy weapons. I didn't like military training because <sup>the grade</sup> ~~it~~ was included in one's academic average, on which Scholarships depended. ~~XXXXXX~~ Our marks were always pulled down as a result.
- (4) The objectives were to win youth over to the Communist side and to produce replacements in the Com-

Communist ranks. To educate the mass which should fol-  
 low, not so much ~~the~~ Communist teachings, but ~~the~~ the decrees  
~~of~~ of the Party and its leaders. To educate a  
 mass that could be ~~exploited by~~ <sup>exploited by</sup> ~~the~~ the Party  
 leaders, ~~and used~~ <sup>and used</sup> ~~for~~ for canon fodder. They tried with all their  
 might to get rid of all opposition to their own sy-  
 stem./religion, national traditions, and Western  
 influences. ~~It consisted of~~ <sup>Communist education</sup> ~~praise~~ of the Soviet  
 Union and its leaders.

(4b)

I think there is no commentary needed on this. Com-  
 munist ~~education~~ education failed first of all because  
 the youth was shocked, even the youngest, by the dif-  
 ference between the words and the reality. The re-  
 gime said that the living standards were high but  
 the young people saw at home that this was not so;  
 thus they could prove that the regime was lying. The  
 second reason was that the <sup>praise</sup> ~~praise~~ of the Soviet Union  
 was carried to impossible lengths. Everyone was bored by  
~~it~~ it. As a result of this constant <sup>adulation</sup> ~~adulation~~ the  
 young people hated everything about the regime and  
 Russia, beginning with the Soviet movies. Young people  
 didn't even like to read Russian novels such as  
 Tolstoi and Dostojewski which had nothing to do with  
 the regime. They also remembered what the Russians  
 did in 1945. The third reason for the failure of

education  
Communist ~~socialism~~ was that the regime said the West was poor economically. However when athletes and students went abroad they brought home nylon stockings and other Western products. Thus people realized that the regime claims were untrue. They <sup>about the West,</sup> heard, and saw pictures of the West, and were impressed by the fact that in the West people had many cars. To the youth this was a decisive argument. They also liked Western jazz. In general there was a tremendous adoration of the West; the West was a fabulous concept.

effects  
One of the ~~results~~ Communism had on ~~the~~ youth was that it taught young people to lie. They had to lie in school; <sup>they had to mouthe</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ the Communist slogans they didn't believe in. Youngsters learned to use the regime's weapons against the regime. For instance the partisan stories of Fadeyev taught them how to make Molotov cocktails to be used against the regime in the Revolution.

Communist education also backfired. The fact that people could respect freedom and talk about freedom and demand freedom in the Revolution is also partly due to the Communist education. The demands of the Revolution were not accidental but conscious. The regime increased <sup>awareness</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ of such moral and political concepts in young people although not quite the way the regime expected it. Before the war such

concepts as freedom or exploitation were not mentioned in school, <sup>and</sup> History was not filled with political concepts. For instance the Communists teach that medieval and later heresies were precursors of Communism. They talked about capitalistic exploitation of the worker and the young people transferred this concept of exploitation to the conditions in Hungary. In general though the children were not happy about being stuffed with political slogans and concepts. The Communist ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>propaganda</sup> slogans ~~XX~~ back fired. Youth became indifferent to politics. The regime's ideology didn't interest them.

(4i)

It is not effective at any age. Regarding ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> relationship ~~XXXX~~ <sup>to</sup> teachers, those teachers are disliked most who praised the regime and ~~XXXX~~ <sup>did so</sup> did so with apparent sincerity. In secondary school one could tell in one month whether a teacher was against the regime or not. One could then decide what to say before him and what not to say. A teacher was generally respected if he knew his subject. Students were able to talk quite freely to each other in secondary schools. This was especially true in the smaller provincial cities where more people knew each other and agreed with each other. In Budapest where there were larger ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>percentages</sup> of functionaries' children this was less true. But even in Budapest

there was a large degree of oppositionism in the schools. I know of quite a few pranks which were pulled on an ~~unpopular~~ <sup>unpopular</sup> school director. ~~XXXXXX~~. The kids put up signs saying that there were cats for sale or rooms to rent and gave his address. He was extremely annoyed. This man was disliked because he prevented the students from getting admitted to the university. - The Communists taught children how to lie. Lying became <sup>a</sup> perfectly natural every day act. It was quite laughable at the university that when students discussed the low Western technical standard with great enthusiasm they were congratulated later on by their fellow students ~~XXXX~~ <sup>for</sup> their cleverness in lying. Such things were not considered ~~XXXX~~ <sup>and</sup> a lie/they were accepted. This was no problem at first. People didn't like it but it was not considered immoral; it was unfortunately a natural part of life. Thus lying was easier when distant things were discussed things which did not touch them personally such as conditions in the West. It was <sup>more difficult</sup> ~~XXXX~~ for the students to control themselves; when the domestic situation was discussed such as the conditions in the collective farms often the students made loud comments in the classes; for instance when the standard of living was praised they shouted "but what about the deportations?" and so on. Usually this was done when the students knew that the teacher was reliable. For a while they tolerated the

lies and the explosion. The Revolution was ~~XXXXXXXX~~ the result ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ of this explosion.

- (5) My father is ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>going the same thing</sup> to-day as before the Communists take over. He is an accountant. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ He works in a glass factory which employs 200 workers in Nagykanizsa.
- (5f) We ~~XXX~~ <sup>were</sup> very well off. We were the so-called middle class.
- (5g) ~~XXXX~~ 4 members, two parents and a brother who ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ is younger than I am.
- (5h) Nothing.
- (5i) No.
- (5k) It was certainly ~~XXX~~ <sup>not</sup> to my advantage. It was a problem since I came from the so-called intelligentsia, middle class. Furthermore my father was called ~~XXXX~~ <sup>a</sup> so-called Westernizer (nyugatos) up to 1949. This means that he was a soldier and a member of a regiment which had to go West in the summer of 1945. He ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>came</sup> home as soon as he could. It wasn't his fault that he had to go to Germany; he had to follow orders as any army officer would.
- (11) Nothing than usual - our relations were good.
- (12) Yes, quite a lot. We criticized the regime. My father discussed his problems in the factory and the problems they had with the ministry about various economical

*problems*  
affairs. We also discussed the latest news <sup>from</sup> ~~of~~ Bu-  
dapest. This sort of thing was general.

- (13) No.
- (14a,b) O it was the usual thing; not at all bad. It was in general a family life. It was. ~~What~~ <sup>My</sup> parents used to complain there wasn't enough money.
- (14c) I went to the theatre and to the movies, I read a lot, and I used to go to the Balaton in the summer.
- (14g) Nobody interfered; it was nobody's business.
- (15) Family ties have loosened to some extent in many places. The regime is responsible for this because it forced many people to live separately; members of the same family received jobs in various parts of the country. At the university I knew of many marriages <sup>this</sup> ~~with~~ because the husband and wife could only get jobs in different cities.
- (15a) Yes, the majority could trust each other.
- (15b) Yes, material problems brought members of families closer to each other, <sup>and</sup> ~~it~~ forced them to go on a common road. This is true <sup>of</sup> ~~on~~ the majority. One can't generalize about spiritual or mental dependence, because this is not affected/ or connected with the regime.



(15c) To some extent the childrens' relation to their parents became stronger and to some extent weaker. In the case of workers' families the mother had to go to work and as result there was no one to care for the children. Thus the family ties became weaker and children became estranged from their parents. There was a rise of juvenile delinquency. As far as the middle class and intelligentsia families were concerned there was usually someone in the family who staid home to take care of the children. These children are usually closer to their parents.

(15e) The family education remained the same. There was only change in so far as some families had less time to devote to their children. The State did not interfere ~~when~~ with the families' child rearing. The attempts to indoctrinate the children in the kindergardens were without result. They sang songs about uncle Rákosi but nobody paid any attention. The regime didn't interfere in the family's child rearing unless it wanted to make life unpleasant for the parents.

(16) The stiff <sup>formality</sup> forms disappeared. This was good because Hungary was used to almost ~~formal~~ <sup>social</sup> ~~forms~~ forms of politeness; the hand kissing, the titles and addresses disappeared. I was shocked about <sup>the</sup> German formality when I came to Germany. At the university "servus" was the first thing; <sup>then for granted;</sup> we behaved very naturally ~~with~~ <sup>towards</sup>

each other.

(16b) There were faster marriages with less material basis.

(16d) In general there was more loose sexual behavior than before. This is not so true of the university and of my friends. At the university ~~more behavior~~ <sup>the moral standards</sup> ~~was~~ quite normal, nothing special, there were many marriages which ~~eventually improved~~ <sup>raised</sup> the general moral level. At the university sexual morality was no worse than in Munich. But the general moral level ~~was~~ <sup>definitely</sup> deteriorated.

(16e) The houses of prostitution were discontinued and the prostitutes were ~~displaced~~ <sup>scattered</sup> to all parts of the country, especially to Budapest or the new industrial towns. There was a law that they had to work <sup>for</sup> a certain number of days every month, ~~they~~ <sup>and</sup> had to show this in their working book. So they worked a few days every week and followed the old profession the rest of the time. At such new industrial towns the general moral level was extremely low.

The level of morality was <sup>also</sup> very low on the State farms. <sup>Some of</sup> The workers here were hired from the villages and consisted of people who had no secure roots, kulaks and others. The rest of the workers were <sup>a</sup> dubious lot, consisting of transient laborers, women and men, who simply couldn't settle down anywhere.

(16f)

In general the Communists were less strict about sexual morality, they allowed people to do what they wanted. According to the Soviet pattern they attacked the family because it was against the regime. They also were <sup>opposed</sup> ~~against~~ religious training. Thus they contributed to the deterioration of moral standards. The leaders of the regime were not very scrupulous in their own private lives either.

For a while the regime didn't care about sexual morality. In the last three years however they became much stricter; divorce was made more difficult. The situation had become so scandalous that they finally realized that the families' scandals <sup>distacted</sup> ~~took~~ people from their work. They started to punish Party functionaries who didn't <sup>live</sup> leave up to a high standard of morality. But this did not help much. The Party carried everything too far, In <sup>1954</sup> ~~the fifties~~ they persecuted the hooligans and attacked Western dances and cosmopolitans.

At the university I noticed no <sup>special</sup> Party <sup>attitude</sup> ~~attitude~~ regarding morality.

Among the workers youth moral conditions were very bad. These young workers were not affected <sup>by the Party's efforts</sup> ~~by the Party's efforts~~. <sup>in case the moral level.</sup> The Party's attacks on juvenile delinquency did not affect the essential problem, the poor housing situation. Some young people were expelled from <sup>DIS</sup> ~~these~~ because

they danced the so-called hooligan or jumpac dances. Young workers didn't care about this because a worker could always get a job somewhere else.

(16h) Yes. There is no differentiation or discrimination against illegitimate children. This was the only good side of the whole thing.

(16i) More women went to work, and they also got the right to vote. They had so-called equal rights. They had a greater opportunity to work and took advantage of it. Partly it was difficult to live on ones salary and therefore they had to go to work. Women were accepted as equals at the university. This was no problem to people. They just accepted women as colleagues; no-one made any fuss about it or was conscious of it. It was quite natural.

(17) In general the moral level was lower although the Revolution proved that this was not <sup>really</sup> so. The respect~~ment~~ for private property during the Revolution showed that this was not so.

(18) My best friend was <sup>a</sup> childhood friend; <sup>our</sup> the parents also were friends. He was <sup>a</sup> so-called class <sup>mate</sup> ~~mate~~, he was not allowed to continue <sup>his</sup> schooling in spite of the fact that he was an excellent student. His father was a colonel in the Horthy army.

- (18c) We discussed politics and agreed about politics. We discussed our private personal problems, we also talked about literature and history. I knew more about this and my friend had a more practical point of view since he wanted to be an engineer. We went to the opera together and to tape concerts. We both liked to travel. My friend wanted to be an engineer; but he first had to work as an office worker for a year and then was in the army for a year.
- (18i) My circle of friends in the last few years consisted of my university <sup>friends</sup> ~~friends~~ and acquaintances. Together we attended the theatre, debates, the Petöfi Circle. The same circle of people got together time after time to discuss various problems. This was the general thing at the university; small circles of five to six people got together and formed cliques. In our case all friendship depended on the fact that we agreed politically and were all interested in history. Many of our groups were interested in the Horthy ~~area~~ <sup>era</sup> and its problems. We read about it and discussed it. Some members of our group were particularly interested in the populist (falukutato) writers. I also got together with another group too, this was not really a warm friendship; these people were mostly journalists. The clique system was general at the university.

Most of my friends were of middle-class origin like myself. At the university there was a certain dividing line in terms of personal friendships between the intelligentsia and the peasant kids, those who were peasants by origin. There was a smaller ~~group~~ *populist* group at the university, and although we did not actually dislike them we did not get together with them. *We had nothing in common.*

~~They~~ *They* were affected; ~~it~~ *it* ~~was~~ *NEKOSZ* spirit which they had. ~~They~~

(At this point I tried to find out just exactly what it was respondent did not like about this group. He had difficulty expressing it explicitly.) Answer: I can't say exactly why we did not like them. Perhaps because they had ~~social~~ *phony*, ~~folk~~ *folk* ~~realisms~~ *realisms*. Perhaps because they were less cultivated. Perhaps because their manners and interests were different. My friends and I wanted to be journalists and to stay in Budapest. We were more interested in the West and in national political problems. We were not interested in the village and in village exploring. Our favorite writers were different. We liked Thomas Mann, Hemingway, Proust, Steinbeck; though I myself didn't know them well. Appollinaire was read by some. *We* ~~we~~ were also interested in Picasso.

We were interested in Western movies. ~~I did not~~

~~think.~~ ~~We discussed Western movies. I was~~

~~interested in them.~~

~~They~~ The Populist group read chiefly native Populist writers, discussed agricultural problems, <sup>the</sup> peasant social problems, and did not turn towards the West the way we did.

(18k) No, it would not have affected our friendship.

(19) My parents were Roman Catholics. They are quite normal in their religious observance, quite conventional.

They went to church regularly. The rest of my family was very religious, especially the older members. One of my uncles, an engineer, was imprisoned for attending church on a workday, which was a religious holiday.

(19b) I am a Roman Catholic; I am <sup>Semi-</sup>~~sub-~~religious.

(20) This was one of the most difficult problems of the regime and its ideology. From the beginning the regime ~~and~~ saw religion, specifically the Catholic church, its enemy. There was a drive against the church with various propaganda means. One of the ~~clearest~~ <sup>most</sup> propaganda methods directed against the church was the land-reform drive which <sup>affected</sup> ~~involved~~ the material <sup>interests</sup> ~~side~~ of the church.

In the 30<sup>6</sup> land-reform presented a difficult problem to the church. There was much talk about land-reform in

this period. All the opposition parties and even the sensible members of the regime such as Bajcsy Zsilinszky said that land-reform was a necessity. Land-reform ~~affected~~ <sup>affected</sup> the church because of the ~~church's~~ <sup>Church's</sup> large land holdings. A land-reform was not necessarily a leftist demand; see Prohászka's views on the subject. The church and Mindszenty were against land-reform in 1945. Mindszenty felt that land-reform would prevent the church from maintaining parochial schools ~~and church schools~~ <sup>which,</sup> he felt, were protection against Communist influence. There he was partly right and partly wrong. Communist propaganda cleverly used this stand of his against the church and against Mindszenty. Mindszenty did not want a Democratic Hungary, the Communist propaganda said. This is the way the anti-church propaganda began. Then around 1948 the problem of the church schools were taken up in Communist propaganda. In theory they were not against religion but simply feared the prestige of the church. In 1949 at the time of the Mindszenty trial they considered the church opposition broken. The Grosz trial was simply a post script, ~~with~~ with anti-Western overtones. Thus with the churches' political and economical power broken, at the time when the church could not <sup>show</sup> serious opposition, the regime started an ideological campaign against religion. This campaign was chiefly carried out in various educational institutions, in the universities



and the secondary schools. In the universities Marxist instruction emphasized that a materialism is incompatible with religion. They ~~exposed~~ <sup>exposed</sup> the ~~methodology~~ <sup>methodology</sup> of the Christian religious system, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> tried to prove that the church was a tool of oppression at all times. This was the historic point of view.

In the secondary schools there was no religious or moral education any longer. The lack of moral education proved to be very harmful. In the secondary schools and in the pioneer movement the regime tried to counteract the ~~religious~~ <sup>religious</sup> and other influences of the home. When they could not support their point of view by ideology, they did so with terror. In 1953 this was drastic, later on more subtle. The drastic methods were the ~~stopping~~ <sup>stopping</sup> of processions or forbidding workers in factories, and others, to go to church. The same applied to the Army. As far as people's kaders were concerned it was an important point whether someone was religious or not. Many priests were arrested at this time and people who were religious lost their jobs, were arrested or sent to forced labor camps. In 1951/52 the deportations were also directed to some extent against those who were religious. An uncle of mine, an architect, who was very religious and completely ~~non~~ <sup>non</sup>-political, ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~sent~~ <sup>sent</sup> to church on a ~~holiday~~ <sup>religious</sup> holiday which was not ~~considered~~ <sup>considered</sup> a legal holiday. He was sent to prison

for a year and a half. In 1953 he left prison and received an apology from the regime. Now he is alright and head ~~over~~ a planning bureau.

The majority of the country which was hither to religious, remained so. But the regime's anti-religious propaganda did affect some people. Young people knew that the church was not so pure; See the burning of Jean of Arc, and other acts of the church which proved her to be less than perfect. Many of the young people were not too religious and went to church more rarely. Religion was not an important problem to them. Many of the young people were not atheists, they believed in religion but simply not in ~~organized~~ religion. Communist propaganda helped to increase the number of young people who did not go to church but the number <sup>of these</sup> who were atheists on principle was not significant. I would say that it is no more than 10 per cent and at the university a maximum of 15 per cent. The percentage of all the atheists in the whole country is probably considerably less than this number.

(20f) People were not forbidden to go to church, in fact the constitution explicitly stated this right. Foreigners were always given this argument. But subtle methods were used to ~~discourage~~ <sup>discourage</sup> people from going to church. For instance in deciding someones kader, it was important whether the person was a church-goer or not. The personnel chief would call a man in and say that he was free to go

to church but that Communism was incompatible with religion and therefore he could not ~~carry out~~ <sup>fulfill</sup> his function etc. etc. . This argument was used if a person was in a higher position. A less subtle argument was to be told that "we'll find someone to take your place". This was used especially with the intelligentsia. In the villages the religious were persecuted rather drastically with increased taxes and by being placed on the kulak list. The workers did not care about threats because they always could find a new job. It was easier to threaten youth because the young people knew that they could be prevented from attending the university. And everyone preferred to go to the university rather than into the Army.

A different problem was the supervision of the church through the Party's Bureau of Church Affairs (Egyházügyi Iroda). This was connected with the AVH.

(20c)

The peace priests performed an important function and danced to the tune of the Bureau of Church Affairs. Their job was to convince the masses that important church leaders joined the peace movement and to prove that the church agreed with the regime. Their job was to convince those who were religious; the establishment of the peace priests showed that the regime realized the importance of the churches's influence. In addition the regime supervised the church personnel through these peace priests. They were not all on the same level

One can separate them into those who actually talked and believed in peace <sup>as against</sup> ~~and~~ those who, like Richard Horvath took a stand against the church itself, and <sup>accepted a position</sup> ~~took a position~~ in the Peace Council. The latter were careerists. As <sup>for as</sup> ~~the~~ the state support of the church; when church ~~profits~~ profits were nationalized in 1951 approximately, the state and the Bishops made an agreement that the state <sup>would</sup> ~~would~~ support the priesthood but <sup>to</sup> in a decreasing degree as time ~~went~~ went on. In other words, the percentage of <sup>would</sup> ~~would~~ priests <sup>would</sup> ~~would~~ drop each year but the sum the state <sup>would</sup> ~~would~~ pay <sup>would</sup> ~~would~~ remain constant. This was an important weapon of the regime against <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ church because it could exclude certain priests from ~~state~~ participation in this state fund in case of anti-state activities. This was a secret agreement and is still not known by too many people.

- (20a) The chief enemy of the regime was the Roman Catholic church partly because it had international connections as well as great political and economic power. Therefore it was the strongest and hence the most dangerous. The policy of the Protestant churches was more clever; they were not so stiffly opposed to the regime as Mindszenty. The reformed church had very clever diplomats <sup>or</sup> ~~who~~ one might say opportunists. This depends on ones political point of view. The Ordass trial was not as important as the Mindszenty trial; it was not made into a big

national case.

There were not enough Jews and their role was not significant enough to bother about.

(20b) Both: They wanted to stop the church as a chief enemy but ~~EH~~ what they were unable to destroy, they wanted to bring over to their own side. This was a parallel process. At any rate they wanted to break the power and influence of the church. The establishment of the peace priests meant a policy of *divide et impera*.

(20h) I went to church very rarely. My parents went more regularly. ~~As a rule~~ <sup>My</sup> relatives, ~~they~~ were very religious.

(20i) The ones who went to church most often were members of the old middleclasses, civil servants, doctors, professionals etc. ~~As a rule~~ ~~villagers~~ villagers went to church a great deal too; about as often as they did before. With peasants, churchgoing was an old tradition. In the village the church remained the center of social life, just as before. The petty bourgeoisie, the old skilled workers, artisans, small tradesmen also attended church fairly often. ~~The churches were attended very well.~~ <sup>of only</sup> The churches were attended very well. Among old family friends the majority attended church. At the university one couldn't know who did and who did not. Among my close acquaintances and friends I knew who attended church, otherwise not. This was a form of protecting oneself.

X (20k) Youth is more critical today. This is a positive phenomenon. In the past, the church and churchlife was dogmatic, ~~and not as~~ <sup>and not as</sup>

(201)

than progressive as the church in the West, or the *Jesuits*. There is no visible positive political opposition on the part of the church since the Mindszenty trial. There was some opposition, mostly indirect. But this is difficult to prove. For instance, people want to church as a <sup>form of</sup> political demonstration etc. People did not expect help from the church, they expected help from those who had arms, such the West. They knew that the church could not fight the Soviet Union. Sometimes people trusted and hoped that Mindszenty would play a role in opposition to the regime but he was in prison. Mindszenty was very popular even in the eyes of those who did not like him before, in spite of the fact that some didn't understand how he was made to confess.

(21)

I would tell him to be an engineer. With that ~~someone~~ he can go along everywhere.

(21b)

I can only mention the general things which he would know anyway. No one is so silly <sup>as</sup> to shout "I hate the regime". He should be smart. He should be on his guard with ~~the~~ Party secretaries and functionaries. He should never give his personal ~~own~~ political opinion ~~about~~ <sup>of</sup> the regime or the regime's theories. He should not have much to do with politics, he should be a good technician specially if he is an engineer and he should not overwork.

(22) In the best position in spite of the ideological limitations imposed on them were the leading intelligentsia; the writers, artists, journalists, producers and actors. They received good salaries and were able to go abroad. But they were under strong ideological limitations and were prevented from doing really first-rate sincere work.

2. Also very good was the position of the leading technical intelligentsia.

2. The Party functionaries and AVH, which was the upper 10,000 of the regime, were very well off.


Bad: It is difficult to say just who had it worst because it was bad for everyone.

1. The peasants, especially the so-called kulaks and middle peasants were in a very bad position.

2. The class aliens, the so-called D. group, X category. This is how class aliens were classified on kader sheets.

3. The nation's day laborers. This is an old expression; the teachers, small civil servants and university students, were called that.

(22<sup>1</sup>) I would have liked to belong to the group where journalists belonged until 1956.

(23) Basically there are no social classes in Hungary. They succeeded in achieving a tremendous social ~~stratification~~ mixture and diffusion. There is stratification according to various occupational categories, but one could not call them classes. No separate classes exist any more. The workers are no longer workers as a social class. 

~~status~~. Now the declasses, the middleclass also belongs among the workers as well as peasants, who have come up from their villages to work in the factories. On the whole, the peasant class still exists but decreased in numbers because it lost a large number of peasants to industry. The intelligentsia now includes the new intelligentsia which grows from peasants and workers.

Actually there are two opposing groups in Hungary, on top the Party functionaries and on bottom the rest of the Hungarian people.

Question: What about class distinctions at the university? Were your friends from various so-called classes or were they all from your own social set?

Answer: In the university the social classes truly disappeared. We, the old middleclasses, were more interested in the West but as far as the Marxist definition of classes were concerned, we were all equal in that we had the same amount of money, opportunities, etc..

Question: How would you define a social class?

Answer: I would say, ~~that is not a definition of a social class, it means that it is a~~ a homogeneous mass with a certain social consciousness of itself, similar jobs, <sup>Similar</sup> conditions of ~~life~~ life, and material circumstances, similar cultural standards and interests. But the Revolution showed that no such thing as a peasant, worker, or intelligentsia class existed. It showed that we were all Hungarians.



There will always be social groups but they must not deepen into social conflicts. Most people earn the same amount of money; very little. It was a Communist propaganda ~~intention~~ <sup>it tried to try to apply</sup> the policy of *divide et impera* with regard to social classes.

Doubtless the workers had a strong feeling of belonging <sup>towards each other</sup> vis a vis themselves and against the regime. On November 3rd the worker's council ~~took action~~ <sup>they</sup> went to the regime and said "we are workers, don't talk this way with us!". This proved the workers to be a conscious, ~~sub-conscious~~ mass against the regime. The role of the old intelligentsia among the workers was not significant. The workers may not have been cultivated but they had good instincts and correct judgement; they were intelligent, <sup>and did not need</sup> ~~the~~ the intelligentsia. ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~needed~~ <sup>needed</sup>.

The ten year propaganda of the regime ~~towards the workers~~ <sup>workers,</sup> telling them ~~that~~ "you are workers, yours is the ~~the~~ country" etc. etc., had its affect; actually it backfired. It made the workers ~~be~~ conscious of their strength and they used this strength in the Revolution. On Parliament square, during the demonstration, the slogan "tomorrow we strike" was extremely important. Their class consciousness manifested itself not against other classes but against the regime. Since Marxism explained that the worker's consciousness ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> separates <sup>from</sup> from all other classes, this can not be called a class struggle in the Marxist

sense of the word. Thus the differentiation of the workers as a class was not as deep as the Marxists would tell us nor was it entirely ~~correct~~ in accordance with Marxist teachings in other ways either. The class distinction became blurred because all classes were ~~not~~ equally impoverished. Thus one can only talk about classes when ~~some are more privileged than others~~ some are more privileged than others. The workers' pride and consciousness of their own importance was amazing. This is against the Populists's theory because it was not the peasants but the workers who ~~showed this quality~~ <sup>demonstrated this quality.</sup>

- (23a) No, not at all. In the past there were such dividing lines between people; even professional or trade boundaries made a big difference in the old days. The regime erased all this. That this is so was manifest in the first united demonstration of the Revolution.
- (23e) There is greater social equality today; that's why the emigré politicians are wrong.
- (23g) Today manners are less stiff. They were very <sup>formal</sup> ~~serious~~ in the past. Everybody had a title etc. Today people are ruder to each other, But this is not so bad. Manners today are criticized chiefly by those who are used to the old ceremonious manners of the past.
- (24) Yes. 1. The Germans. <sup>The Swabians</sup> were expelled from the country; not only those who belonged to the Volksbund but also others who in the census considered themselves <sup>declaimed</sup>

Hungarians. This was an inhuman and stupid act. Those who were not expelled were persecuted; the functionaries were against them. In the last few years there was an officially correct policy vis a vis them. <sup>Since 1953</sup> ~~A~~ They were supported, had their own paper, etc. ~~was~~.

2. From 1949 to 53 the South Slav minority ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> treated very badly. Hungary has had no problems ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> the South Slav minorities since 1920, <sup>but</sup> From 1949 to 1953 the conflict with Tito created several problems. There were approximately 50,000 ~~South Slavs~~ South Slavs in Hungary, and when the struggle with Yugoslavia began, those South Slavs minorities which had relatives in Yugoslavia, with whom they corresponded were expelled from Hungary. There was much ~~substantive~~ <sup>chauvinistic</sup> in tement against them. In the bordertowns many injustices occurred. This, in spite of the legal safe guards which the minorities were supposed to enjoy. ~~All this was changed after the reconciliation with Tito.~~ Under Imre Nagy they were not persecuted but the expellees were not allowed to return to Hungary. The important change came after the reconciliation with Tito. The expellees were allowed to return though ~~their~~ their goods were not returned.

Certain concessions were made to the national minorities, they had their own schools etc. But this was only a surface gesture. The Slovaks and Rumanians were supported but they were very unimportant in numbers. There were about 20,000 Rumanians and 100,000 Slovaks in Hungary.

They had their own secondary schools.

(24a) The Slovaks.

As for the treatment of Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries, I know quite a bit about the way Hungarians were treated in Transylvania. Their situation was quite impossible. In Arad there were big signs in Rumanian and Hungarian, but the officials claim that they did not know Hungarian although ~~it was necessary to~~ <sup>they often made a slip revealing</sup> ~~times~~ that they did. They merely wanted to show the Hungarian minority in Rumania who is the boss, <sup>and</sup> Therefore ~~they~~ refused to talk any language but Rumania. The Transylvania situation was impossible. The Rumanians <sup>claimed</sup> ~~said~~ that the Hungarians were Communists. Until 1948 or so, there was a great ~~minority~~ <sup>of minorities and since</sup> persecution in Rumania, <sup>^</sup> Only the Communist Party opposed this persecution and so the Hungarians joined it. The Hungarians did not participate in the Communist Party's activities <sup>after</sup> ~~when~~ the minority persecution stopped. The Rumanian Communist Party used Hungarians as escape goats for the failures of the Communist Party. But officially the Rumanians had no anti-Hungarian policy.

I was very much surprised how much ~~YANKEE~~ patriotic and irredentistic feeling there was among Hungarians in Transylvania. There ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> exchange ~~of~~ students from Kolozsvár (Cluj). <sup>at my university.</sup> ~~These students were all extremely nationalistic and said, "we are Hungarians; we want to belong to Hungary". These students~~

(Székelys)  
 were chiefly Székelys. They took stones from the  
 Horthy royal palace in Budapest as mementos and called  
 Budapest "their capital". They made a very proud show  
 of refusing to learn Rumanian. I was very much surprised  
 at this, because anyone who is sent out as an exchange  
 student must obviously be <sup>the</sup> elite of the Rumanian regime. So  
 if these Horthy elite students were so anti-Rumanian, what  
 about the others?

- (25) The story begins in 1945. The Jewish deportees returned  
 full of hatred for Naziism. Many joined the Communist  
 Party, especially those who have not had an economically  
~~strong~~ <sup>secure</sup> position in the past. Thus those Jews who turned  
 to the regime were not the bourgeoisie, the factory owners  
 etc. . The ~~decrees~~ <sup>decrees</sup> against industry and big business  
 affected these; many of them were deported in 1951/52.  
 Civil servants, writers, and similar members of the  
 intelligentsia among the Jews went over to Communism;  
 Many made a very good career for themselves as minister,  
 department heads and party functionaries.  
 Since ~~the~~ 1950 the more intelligent ones joined the  
 opposition to the regime; among these were the provincial  
 Jews as well. Gradually many Jews who had formerly supported  
 the regime, turned against it. Among these were some of  
 the leading Communist writers, Háy, Déry, Tardos.  
 I can't generalize about ~~the regime~~ <sup>Jews' relationship to the regime;</sup> they  
 were not entirely on the side of the regime, some were  
 on this side, some on the opposite. Many Jews, for instance

participated as armed fighters in the Revolution.

Those who had <sup>owned</sup> businesses and factories had it worse under the Communist regime although some of them received jobs in the ministries. Their advantage was that they started with a positive step: their past persecution made them oppose the previous regime and it was taken for granted that they could belong only to the Communist Party. The Communist Party assumed that they would join because they were persecuted by the Nazis, hence they were good kaders.

(25c)

I did not have many Jewish acquaintances, except for a few doctors and other professionals who were my parents' friends. One of them was a former big wholesale merchant.

At the university I had quite a few Jewish acquaintances. Half of them were very strongly anti-regime. The others were so-called good understanders ("jó megertők"). They <sup>were able to</sup> ~~would be able to~~ find some sort of rationalization for every horror invented by the regime. They were foolishly, stupidly good understanders. They had no advantage from it, though they meant well. They can't be accused of <sup>opportunism</sup> ~~only~~ of intellectual stupidity.

Some Jews were not against the regime but neither were they interested in ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ opposing it; they just ignored all political activities, didn't go to DISZ meetings etc..

Question: Did the political <sup>attitude of these Jewish</sup> ~~attitude of these Jewish~~ <sup>students</sup> ~~depend~~ depend at all on their social origin?

Answer: No, there was a mixture. Mostly these good understanders, these fellow travellers were good middle-class types, sons of white collar workers etc. I got along with them when it was not political things which were discussed. As a rule though I avoided them. A few of these fellow travelling Jews started from the lowest levels, the lowest social and financial level. Many of these were affected by the 1944 laws. I know one who came to oppose the regime, together with the rest of us. He first was a DISZ secretary, then went into opposition and finally participated in the <sup>armed</sup> revolt. ~~with the rest of us.~~

Question: What about the role of the Jewish intellectuals in Hungary?

Answer: They were very understanding: they accepted Horthy as well as Communism. The trouble with them was that they had a very extreme and exaggerated ability to adjust. I don't know how it was before the war. I was too young at the time. I can't say that there was anti-Semitism in Hungary in the last few years. If there had been anti-Semitism it would have caused a pogrom during the Revolution. Many people were not hurt simply because they were Jewish. AVO officers <sup>escaped lynching</sup> ~~were not hurt~~ because they were Jewish.

Question: Do you think that <sup>this indicates</sup> ~~was caused~~ a lack of anti-Semitism or was it because the Revolutionaries worried about <sup>Western</sup> ~~foreign~~ opinions.

Answer: In the Revolution morals were liberated and they

(25g)

could easily have <sup>staged</sup> a pogrom. I think there was no anti-Semitism. Rakosi and the other leading Jews who participated in the regime would have been hated even if they had been <sup>14</sup> Mohammedans. That there was no anti-Semitism is also proven by the fact that the masses could have easily taken up the anti-Semitic slogans in the demonstrations, but they did not.

In Hungary this had been an important problem since 1870; See the Tiszaeszlár case. The Jews concentrated industry in their hands and this ~~led~~ <sup>led</sup> to an increased <sup>of</sup> anti-Semitism. But all I can say is that I saw no anti-Semitism in Hungary after the war. I can't tell if there was a growth of anti-Semitism as compared to the previous regime or not. The Arrow-Cross and its extreme actions did not reflect a mass mood but only followed the ~~desires~~ <sup>desires</sup> of the leaders of a colonial power.

The people under Communism saw that the little Jews were also hurt, just as much as they themselves were. ~~The~~ racial differences were not taken into consideration by the people, just as social differences were disregarded. The important question was in whose hands the power was; they hated those.

(25h) The future situation of the Jews will depend on what they are and who they are and how they behaved in the past regardless of the fact that they are Jews. The fact that they are Jews will not affect their position.



- (1) Yes.
- (1a) Politics is one of my major interest.
- (1b) I have been interested in politics since 1952. This is when I became old enough to understand it.
- (1c) If you can call the dates and talks we had after March in 1956 political activity. Then I did. I also participated in the meetings of the Petöfi circle. At the university we had tremendous debates after the spring of 1956. See ~~MEM~~ comments on Petöfi circle toward end of interview. I never participated directly in politics.
- (2) I have had definite political opinions from <sup>1952</sup>~~1953~~ on, since the age of 17. I never had a good opinion of the Russians. We in Transdanubia felt that the Russians and the Communists brought little good. This feeling was something our whole family shared. In 1948 came the Mindszenty trial. My parents knew Mindszenty who had been the priest who married them. This fact, of course, affected our attitude towards the regime. During the Rakosi era ~~MEM~~ until 1953 several members of my family were either arrested or in one case, a relative of my mother's, was threatened because he was a merchant.
- Another factor which affected my political attitudes was the fact that <sup>for three years I attended</sup> ~~MEM~~ a parochial school ~~MEM~~ ~~MEM~~ which was later nationalized. The majority of the students here were anti-Communists, among them

were peasants and others. Until I graduated ~~XXXX~~ we were very outspoken <sup>ly</sup> against the regime. For instance when Stalin died there were sarcastic comments "well, thank God" ~~and~~ etc.

In 1952/53 I began to develop a more mature political attitude. Till then we, in school, ~~said~~ <sup>repeated</sup> what we had heard at home. In 1952 things got worse in the country. On the border area there were many deportations. There was a great fear of the terror. On June 16 and 17, 1952 there were great deportations on the border. Approximately 100 families were deported from Nagykanizsa, my town. The AVO arrived for people at night and they had to sign that they were departing voluntarily. If the AVO wanted to be kind they gave them 3 hours to prepare for departure. We had an acquaintance who lived on the <sup>C</sup> Great border; when they came to deport him and his family he was not at home. Afterwards, when they realized that he was missing, they did not take him away anymore. In a month he aged a great deal. At first he did not know where his family was taken. At the Ministry of Interior he was told that no one was deported. He was not even allowed to join them in deportation. Another acquaintance was deported for "clericalism"; he was a bell ringer. From my gymnasium they deported ~~XXX~~ a student because his father was in Yugoslavia from 1940 to 1942 and had relatives in Yugoslavia. All these experiences and events

naturally affected my political views.

In 1953 Imre Nagy's regime came to power. From the beginning everyone was very glad. Those who were allowed to leave their places of deportation were very happy. Many died when they heard Imre Nagy's speech <sup>over the radio.</sup> in deportation. The living conditions of the deportees were awful. Throughout the country there <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ malicious <sup>comments</sup> ~~^~~; "I said the Five Year Plan was bad, I told you so" people said to each other. In the provinces, however, Imre Nagy's regime did not penetrate so deeply, was not felt so strongly. I was at the university at the time. We had many debates from 1953 to '55. In 1955, when the March Resolution of the Party was announced, everyone felt great disgust and opposition. The general reaction was to keep quiet and talk only to one's friends. The 20th Party Congress increased of freedom of debates to a great extent.

~~During the 1955-1956 period the government~~

- (2a) The Small-Holder Party.
- (2b) Social Democratic from 1946 to '48.
- (e) In Hungary most everyone awaited the Russians with open arms; they felt that they could not be worse than the Germans. However, in Transdanubia sympathy for the Germans was very great. The wartime regime lasted longer there than anywhere else. The Transdanubian area was more bourgeois and less peasant in character. It showed

the least sympathy for the Russians in Hungary. It is geographically closer ~~to Europe~~ <sup>to Europe and</sup> by the time the Russians arrived there, the people have heard what the Russians have done in the Eastern part of the country. In some places, in Transdanubia, people were actually surprised that the Russians did so little looting and raping. I ~~was~~ myself come from this area and my initial attitude was determined by the general feeling in this part of the country.

(2f) II.

(2g) I.) Basically people couldn't do anything else ~~too~~.

2) Obedience depended chiefly on political developments.

It didn't mean that people were sympathetic to the regime.

III. 3) Till 1948 in spite of the fact that the Russians were in Hungary, most people would not believe that the

Communists did actually come to power. Those who were *already* in opposition at that time, either saw the regime more clearly, or else they wanted the old regime back.

Anti-Communist opposition to the regime ~~was~~ <sup>became</sup> very strong, and The Mindszenty case only increased this opposition.

Mindszenty was especially strong in Transdanubia; people had a blind faith in him. But in 1948/49 when people began to realize what the regime was really like, when the terror became stronger, there was no real mood or ~~spirit~~ <sup>willingness</sup> on a national level, to resist. People just did not think of armed resistance. They hoped that the Russian troops

~~They~~ <sup>would</sup> leave Hungary, they trusted in the international situation, in the policy of the Western powers regarding free elections. There was a great deal of trust in the West. People simply ignored the Communist slogans and ~~pushed themselves into~~ <sup>quietly drew</sup> into some corner ~~quietly~~ saying "I will weather this storm too, things will get better." One could call it a sober acceptance of reality. People realized that opposing the regime would do them no good because the Russians would back it. In Budapest, chiefly among the intelligentsia and the workers, many were fooled ~~by~~ <sup>would</sup> by the regime's slogans and felt that things ~~would~~ get better. The workers were fooled by the "Red Csepel" slogan. The big factories became headquarters of the Communist movement. Thus the opposition had no chance to develop.

In addition people expected outside help. What opposition there was, was passive. The workers did not go to various political meetings etc. There was passive resistance throughout the <sup>entire</sup> period. But no one likes to be a hero; people preferred to be plain persons and not national martyrs. This is especially true in Hungary but elsewhere too. Also the terror was too great. The thaw allowed people to form the <sup>the</sup> ~~United~~ <sup>National</sup> ~~National~~ <sup>front</sup> Fund of the Revolution. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Before the thaw people did not know each other, they did not trust each other. Only small circles knew and trusted each other. One could not tell who was a Communist and who not and

so people were very careful even with their acquaintances and friends.

Conspiracy is a childish stupid game. A few guns and aimless plans were all <sup>that</sup> most conspiracies were presented; they had no point or aim. As a result they <sup>conspirators</sup> were imprisoned or executed. As a child I played at conspiracy but under the the Communist regime it had serious political consequences. Adults don't play such games.

(3) The intelligentsia was treated rather strangely. There was a great deal of hostility towards it. Instead of ~~the~~ receiving the expected reward for its work, it was distrusted. This is one of my chief grievances, my whole family was treated this way. In addition the financial and material conditions were relatively bad. ~~Another grievance is...~~

This situation was continued at the university. Students who were members of the old intelligentsia were treated with distrust in accordance with changes in Party policy. This was very uncomfortable. I knew that <sup>good</sup> ~~hard~~ <sup>grades</sup> Marx and hard work would not <sup>bring</sup> ~~make~~ me get ahead as much as ~~my~~ suitable origin would.

Another grievance was the <sup>ban on</sup> ~~inability to~~ travel. I could not go abroad or even visit certain parts of my own country, such as the border zone. One of my biggest wishes had always been to travel and therefore this was a serious hardship.

(3a) IV, VI, X.

(3b) XIV, XV.

(3c) IV, IX, X, XV.

(3d) IV, IX, X, XIV.

(3e) III, V, XV.

(3) The Austrian Treaty provided a great deal of satisfaction, for the Russians left Austria. Rakosi's fall made people feel very happy too. During the Imre Nagy' period peasants were not forced into collective farms anymore and taxation was eased. People had felt very badly about the ~~peace~~ <sup>compulsory</sup> peace loans; they were glad when this ended around 1955.

(4) The Party was the real power in Hungary and not the government. This existed only proforma, because it was correct that way. ~~There were no real power centers in the government. The Central Committee and the AVH were the allmighty God. The Party, of course, was in the hands of the Soviets. The important leaders of the Party were Rakosi, Gerö, Révai, and Mihály Farkas. Rajk was very influential among Party members until his death - this caused his death. Kádár was quite influential when he was Minister of Interior before his imprisonment. Others were merely <sup>puppets,</sup> ~~executives~~ big or small: such as Hegedüs who was a Party bureaucrat. There were many small local <sup>ii</sup> overlords, city Party secretaries, etc.~~

(4f) The bureaucracy maintained an enormous apparatus.

There is no doubt that it grew ~~enormously~~ <sup>especially</sup> enormously since <sup>since</sup> before the war. First of all, along economic lines, the state economy needed a enormous supervisory and executive apparatus. It needed three people to do what a private merchant could have done alone. The state required people to supervise the supervisors. This was true both in industry and trade. Secondly the agricultural ~~bureaucracy~~ bureaucracy was also very large in number. With regard to delivery collections, even the smallest village had at least two representatives.

Above them was the supervisory apparatus, the <sup>State</sup> ~~state~~ <sup>Control</sup> ~~control~~ bureau (Állami Ellenőrzésügyi Központ) and later the ministry.

The state and Party apparatus also contributed to swell the numbers of <sup>the</sup> bureaucracy. The Party was built up on a pyramid system, beginning on top with the Central Committee and going downwards to the local organizations etc., <sup>including</sup> the side organizations, youth organizations, and so on. The personnel of this apparatus was enormous; and it was non-productive; it drew out money and did not contribute anything.

In addition there was the AVH, the Army, which had an enormous bureaucratic apparatus, and the police which remained approximately the same in number.

Hungary has never had such a large bureaucracy as now; it could have served five times as large a country.

In addition to the already large middleclass in Hungary,



(46)

this system established an enormous unproductive class. It was a bureaucratic state on the Soviet pattern, of course. It depends on what type of graft ~~this~~ is meant. In many cases it was not considered graft by people. There was an enormous amount of graft affecting industry and the economy of the country. For instance in the factory, where my father worked they needed a certain type of machinery. The ministry suggested that they turned to a certain factory and take the manager some gifts in order to get the machine needed. The same ministry also suggested that in order to buy a scarce raw material~~s~~ from another factory, my father's factory should also <sup>offer</sup> buy up some smaller <sup>surplus as a package deal.</sup> goods ~~which were left behind~~. If they had not done this they would not have received the raw material they needed. In many cases the factory had to pay far <sup>more</sup> ~~than~~ <sup>fixed</sup> above the ~~set~~ price in order to buy needed raw materials. There was an enormous amount of graft and fraud. But this was accepted and not censured morally since it was necessary in order to run the economy. Morally far more <sup>re</sup>prehensible was the ~~waste~~ of functionaries who embezzled sums and bribed many people ~~in order~~ to <sup>them</sup> keep quiet. For instance, the County Party Committee, <sup>in my county</sup> ~~where I come from~~, embezzled half a million forints. This embezzlement involved the AVH, the Party Committee and led way up to the Council of Ministers. When the story came out nothing happened; some of the people in-

involved were transferred somewhere else and a few of the lesser figures were arrested. There were a great many swindles involving Party jobs and advantages deriving from it.

Black-mail was also an accepted means of gaining advantages. In the villages, for instance, simple peasants were ~~black~~ black-mailed. They were told they would be <sup>put</sup> on the kulak list if they did not provide officials with grain and other goods.

(4h) The lower ranks of government service, especially in the provinces, were filled by the old civil servants, <sup>members of</sup> the old apparatus who received little pay and had to do much work. The majority of the civil service came from young graduates. The <sup>middle</sup> level including the factory management, ~~was~~ was made up of technicians, of people who had to have technical knowledge. The pay was quite insufficient. In this stratum they hired both old or new technicians. The kader policy here was not too strict or extreme, though, of course, a class alien could not get such a position. ~~Then there were~~ <sup>Then there were</sup> the higher levels, beginning with ministry department chiefs, and going upwards. In the industrial ministries there were many who were both technically skilled and were Party functionaries as well. However, many factory directors were worker kaders and knew little about running <sup>a factory</sup> ~~their jobs~~. Such people had very inferior technical training and were thoroughly incompetent.

- (5) There were no great advantages to be derived from ~~MEM~~  
<sup>just</sup> pure membership, <sup>alone,</sup> but it is true that if one was not a  
member of DISZ one could only rarely get <sup>admitted</sup> to the university.  
The advantages were derived by the functionaries; they re-  
ceived <sup>free vacations</sup> occasions and other material advantages.
- (5d) Yes.
- (5e) I joined around 1949. We had a student association at  
the gymnasium which I attended. In 1950 DISZ was formed  
and one automatically became a member. I was a member  
until the end, that is until ~~IN~~ DISZ was turned into  
MEFESZ.
- (5f) I was a member of a Cultural Committee of DISZ. The chief  
advantage of this was that I could get <sup>free</sup> tickets to movies  
and theaters for myself and my friends.
- (6e) Basically no one had to be a member. Until 1949 they  
had to catch members by ~~the~~ lasso. In 1945 the ex-  
Arrow-Crossists joined the Party. In 1948 when the  
Social Democratic Party united with the Communist Party  
the members of the former automatically became members  
of the latter. Many of these were later expelled.  
Gradually membership was made more difficult. The age-  
limit was higher, <sup>and</sup> it became more difficult for university  
students to become members, although it was easy for  
workers until the end. Membership in the Party was  
necessary for <sup>a</sup> really good career. But some people were

rewarded with Party membership <sup>whether</sup> ~~if~~ they liked it or not, simply because they were good workers. Basically Party membership was not compulsory.

(6c) I knew quite a few <sup>students</sup> at the university who joined. Many of these would laugh "I became a Party candidate, now I'll get a better job". If one of these <sup>had</sup> privately <sup>said</sup> ~~saw~~ that he was a convinced Communist, he would be <sup>have been</sup> considered a fool. People would, sometimes, join the Party to avoid getting a job in some village.

(6e) The functionaries talked in an official tone. They used the jargon of functionaries, they used such terms as "to survey <sup>jobally</sup>" etc.. This was especially true at political seminars. They would talk of the misdeeds of the imperialists, they would call Tito a chain <sup>ed</sup> dog, they sounded a little like an editorial from Szabad Nép. One could tell from their talk, whether they have read this mornings editorial. <sup>or not</sup> This sort of jargon was used in the Army too. They would talk about the great friendship of peoples, the constant and fervent loyalty and gratitude towards the Soviet Union. They would say that "the comrade is again judging the question incorrectly," that "the imperialists are as afraid of the truth as a cat is afraid of the rain." This tone was extremely ridiculous, but it was used so frequently that it became to seem almost natural<sup>y</sup>.

(6f) For all the reasons ~~discussed~~ above.

(6h)

No.

(7)

I became a member of the Patöfi circle in September 1956. At first they did not want university students as members. I had to fill out an application and supply some guarantees. About 3,000 people asked for membership. I finally received a certificate and had to pay a 10 forints membership fee.

(7g)

People either had bad opinions of the mass organization or else they were simply not interested. ~~THEY WERE~~ There were many jokes about them. Very often people in factories and ~~offices~~ <sup>so on</sup> had to join such organizations as the Hungarian Soviet Society. They simply paid their membership fee but many did not know even after 5 years of membership where the headquarters ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup>.

(7i)

Well, they functioned. The most popular ~~with~~ <sup>were</sup> those which had clubs, <sup>put on shows, etc.</sup> ~~with evenings of entertainment~~. At some you could read newspapers and magazines or play chess and cards. These were popular too. Some established ~~in~~ <sup>their</sup> headquarters in former provincial clubs; in these cases the former members of these clubs continued to go as before, <sup>playing cards as before.</sup> ~~and to play cards.~~ These organizations also had political programs, but people did not go, except when they were forced to.

(7m)

The workers felt that the Trade ~~Unions~~ Unions were not worth anything. Trade Unions are only useful if they

~~could~~ <sup>the workers'</sup> help raise ~~their~~ wages and working conditions.

But the regime's Trade Unions did not do this. All that the Trade Unions ~~III~~ did was to collect membership fees.

- (8) Only a very small percentage of Hungarian Communists were convinced Communists <sup>by conviction.</sup> The rest felt that they would have a higher living standard as Communist functionaries. Many of those truly convinced Communists who had been members of the Party since 1919 and had participated in <sup>underground</sup> ~~illegal~~ activity during the Horthy regime were unable to get anywhere under the Rakosi regime because they questioned the Party resolutions and submitted them to Marxist criticism. Under the Rakosi regime participation in 1919 or in Spain became crimes. These veteran Communists were annihilated. They were very difficult to handle because they insisted on attacking <sup>party instructions</sup> ~~the Party~~ at Party meetings. These people lost their enthusiasm by the early 1950<sup>s</sup> and were pushed aside. Even when the Party was <sup>underground</sup> ~~illegal~~ its members were used to free debates. As a result they did not like Rakosi's rule.

- (9) They were not <sup>staunch supporters</sup> ~~the purpose~~ of Communism. DISZ was formed in 1950. By 1953 it was obvious that it did not work. The youth resisted it; all young people were supposed to be members of DISZ, but the membership was only proforma and not <sup>voluntary</sup> ~~through~~ ~~conviction~~. In 1953 DISZ was criticized

by the Party. It was ~~supposed to have separated itself~~ <sup>attached for having lost touch with</sup> ~~from~~ the masses. It was attacked for not taking into account the interests of the members etc. Then in the March 1955 ~~resolution~~ <sup>resolution</sup> the anti-DISZ campaign was criticized and it was stated that DISZ was alright after all. In 1956 the real DISZ debate began. It was stated that basic changes must be made, that DISZ was bad, that it did not know what the members wanted, that the leaders were chosen on the basis of counter selection (Kontraszelekció) <sup>and</sup> that they were stupid, spineless, and useless. At first the ~~campaign~~ <sup>plan</sup> was to maintain DISZ with certain changes. But before the Revolution it was discontinued <sup>altogether</sup>. Thus ~~THE~~ DISZ was never a stalwart Communist organization at all.

(10b) The AVH was organized in 1946 by Rajk. Originally it was the political police of the Ministry of Interior. Around 1947 it was developed as the AVH under Rajk, ~~under~~ <sup>under</sup> Kadar, and subsequently under Gábor Péter. The AVH was in name a part of the Ministry of Interior but actually it was directly ~~responsible~~ responsible to Rakosi, a secretary of the Politburo. That's why it is a stupid lie when Rakosi ~~says~~ says he did not know what was going on at the AVH. The Budapest headquarters was at Andrassy Avenue 60 and later at Jászai Mari Place. The AVH was divided into two parts. The first the internal AVO, the so-called blue AVO, the second the green AVO

the so-called border troops. The members of the latter were recruited by conscription except for the officers.

The AVH was organized in a pyramidal fashion; the provincial organizations were under the national headquarters in Budapest. They were independent of other government organizations in the provinces.

(10a) The AVH had built up a huge apparatus of informers throughout the entire country. Each AVH office or department had kader sheets for its informers, <sup>each of</sup> and <sup>evaluating</sup> the value of the information they had provided. During the Revolution these kadersheets were found, and ~~these~~ <sup>thus</sup> the identity of the informers was revealed. Two types of people became informers; some people were forced to become informers because they ~~were~~ committed so-called political crimes and were allowed to <sup>pay for</sup> their crime in this fashion. Members of persecuted groups or classes, such as kulaks and class aliens, were promised immunity from persecution if they became informers. The ~~most~~ people who were especially desirable were those who had a large group of acquaintances and friends. The AVH did not chose soli-  
<sup>itary</sup>  
~~itary~~ types.

(10e) The green border AVO was recruited by conscription for three years. The blue troops were also recruited partly through conscription but only the more reliable kaders were chosen. The Blue AVH also took some volunteers. The volunteers were chiefly careerists who wanted to live well. Party members who were convinced that the methods



of the AVH were correct, or else Party members with a long Party history. At the university good Party members who were also good kaders were asked whether they wanted to work for the Ministry of Interior with a high salary. This usually meant work for the AVH. These young men who went to the AVH from the University received a starting salary of from 1300 to 2,000 forints.

(10 ) Neither the police nor the Army liked the AVH. The police was not allowed to handle political affairs; if the police came across a political or economical crime then it had to hand over the case to the AVH. The AVH probably had some men in the police.

As for the Army the AVH had a military political department under the Ministry of Defense. Each Army unit had a "Defensive" <sup>(defenziv)</sup> Department which dealt with insubordination, etc. Each bigger unit had a "defensive" officer! He was either known to be an AVH man or else he was a secret agent of the AVH. The military political department often dealt with civilians in cases of spying, and *etc.*

The defensive officer was often smuggled into a military unit when there were some suspicious things going on. *anything suspicious was noted in the unit.*

(10k) The AVH was under the Politburo and was the elite executive organ of the Party. On the local and provincial level the local Party headquarters informed the AVH of any activities belonging to its jurisdiction and the AVH supervised the Party Committee. The AVH could interfere in the County Party Committees' activities but not vice versa.

(11) Several of my relatives and friends were arrested since 1945. First of all, there was the uncle mentioned above who was arrested because he went to a church on a regular work day. Then another relative of mine, a merchant, was arrested. He was amnestied. A friend of mine, who lived in a different town, was arrested for conspiracy and sentenced to four years. He was 18 years old. He and his friends were just children playing at conspiracy. He was also a poet and wrote poems against the regime. He behaved very courageously at his trial. He was at Várpalota and Márianosztra and was finally amnestied.

A distant acquaintance who was, until 1950, an Army Colonel and department head at the Ministry of Defense, was involved in the László Sólyom trial, which was an outcome of the Rajk trial. He was arrested in 1950 together with ~~Sólyom~~ <sup>immediately</sup> and was ~~tried~~ <sup>tried</sup> with 17 other people immediately. This was at the time when the regime ~~purged~~ <sup>purged</sup> the Army of all high officers of the old Army, except Károly. He received a prison sentence of 10 years for spying <sup>and</sup> treason. His wife ~~was informed~~ <sup>inquired about him</sup> but received no news for three years. Around 1953 during the Nagy regime his wife was told that he had received a sentence of ten years. In the 4th year he was allowed to write letters to his wife. In the 5th year he was amnestied and received an apology from the regime. He was told that Gábor Péter was responsible for his false arrest. He received his salary <sup>re</sup>tractively

for the last 5 years minus the cost of his prison expenses. An officer in the Ministry of Defense apologized to him and offered him a job in the Army. My friend refused on grounds of old age and asked for his pension. He was told "I am sorry comrade Colonel, you would have made an excellent general." Now he is in England with his wife.

(11d) The so-called class aliens and especially kulaks were in the greatest danger of arrest. Kulaks were persecuted in every possible way especially for economic *crimes* such as the fact that *their pigsties did not have cement floors*. The aim was to ruin them economically. As for class ~~XXXX~~ aliens, when anything happened in the factory, when a machine was sabotaged, the so-called class alien was arrested as a scape ~~XXXX~~ goat. If the case of sabotage was very serious, they <sup>*prepared*</sup> ~~made~~ a conspiracy trial. For instance in my father's factory there was an accidental explosion on April 4th. The AVH claimed that it was sabotage because of the date. There was a two weeks investigation after which the case was dropped.

(11g) There were many prisons or political prisoners. The most notorious were the Gyűjtőőgház, the PV (pestvidéki) <sup>Vac,</sup> military political department, Csillag, and Marianosztra. These prisons were not under the Ministry of Justice as the rest of the country's prisons were, but ~~XXXX~~ under the AVH. This meant that after the prisoner was sentenced

the AVH could still torture them, and do with them what it wanted. The AVH also had separate cells in its headquarters where the prisoners were kept while the investigation was going on.

The rest were taken to forced labor camps. The most notorious forced labor camp was Recsk. It existed until 1954. The country knew about these camps but not what was going on in them. No guests were allowed and the prisoners were not allowed to correspond with their families. There were other forced labor camps all over the country. The Csolnok labor camp, the Várpalota mine, the state farm at Balatonfenyves, the so-called new-life-farm which housed a few thousand prisoners, Kapolnásnyék as well as many mines. The number of political prisoners, at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution, was around 20,000.

In some prisons Szabad Nep was allowed, in others Marxist literature was forbidden and only crime stories were allowed. In some prisons one could learn languages, but not Russian.

(13)

There is no advice possible; if the political police chooses a victim then there is no help for it. But there are a few general ways of avoiding notice. 1. The person should not talk too much about politics. 2. He should not criticize. 3. He should not get into fights with people who are in a position to hurt him.

- (13c) Connections can be an advantage or disadvantage. If ones personal connections *fall* from power they might even be a disadvantage. For instance the Colonel, whom I mentioned before merely worked in the same department as Solyom. That was all. <sup>They</sup> ~~He~~ were not even friends and yet he was arrested and involved in the Solyom trial.
- (13d) Yes.
- (13f) Generally yes.
- (13g) Yes, Croats, because of the <sup>U</sup>Yugoslav connections, Catholics, Jehovah Witnesses.
- (14) The fluctuations in the terror were connected with the regime's changes of policy. Until 1953 it was very strong, under Imre Nagy it decreased and prisoners received various privileges. They were allowed more walks and letters from their families. In 1953 they also stopped the use of corporal punishment in prison and the chaining of prisoners. In 1955 things became tighter again. For instance the windows were covered up so that the prisoners could not look out. In general, however, there was a much freer atmosphere and much less fear after 1953. From the spring of 1955 to the 20th Party Congress the terror increased again somewhat in certain fields, and then it became milder.
- (14a) There were constant waves of purges. At the beginning the first big purges involved the so-called fascists. In 1945/46 People's Court tried *Szász* and the leaders

of the Horthy regime for war crimes ~~in the prevailing~~  
post-war mood.

Then the Communists began to attack the opposition  
in waves of purges. By 1948 the Small Holders were  
annihilated on the whole. They also got rid of the other  
opposition Parties and the right wing Social Democrats  
~~led~~ by Anna Kéthly. At the same time began the campaign  
against the church with the trial against Mindszenty. The  
last ~~phase~~ <sup>phase</sup> of ~~this~~ <sup>this</sup> was the Grösz trial in 1951. Mean-  
while there were also purges in the Party, in 1949 the  
Rajk trial, the anti-Yugoslav trials, the purges of the  
Ministry of Interior, ~~and the Communist Party.~~

In 1950 there was a purge in the Ministry of Defense  
which involved Army officers who were ~~dismissed~~ <sup>dismissed from the Army,</sup> and  
some of them executed. There were constant smaller purges  
as well. In 1955 a few Party members were arrested for  
rightist deviation. But this was not very serious.

- (15) This is an obvious question. <sup>The</sup> Soviet Union is a friend  
of the Hungarian people, our great neighbor and liberator".  
I would say that the role of the Soviet Union in Hungary  
was like the role of the British in India in the last  
century. It was the relationship between colony and colonizer.
- (15a) In general, political decisions, especially relating to  
foreign affairs and economic policy were made chiefly  
in the Soviet Union. To some extent the Soviet Union  
also influenced Hungary's cultural policy. Some un-  
important internal questions were decided in Hungary

but the leading and decisive line was commanded from Moscow. <sup>I do not know</sup> Just how the machinery was set up whether it was done through the embassy in Budapest or directly between Moscow and the Party leaders, ~~I do not know~~.

(15d)

I did not meet any Soviet functionaries, but I know from my Colonel friend that in the Ministry of Defense Soviet advisors had a very important position. My friend's department had a Russian advisor who interfered in everything. He told my friend ~~WHEN~~ that things were going badly in the department. <sup>the advisor</sup> When ~~he~~ was asked ~~WHY~~ why, he <sup>answered</sup> that in the other department, when he scolded the department head, there were some arrests in the department and after that everything was better. Since my ~~IXINE~~ friend's department did not have an arrest for a whole year, the conclusion was that the work must be going badly. This was in 1949. The trials of officers in the Ministry of Defense were also decided by Russian advisors.

(15e)

Soviet influence was strongest in the Army and weakest in the cultural sphere. It was very strong in the economic life of the country, for instance in the Hungarian Soviet joint companies, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ as well as in the Ministries and in the Party. Of course some of the country's leaders were Soviet citizens. Among them Rakosi, Gerö, Parkas, Andics, Lukacs. Hungary's delegate to the United Nations was a Soviet Citizen

who was given a Hungarian name. He does not even know Hungarian. His name is Leo Konduktorov and he was given the name of Károly Kós.

- (16) People could talk at home to their family as well as to close circles of friends where people had known each other for years. Sometimes in public places, for example at the barbershop, people would talk quite freely. In a small town everybody knew everybody <sup>else</sup> and therefore knew who could be trusted. Workers sometimes talked quite freely among each other, in factories, or places of work where they knew each other fairly well. Everyone developed <sup>an instinct</sup> ~~an instinct~~ as to who could be trusted and who not. This <sup>instinct</sup> ~~instinct~~ was about 90 per cent reliable.
- (16d) One could talk fairly freely about non-political matters about sports and about private matters. One could even discuss shopping, what was available in the stores, how much it costs, as long as one did not say "well, this is Democracy for you, you can't get <sup>perk</sup> ~~perk~~ again", <sup>or</sup> "oh well, that's the work competition". It was fairly general, however, that someone <sup>(to let drop)</sup> ~~made~~ a sarcastic <sup>comment</sup> ~~statement~~, and others laughed at it. For instance, one could stop and look at an American car and say "What a beautiful Soviet car this is". Then everybody laughed.
- People's hatred for the regime was sometimes expressed at athletic matches. For instance, there was a scandal



at the Hungarian Soviet ~~Soccer~~ match. People shouted and ~~boomed~~ <sup>boomed</sup> against the Soviet Union. Puskas became popular because he kicked the Soviet player, although Puskas was not <sup>generally</sup> popular ~~in general~~. I think it was ~~in~~ in 1955 that the demonstration at the Soviet Hungarian basketball game took place. Many students were arrested and some were expelled from the universities. The Czechs were very popular at the time because they defeated the Soviet team and as a result Hungary was in first place. The whole stadium ~~rooted~~ <sup>rooted</sup> for the ~~EEEEEE~~ Czechs AND abused the Russians.

(17) There were a great many such opportunities in all <sup>areas</sup> ~~fields~~ of life. Everyone considered it not only natural, but even praiseworthy to cheat the state which was the exploiter of the people. See Section G, <sup>question 4g.</sup>

(17a) No.

(17b) The delivery ~~quota~~ <sup>quota</sup> could be circumvented but one had to be extremely familiar with the text of the ~~decrees~~ <sup>decrees</sup>. The kulaks had the most difficult time <sup>of it</sup> ~~with regard to~~ ~~that~~, but even they could cheat the regime with regard to deliveries. For instance if they had to deliver a certain quantity they could ~~EEEEEE~~ somehow cheat <sup>about</sup> ~~with~~ ~~regards to~~ the quality. In the vineyard everyone denied about one half or one quarter of his <sup>crop</sup> ~~production~~. As for the wine deliveries, the peasants often mixed sugar or water in the wine; that way they kept more for their <sup>own</sup> use.

- (17c) He could try to use personal connections, stay in Budapest, or else ~~quit~~ quit his job.
- (17d) He simply could get up and go. A worker was not bound to his job. A skilled worker could leave but even he would find it difficult to get to Budapest.
- (17e) He could use pull, or if he had no personal connections in higher places, he could solve the problem by going to work in a factory and get the factory to suggest that he be sent to the university. This was a lengthy and difficult process. I have a relative, an engineer who had been in prison. One of his sons wanted to go to Law School but he was not admitted because his father had been imprisoned. His father finally wrote a letter to the Ministry of Education, stating that he had received an apology <sup>from the Regime</sup> for false imprisonment and finally his son was accepted at the university in spring 1956.
- (18a) The terror; and the help of our great friend, the Soviet Union.
- (18b) The ~~destructive~~ <sup>disruptive</sup> forces were the United interests of the Hungarian people. It was not to the interest of the people that the regime should exist. It was not in the interest of the peasants, the youth, the intelligentsia, and the workers; it did not help them to get ahead <sup>or to prosper</sup> materially. The people hated the regime. Simple people who were never interested in politics were unable to <sup>make a decent living.</sup> exist. The regime simply disregarded the material and

moral interest of the majority of the people.

(19)

There was no real opposition in terms of strikes and armed resistance until the Revolution. There was chiefly passive resistance but this existed everywhere and at all times, in the factories and in the families. It took different forms with different social groups.

The peasant: The peasant did not <sup>via</sup> participate in the collective farm unless he had to. He tried to keep back part of his delivery quotas. He refused to participate in the political life of the village or collective farm and showed the minimum interest in the activities of the regime. Peasant youth left the villages because it was unprofitable to work in the village. It is true that at first the regime wanted to take labor from the village to the factory but later on this policy was discontinued because labor force was needed in the village. In affect there was a "new silent revolution" ("uj nama forradalom") in the XIX village.

Workers: The workers were in different <sup>to</sup> politics and practiced norm-cheating whenever they could. It became a principle that to take something from the regime was not a crime but a glory. Thus the number of thefts was very high.

The miners: The miners insisted on keeping a small lot where they could grow their own food and thus ~~no~~ <sup>to some extent</sup> could resist the encroachments of the regime ~~were~~.

\* reference to book by Imre Kovacs

The intelligentsia refused to identify itself with the regime's political ideology. It educated its children against the regime.

Youth was also indifferent to the regime's policies and political aims. It was not interested in DISZ, in the so-called social work etc.

- (19b) The peasants were probably most vehement in their opposition to the regime because they refused to accept the economic mold into which the regime tried to push them. The middle classes, and to some extent the workers, were the strongest in their ideological resistance.
- (19c) There were no such groups. Everyone hated the regime ~~equally~~ equally but the outward manifestation of this hatred was different with different groups. The outward manifestation, that is the public show, outside the family, was the least ~~powerful~~ <sup>powerful</sup> vehement ~~among~~ <sup>among</sup> the middleclass.
- (19f) See before. There were no organized groups of any importance. Everyone knew that they had no practical significance and that one would hurt only oneself and get nowhere with such organized groups.
- (19g) Except for the Imre Nagy group of 1953 and the 1956 post-20th Party Congress resistance to the prevailing leaders, the struggles in the Party leadership were chiefly personal conflicts. Various leaders tried to get the masses behind themselves. They would make liberal moves in order to win the people. For instance

Imre Nagy's policy in 1953 was <sup>to some extent</sup> in accordance with this pattern ~~to some extent~~.

Within the Party various organizations had debates and struggles regarding political questions. For instance the 1919 group opposed Rakosi's terror and came out for free debate. Such demands, however, were <sup>insignificant</sup> ~~not serious~~ and these people were liquidated.

(19i) There was no organized resistance but the students simply and consciously did not accept the regime's ideology, or else they were indifferent and ~~attacked~~ <sup>attacked</sup> for being cosmopolitan, cynical, and for not "activizing" themselves.

(19k) There was relatively little sabotage except at the time when the regime took power. Afterwards the <sup>to error</sup> ~~power~~ became stronger and the workers realized that they could only hurt themselves and not help anyone. Among the peasants there was little conscious sabotage although now when a peasant took personal revenge on an enemy by destroying some of his ~~property~~ property, it was called sabotage.

Answered elsewhere in interview

- (1) When I was at home, ~~was~~ <sup>though</sup> not so much at the University I listened to the Western radio <sup>stations</sup> R.F.E. was the easiest to get because it was the closest. B.N.C. was the most popular because it was the most sober and <sup>temperate</sup> ~~temperate~~ in tone. I also read foreign papers and periodicals. These were difficult to get but I was able to get them at the University because I said I needed them for my studies. For instance I read Horthy's autobiography in this way. Then, some of my acquaintances were able to go abroad occasionally. A friend of mine was in Berlin during the uprising there. Some of my friends went to Moscow Abroad - that was quite a thing. Some of my friends, from the University went to Rumania, Poland and Yugoslavia. Those who came back from Poland spoke ~~many~~ volumes about Poznan. I read all the Hungarian political and literary papers and magazines; Szabad Nép, Művelt Nép, Irodalmi Ujság, Magyar Nemzet and literary periodicals. In '56 these contained many ~~many~~ descriptions of the West.
- (1a) The most important sources were my talks with people who had been abroad. <sup>Also,</sup> ~~A~~ the Hungarian press in so far as it was reliable, that is where the facts were uncontrovertible; for instance the fact that Eisenhower was elected President. I also considered the Western Radio Stations an important source of news.
- (2a) See question 1) above.

(2e) Yes.

(2g) The foreign Communist press was all that I could get for instance *Lettres Françaises* and *Humanité*. Later in '56 I saw *Magyar Szó*, a Hungarian Newspaper published in Novi Sad. In '56 I saw two issues of the New York Herald Tribune, one of them contained news of ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Khrushchev's visit in England. <sup>in this</sup> The Tribune found a resemblance to Orwell's *Animal Farm*. I had never heard of Orwell at the time. I received a Tribune because I had to write a report for DISZ on the international political situation and I said I could not do it unless I received Western papers.

Before the Revolution I saw a leaflet dropped by R.F.E. balloons which contained Khrushchev's speech at the 20th Party Congress. Most of these leaflets dropped by Western balloons were not too interesting. This was the most interesting, I wanted to mimeograph it but then the Revolution came and it could not be done.

(3) I went to the movies a great deal because I got free tickets. I preferred the Italian and French neo-realist movies. I also saw all the Hungarian movies and not so many of the Russian ones. I remember a very amusing Hungarian movie called "Pikkoló világos" It satyriized the Western ~~XXX~~ dances and manners in a neo-realistic style. But while satyriizing them it was also a satyre on the regime. I remember the following song.

"Beizebub lanyá vagyok én.

Zöldnylon ruhában főzöm a kását

A pokol fenekén

Keverem, Kavarom, s farad

mar a karom."

"Beizebub's daughter I am,  
In my green nylon dress  
I cook porridge  
In the depths of hell  
I stir and I stir  
and my arm is tiring"

Then she abuses her apartment mate Fársbérő and ends

"Igy lettem én boszorkány." "This is how I became a witch"

The Hungarian movies were very weak on the whole. The  
stories

~~ones~~ had to be chiefly political. They dealt with

collective farms, with ~~ELMUNKAVISELÉS~~ Stakhanovism and

other fascinating topics. Hungarian movies, <sup>in-</sup>proved when

the relaxation in political allowed them to become freer.

Such movies were "Kilences Kórterem" and "Gázolás".

Some of the historical movies were very interesting.

For instance "Rakoczi Hadnagya" (<sup>Rakoczi's</sup> Lieutenant.)

The best Hungarian movie was Közhinta, (Merry Go Round.)

The Hungarian nature movies were also very good.

(3e)

Yes, I attended the theater about once a month. I like

to see classics and among the new Hungarian plays I saw

Illyés: <sup>g-</sup>Ússa. I saw quite a bit of Shakespeare, including

Othello, Hamlet and the comedies. I went to the opera

quite often. The performances of the Hungarian opera

were excellent. The scenery, the ballet and the singers

were first rate. Among other things I saw the three

famous Bartok performances; Bluebeard, <sup>the</sup> Mandarin, and <sup>as well as</sup> the third.

Russian ballet was quite popular in Budapest.



(4) I read a great deal. My favorite historian is Szekfu.

a - f The rest of the Hungarian historians are quite dull.

I like Szekfu because he wrote interestingly. He was not very popular with the regime. <sup>of all Hungarian historians</sup> I think his historical

conception <sup>is</sup> the best and the most interesting. <sup>and</sup> He <sup>regarded</sup> Hungary's historical situation most clearly. <sup>with the greatest clarity and insight.</sup> Although

Szekfu was accepted <sup>by the regime</sup> in his official capacity as ambassador to Moscow, ~~by the regime~~, he was not accepted as a historian.

At the university the professors were jealous of him because they knew that he had the greatest influence on the

middle-class. The following writers had the greatest influence on my thinking; Szekfu, Ady, Thomas Mann, and

Laszlo Nemeth. Szekfu for the reason mentioned before,

Thomas Mann because he represented the upper middle-classes,

because his writings meant a bond with Europe. Thomas Mann

was popular with many of my colleagues because the regime

denounced the upper middle-class as a sinister influence,

as a result we felt <sup>that</sup> exactly the opposite must be true.

I liked Laszlo Nemeth because he discussed the Hungarian

problem with great intelligence. He <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ a Populist to

some extent but he <sup>does</sup> ~~did~~ not have a phony Populist air

about him as <sup>do</sup> ~~did~~ some of the others. He <sup>sees</sup> ~~saw~~ Hungary in

a European framework. To me Laszlo Nemeth meant a

bond with Hungary as well as with Europe. Szekfu meant

the same thing. I like Ady because I think he was the one

who saw the Hungarian problem most clearly in the 20th

Century.

Question: Who were the ~~writers who were~~ the most popular ~~writers~~ <sup>among</sup> university students?

Answer: Among the Hungarian writers Laszlo Nemeth, Moricz, and Mikszath were popular. Among the poets, ~~Ady~~ <sup>Ady</sup> ~~was not~~ <sup>was not</sup> very popular, and some conservatives did not even like Ady. Juhász ~~was~~ <sup>and Illyés</sup> ~~quite~~ popular, <sup>and so was</sup> Lőrinc Szabó, ~~was quite popular~~, though I don't know him myself. Among the foreign authors Thomas Mann was very popular, especially his Tod in Venedig, Buddenbrooks and the short stories. Hemingway's "Old Man and the Sea" was published in 1956 in 20,000 copies. In 3 days it was gone. I read it myself.

Villon was very popular because of Faludy's translation. This translation gave back the juicy Budapest slang. It <sup>found</sup> was interesting to those who were not usually interested in literature. Rabelais was also popular because of <sup>excellent</sup> the translation. Among the 19th century French writers, Stendhal was very popular.

Among the Russians only Tolstoi remained really popular of the 19th century Russian writers who <sup>had been</sup> ~~were~~ accepted by society before 1945. The majority of youth did not even want to read the 19th century classics because they associated everything Russian with the Soviet Union. This was one of the bad things about the regime, that <sup>it</sup> ~~they~~

made youth hate even the Russian classics. They forced people to read Soviet and Russian novels.

Question: Were the Populist writers read at all by you and your friends?

Answer: I read the Populists but they were not among my favorites. I didn't just read anybody. I read Laszlo Nemeth, Geza Feja, Imre Kovacs as well as Zoltan Szabo, Erdei and Illyes. Erdei was alright until he became a minister. Illyes wrote ~~XXX~~ most beautifully about peasant problems. The majority of these writers were on the index and their books were very difficult to get. At the university one could obtain the Populist ~~left~~<sup>i.e.</sup> books by Erdei, Darvas and Illyes. The rest could only be obtained with permission in the libraries.

Illyes was the most popular of these writers; ~~no~~<sup>his works</sup> ~~was~~ ~~published~~<sup>by the regime</sup> Nemeth was also very popular among youth, both his essays and his novels. Everybody knew Nemeth, but only about 30 per cent of the students knew the others. Zoltan Szabo, Kovacs and Feja were fairly popular but except for (Nema Forradalom) & The Silent Revolution, these books demanded a knowledge of agriculture and economics and therefore were fairly tiring for most people. In general we ~~IXY~~<sup>like</sup> did not ~~try~~ to play at being Populists ("Nem Szerettünk Nepieskedni"). We did not feel like running to the villages etc. ~~Even in the~~ ~~Writer's Association~~ the idea of making sociological studies of the country and the villages came up <sup>in the Writers' Association,</sup> but

this was chiefly a manifestation of political opposition and not a populist trend. At the university we had a Populist group but most of my friends were chiefly interested in the West, in Europe. The universities of Debrecen and Szeged showed more interest in Populism chiefly because there were more peasants there who were closer to the soil than we were.

Dezső Szabo was very popular although he was difficult to get. Everyone read him and talked about him. I did not read anything by him except a few articles. Whenever his books were available I had no time to read them and whenever I wanted to read them, I could not get them. He had a pessimism about Hungary, which was to a great extent justified. Young people liked him because he had vitality, ~~and~~ an explosive style, passion and because he was forbidden. He had something mystical and ~~folk-like~~ <sup>folk-like</sup> ~~popular~~ about him.

(5) Yes, of course.

(5b) I did not have a set, but my family did. I don't know the type but one could <sup>receive</sup> ~~get~~ R.F.E. and the Voice on it but not B.B.C..

(5d) I listened to music, to sports <sup>broadcasts,</sup> and to lectures.

(6b) When I was at home we listened to R.F.E. every evening.

(6d) B.B.C. was the most truthful and reliable. R.F.E.'s broadcast had a propaganda coloring, but I liked the

informative broadcasts about the West, about sports, about Western culture. R.F.E.'s non political broadcasts about the West, such as reviews of movies, seemed quite truthful and realistic. It was disturbing that R.F.E. seemed to be badly informed about what was going on in Hungary. People said "Well, they are lying too", but they listened just the same. Gallucus was popular because he was witty and sarcastic.

The Western radios had a tremendous responsibility because they were the only source of news which could be lie the regime's propaganda.

- (7) I received news about foreign countries by word of mouth (see above). ~~Or else~~, <sup>and</sup> friends told me of Western broadcasts if I failed to listen to something interesting. About <sup>domestic</sup> ~~internal~~ politics; I heard a lot of gossip from my journalist friend about internal ~~fr~~actions at Szabad Nep etc. . Some of my professors had connections with various Party organizations and they would tell stories about Party matters. These ~~items~~ <sup>stories</sup> were never about significant matters but they helped to keep one informed.
- (7h) At the university we discussed things in the libraries and university halls. In my hometown we discussed things at home and ~~with my~~ <sup>at the houses of</sup> friends. At the university we also discussed things in the dormitories which was a debating society until 11 P.M. each night. We discussed each other's writings and the political situation.

One could talk fairly freely if one avoided the few known informers.

(8d)

One could tell the truthfulness of an item in various ways. First of all the style was often very revealing. Secondly, one could check the veracity of a news item by comparing it with reports in Western papers or radios <sup>stations</sup> or ~~through~~ ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> personal information. Third, one could check the reliability of an article by its author. For instance Parragi and Meray were among the biggest <sup>liars.</sup> ~~liars.~~ Most people simply ~~had~~ believed the opposite of what they read, <sup>with the exception of sports stories</sup> ~~except about sports stories.~~ For instance, since the regime abused Senator McCarthy most people believed that he was a hero.

(8e)

Foreign broadcasts were considered the most reliable. Among the Hungarian publications the recent 1956 papers Művelt Nep, Irodalmi Ujsag, Hetfői Hirlap were considered the most reliable; and to some extent Magyar Nemzet.

(8f)

I read every number since 1954. Szabad Nep's cultural columns were O.K. They were written by Marcell Benedek. <sup>The</sup> ~~A~~ political part of Szabad Nep was ("mese habbal"), fairy tale with whipped cream.

(8h)

I read Hetfői Hirlap, though not very often due to the fact that ~~it had~~ <sup>were published</sup> only four numbers. However, I read all four. It was very good. Ivan Boldizsar finally started to develop in the right direction, <sup>and</sup> ~~^~~ For a change

he criticized the regime. It was clever, well edited, well written.

- (9) Yes, people made the maximum effort to be well informed. The large audience of the Western stations was due to this fact.
- (10 a) It was dropped. 90,000 people died. It was an ugly thing. We realized that the American army was an important factor and that the atom-bomb decided the victory and not the Soviet entry into the war against Japan.
- (10 b) I knew that the North Koreans started the war. Every sensible person knew that if a country starts a war, it does not just penetrate the enemy's country two kilometers but entirely. If the South Koreans had been preparing for the war for years, as the Communist propaganda stated, they would not have lost so easily.
- (10 c) It was a good joke. Everyone laughed at it.
- (10 d) There was trouble about this. As a result of the Communist propaganda the Hungarian people were hoping that Germany had built up a considerable Army. It was a great disappointment when we found out that this was not so.
- (10 e) I knew that they existed. I saw some of the leaflets but not the balloons. Well, they existed - that's all there is to say about them. They were not very interesting. See question 2 g.
- (10 f) People approved of it and were sorry when it failed.

- (10g) <sup>It aroused strong hopes in everyone.</sup> ~~Everyone had great hopes for it.~~ Eisenhower made a statement at that time, that the satellites were to be freed. People thought that he meant it, and were convinced that leading American circles wanted to help Hungary. Thus the Geneva<sup>la</sup> conference turned out to be a negative influence because people were convinced that the West was serious about the liberation promise. ~~As a result~~ <sup>D</sup> during the Revolution, people expected help from the West, partly for this reason.
- (10h) I did not know much about it. I knew the Hungarian National Council ~~Committee~~ existed and felt that it might do something ~~into~~ <sup>to</sup> influencing<sup>ing</sup> Western policy. In general people were not enthusiastic about the activities of emigr<sup>ant</sup> politicians, especially during the days of the Revolution. People felt that it was the fault of the emigré politicians that the West did not help. They especially blamed the Hungarian National Council because they knew some of its leaders by name.



(1a)

I believe the structure of the entire regime should be changed. Hungary needs no Communist regime in any form. Politically the changes should include political rights for everyone and decentralization of the state with a reduced bureaucracy. Economically, <sup>the stress on</sup> heavy industrialization in its present form should be discontinued since the country is without ~~sufficient~~ <sup>the needed</sup> raw materials. Agriculture and light industry should be emphasized. A Republican form of government should be established in which all democratic parties are allowed. The Communist Party and the <sup>f</sup>Far Right, including the Nazi Party, should not be permitted to function. The land-reform should be kept. Everyone should be allowed to practice his religion freely but there should be a separation of church and state. As for the nationalization of industry, industry should be organized in <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ fashion that would be the most <sup>profitable</sup> ~~economic~~ <sup>for</sup> the country. ~~Through the~~ Worker's Councils, the masses should be allowed ~~XXXXXX~~ a role in the leadership of industry. Experience should decide to what extent the Worker's Councils should have a say in the running of industry. No compensation of any sort should be paid for land or factories taken away from their previous owners. The state monopolies of trade and small industry should be discontinued. These are my own opinions as well as the general opinion of the entire country.

- (2) See question 1).
- (3) There should be complete freedom of press and speech, ~~except~~ <sup>but this should be denied to</sup> those demanding dictatorship.
- (3c) No.
- (3d) Yes, in so far as these statements involved treason, that is work for a foreign power or spying.
- (4) Yes.
- (4b) If the Government is not chosen on the basis of free and equal elections, and if it does not serve the interest of the country, but the interest of a small clique and ~~of~~ a foreign country, then those who lead the country are traitors to it. Armed revolt is justified if such is the case. Armed revolt is justified only if there is <sup>no</sup> ~~no~~ <sup>free</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>not</sup> free elections through which the people can express their will and opinions.
- (5) The country should gradually build up an economic <sup>alliance</sup> ~~alliance~~ with the neighboring countries. Within the country there should be free competition in the economy. The economy should not be a state monopoly although some central direction <sup>in</sup> ~~an~~ economic life is necessary. See also question 1).
- (6) Where heavy industry is of decisive importance to the country, <sup>these</sup> ~~these~~ should be ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ nationalized. However, in Hungary, where heavy industry serves only

political aims and is not of decisive importance, there state direction is not necessary. Heavy industry should be ~~run~~ <sup>run</sup> by Worker's Councils; ~~the solution of the~~ <sup>technical and professional</sup> leadership of the factory ~~is a technical problem.~~ <sup>should determine the type of leadership</sup> Some of the profit should be reinvested in the ~~industry,~~ <sup>industry,</sup> some should be paid out in taxes and the remaining part should be divided among the workers or returned to them by using the profits to build apartments for the workers.

(6c) Yes.

(6a) No.

(8) The form of government planning which is being practiced in Hungary is bad. For one thing, it is impossible to tell years in advance at ~~the~~ what rate the industry should grow. This can only be done in a closed economy ~~when~~ <sup>if</sup> the country does not depend on other nations for markets and raw materials. In a small country, like Hungary, foreign markets must be taken into consideration; it is these markets which must decide <sup>the</sup> structure of a small country's economy. The state should establish the guiding principles of the economy and make sure that industry is not allowed to harm the country's economic life and that the leaders of industry do not interfere in politics. The industry and politics of the country should not control each other, but should be equal and independent. On the other hand the economic

- sector of the country should help and support the state. Nor should the country make any political commitments which would harm its own economic life. For instance political ~~alliance~~<sup>alliance</sup> with the Soviet Union was to the disadvantage of Hungary economically, as well, *as politically.*
- (8d) Prices and production should be decided ~~on the basis of~~ through free competition <sup>in a</sup> ~~and the~~ free market. The state should lay down & guiding principles of the economy and should have a supervisory function so that no monopoly can be established by anyone, which could decide prices and ~~can~~ influence the political life of the state.
- (9) Yes. The state has no right to interfere in family life except if it hurts the society. For instance, if the children are juvenile delinquents, the state has the right to take them away from the parents. The state should not interfere in cultural ~~life~~ life either, although some state supervision is necessary here too. ~~Also~~ <sup>the</sup> state should support and develop cultural life if it is not yet developed. The state should also lay down the basic directives of the educational system.
- (10) Yes. The citizens have a duty towards the state, the same duty as in all normal states, such as Germany or Switzerland. The citizens should not engage in anti-state activities in the Western sense, ~~they~~ should pay taxes and

perform compulsory military service.

- (10e) The state should assure a certain amount of well being to the citizens. There should be social security, either privately or <sup>publicly</sup> ~~publicly~~ financed. It is very strange ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~fact~~, that this does not exist <sup>in the West.</sup>

- (11) To some extent the social security <sup>system</sup> has improved in Hungary. In the mass sense of the word, medical care has improved, however, partly as a result of bad relations with the West medical care and medicine in general <sup>have</sup> ~~has~~ not improved qualitatively. The supply of drugs and the quality of medical service is very poor on the whole. Hospitals are badly needed and are not being built. There is not <sup>sufficient</sup> ~~enough~~ attempts made to fight tuberculosis, ~~Not enough~~ ~~attempts are being made~~ <sup>and</sup> to raise the national health standards.

- (12) Yes, people today have more opportunity to go to the movies. There definitely was a cultural revolution in Hungary since the war; culture was made available to all. This opportunity <sup>became</sup> ~~was~~ much greater than during the past regime. This is something which the Hungarians have to keep and use in the future. There was also a cultural lag because there was no opportunity to read the works of progressive Western writers or to see Western movies which were <sup>considered</sup> ~~are~~ bourgeois. This screening out of Western cultural products also had a positive <sup>effect</sup> ~~result~~ in that it kept out a great many cheap and inferior Western cultural products.

Instead, people read foreign and Hungarian classics ~~XXI~~ more of which were published in Hungary now than ever before. A larger number of people went to the theater, movies, and to the opera than before. A much greater mass ~~received~~ <sup>became acquainted with</sup> ~~the knowledge of~~ the true cultural heritage, ~~than before~~, through classical records, museums etc.. This applies to all classes of people. There were some concepts which were generally known throughout the country by all classes and strata <sup>of</sup> society. I mean geographic concepts, the names of French writers, the works of Western artists etc.

- (13) I don't know, since I was too young before the war to be able to compare.
- (13a) From the summer of '46 the food situation was quite good until 1948. Even in 1945 there was a great deal of food in the provinces. *The next year or so was even worse;*
- (13b) People eat better today ~~and~~ than in 1950. ~~Since 1950~~ <sup>it</sup> was the last half of the plan period, and bread and lard were very difficult to get, one needed coupons and had to stand <sup>for hours</sup> in long <sup>queues</sup> ~~lines~~ to get any food. The food supply in the villages was also very insufficient in 1950 and 1951 because the delivery system was very hard on the peasants. The village store did not have bread and the peasants had to come to the city to buy it. The regime exploited the situation by telling the city population that in the villages the pigs were given bread

*giving this as the reason for the*  
to eat, ~~As a result of the~~ shortage in the towns.  
Corn was very difficult to get for the livestock and was  
very expensive. As a result it did happen sometimes that  
pigs were given bread to eat because it was cheaper than  
feed.

(14) The clothing situation is worse than before the war. In  
general the average person can afford one suit and one  
pair of shoes per year. Some items of clothing and  
materials are almost impossible to get. ~~NYLON, SILK, WOOL~~  
Nylon is very difficult to get and so is silk and wool.  
The quality of goods in Hungary is very poor and people  
take what they can get without arguing about the quality.  
*I am still amazed at the fact*  
~~It still strikes me funny~~ that here in the West the stores  
offer such a large choice of many different qualities and  
that the storekeepers are so polite.

(14a) I don't know.

(14b) In 1950, thanks to ~~planned~~ *the Plan era*, the situation was very  
bad. By 1954 the quality and choice of goods improved  
considerably and there was a further improvement in 1956.

(15) This question is answered above.

(16) Worker's Councils should be established which can include  
engineers or other members of the intelligentsia as well.  
These councils should elect the leaders and managers of  
the factory. These managers of the factories should be

responsible to the Worker's Councils. The Worker's Councils should supervise the running of a factory even if the factory is in private ~~ownership~~ <sup>hands</sup>. The Worker's Council or the private owner should pay the state for having helped to develop the factory in the past. They should also guarantee the workers their jobs and their pensions. The profits of the factory should be given to the owner who invested the capital, or to the Worker's Council, or to the foreign investors who own the factory. But the state should force the owners to return <sup>a</sup> part of the profits to the workers by building worker's housing. The state should prevent the development of a small capitalist class. A further advantage of this system would be, that it would turn the workers into a bourgeois ~~who would have~~ <sup>with</sup> a family house and garden. The workers might also invest capital in the factory by buying shares of stocks. This system would be good because the wealth would be shared by a larger number of people and would not be limited to a small class. This would be one way of developing a bourgeoisie which Hungary has always lacked, and whose lack was so fatal to her political development.

- (17) This question reminds me of a joke. Upon receiving the Communist greeting "Freedom" a peasant says "Freedom, that's what we need, and a little rain".



Collectivization was a forced and artificial movement in Hungary. The basic idea was the same as that of the old Hungarian large estate, based on large scale agriculture. This is ~~similar~~<sup>all right</sup> in Russia where farming areas are much larger than in Hungary. In Hungary the large estate had a very detrimental effect on the peasant economy. It ~~ruined~~<sup>ruining</sup> the small peasants ~~by providing~~<sup>with</sup> unfair competition, ~~to him~~. It was also detrimental to the country politically because it supported a conservative and ~~progressive~~ aristocracy which lead the country politically. The Communists continued this system of large-scale farming except they established collective farms as a framework for it. The collective farms are detrimental to the peasant, first of all because they are ineptly run and are therefore ~~ineconomic~~<sup>unprofitable</sup>. Secondly because the peasant does not like to work on land which is not his own. And thirdly because of the high taxes the peasants have to pay. There were perhaps some collective farms which were profitable on the Danubian plain but this was an exception to the rule. A possible solution for Hungarian agriculture is the establishment of intensive production ~~as a pause to~~<sup>instead of</sup> the existing system of extensive farming. Private farmers would be able to produce a more profitable crop <sup>of</sup> vegetables, grapes or fruit on smaller ~~territory~~<sup>plots of land</sup> with the investment of more labor. There was a Petöfi

circle debate about this. If the country concentrated on this type of agriculture then the small  $\frac{1}{2}$  lots of land <sup>could</sup> prove to be profitable. Individual farmers could then form Producer's Cooperatives to sell their products to the city and on foreign markets.

(17c) They should be dissolved.

(17m) The <sup>amount of</sup> land to be returned should <sup>be determined by</sup> ~~depend on~~ the type of farming for which it is being used. Larger estates should not be returned to their former owners but small and middle holders should get back their land. The upper limit on green farms, that is on farms using extensive farming, should be 100 - 200 holds. On intensively farmed land it should be lower. Those land-holders who have less than 5 holds of land should probably give up farming and find other jobs. In general the peasant who cultivates his own land should get back what was taken away from him but not the aristocracy or people who don't do their own work on the farm.

(17l) By all means. Agriculture is in such desperate <sup>straits</sup> ~~state~~ that it badly needs state support. Money is needed to <sup>establish state tractor</sup> ~~build up machine~~ stations for 3 to 4 years during which farms could be converted to intensive farming. ~~For this period there should be state tractor stations.~~ These stations could be sold later to the farmers.

(17i) Some state tractor stations, especially on the Danubian Plain where there is large scale green farming, should probably be kept. I am not quite certain about the

details and I wouldn't like to commit myself to any solution regarding this problem. In general I think there is no need for the machine tractor stations. Peasants can buy their own small machines for mowing or sprinkling. As for the larger machines, such as tractors, if they can't afford a tractor by themselves, several can get together and buy one, without the use of a tractor station.

- (18) This is an old story. I believe there should be a separation of church and state with complete religious freedom for all.
- (18c) It is difficult to say that the ~~peasants~~<sup>parishioners</sup> should support the state because they would not do it. I believe parochial schools must be allowed and they must be supported. The church should be allowed to collect taxes <sup>from</sup> ~~on~~ its parishioners but there should be no church estates. The state may help to some extent but if there is complete separation of ~~EMERN~~ church and state, which is the ideal condition, the state can not be forced to completely support the church.
- (18f) I would send my children to a school run by Jesuits. If there were no such schools, I would send them to <sup>public</sup> ~~state~~ schools.
- (18g) The church should be allowed to have a certain amount of wealth but not mammoth estates which the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church had, *in the past.*

(19) Nothing should happen to them if they were simple Party members. However, the post-revolutionary situation is somewhat different. Today the Party consists of approximately 350,000 members. 400,000 refused to return to the Party after the Revolution; many of these 400,000 were workers and peasants. If these could refuse to enter the Party, others could have done it too. There should be <sup>a</sup> ~~the secret~~ ~~examining~~ committee to determine why they entered the Party again and what they did. These people, I feel, are guilty of treason. If they had done nothing criminal, they should not receive serious punishment but if they fought on the Russian side during the Revolution, or with the AVH, or belonged to ~~a~~ <sup>the</sup> Worker's Militia, or ~~see~~ if they work for the Hungarian press today or for the secret police, they should be ~~held responsible~~ <sup>called to account</sup> for their deeds at a legal trial. This <sup>of the kind that</sup> would not be revenge but legal punishment ~~is~~ exists in every normal state.

(19b)

Nothing.

(19e)

See above.

(19f)

Nothing should happen to members of the regular police, that is if ~~that~~ they did not belong to the political police. The regular police was on the side of the Revolution.

(19h)

If they are still alive, and in the case of the leaders of the Revolution like Maleter, this is not likely, <sup>it</sup> they should naturally be left alone. These people showed

during the Revolution that they were on the right side. These people are not Communists anymore since whoever is a Communist today, serves the Soviet Union. Even those who were Communists in the past but fought on the side of the Revolution, realized that Communism is nonsense. They will not be Communists again or demand a HÁ dictatorship in Hungary.

(20)

1. The coronation of old uncle Steven and the acceptance of Christianity. With this we became a part of Europe.
2. VANDORFENÉRVÁJ in 1453 or 6. For 90 years we stopped the Turkish drive towards Europe. If we had not done this, Austria would have HÁ come under Turkish rule and Salzburg would not be ~~an~~ charming Barocktown but a dull little village.
3. 1683? The Turks were defeated at Vienna; this was the beginning of the end of Turkish rule in Europe.
4. The <sup>1848</sup> 1848 Revolution.
5. The Anschluss of 1938 which consolidated the political situation in the Danubian Valley for 50 years for good or for bad.
6. 1918. It created a tinder-box in this area.
- 7.) 1956, by making the West realize that co-existence is impossible. It had an enlightening awakening affect. Culturally Hungary contributed to Western culture by her musicians: <sup>(Liszt)</sup> ~~Haydn~~, Haydn, Goldmer, Bartok, etc. (respondent claimed that Haydn was Hungarian)

The writers *Márai, Harsányi, Molnar, Petöfi*.

Hungarian literature is difficult to reach for those not speaking Hungarian but it is ~~not the lesser~~ <sup>(no netheless)</sup> a part of Western culture. Hungarian painters and natural scientists also made contributions to Western culture.

- (21) Yes, naturally there is a Hungarian national character. It is difficult to describe it; it is European with an Eastern streak. There are certain physiological characteristics. As for the Hungarian temperament it is more passionate. Hungarians become enthusiastic more easily and get bored more easily also. Everyone thinks very highly of himself. Everyone wants to be a Lord, whereas the Germans look for a leader or Führer, Hungarians don't accept others as superior to themselves. An inherent ~~A distinct~~ Hungarian characteristic is great political adaptability; maliciously one could call it opportunism, and delicately speaking one could call it great diplomatic ability.
- Hungarians have very good taste. One must only compare the way people dress in Budapest and here in Germany. ~~To demonstrate this fact;~~ Hungarians have a great capacity for friendship but parallel with this also a great capacity for hatred. The Hungarian character is superficial, it is incapable of a realistic estimate of situations. Hungarians are unbelievably stubborn. <sup>other</sup> No East-European Nation has shown such a stubborn opposition

to the Russians as Hungarians. Hungarians like to talk a great deal. They love to work as the Hungarian peasants can demonstrate. Isn't there too much negative in what I just said, shouldn't we retouch it?!

(21e)

Yes, of course there are differences in character among Hungary's social classes. The peasantry is characterized by its conservatism. Their customs and culture are more solidified and less subject to social change than ~~in~~ the city's. When the peasant ~~adapts~~ new customs and traditions, he sifts out and adapts only that which is useful to him. His conservatism and his love for the soil are connected. He is hostile to anyone who wants to take his land from him. Because of this conservative character, the peasant is more capable of preserving national traditions than any other class.

The workers; many of the workers today come from the peasantry. Although the peasant brings his thinking to the city, he quickly melts into city life and culture. This new worker stratum does not take over the entire culture of the big city but only a small part. He does not accept Bartok but Rock-and-Roll etc. There is a much greater feeling of solidarity among the workers than among the peasants. The workers are stiff to some extent and not as adaptable as some of the other classes.

The middleclass: The middleclass is the most insecure because its ~~existence~~ has no solid material basis.

Some of the intelligentsia have no profession<sup>l</sup> or technical knowledge. As a result they depend more on their office jobs than a worker who has technical knowledge and therefore can always look for a job somewhere else. The middle-class is more <sup>politically</sup> adaptable and more opportunistic because it is less secure. ~~It understands and adapts certain political ideas more easily than the other classes.~~ The middle-class has the highest cultural level but its culture is very superficial.

(22)

None could be called the best government, although some were fairly good. The Bethlen government was more decent than some. Those politicians and statesmen who stayed outside the government were always better and more sensible. When they became the government, they turned worse. Teleki was a great statesman and person but I do not think his government was very good. One could also mention Tisza as a great statesman. Nor should one leave out the government of Imre Nagy.

(22e)

The 1918 Revolution was a very difficult situation. Doubtless the Habsburg monarchy was ripe for <sup>a</sup> fall. It is unfortunate that we ~~were the last~~ <sup>supported it to the last.</sup> ~~she supported it.~~ It would have fallen without us too. Karolyi's bourgeois revolution had realistic aims, it wanted to solve some basic problems Hungary has faced since <sup>1848</sup> ~~1918~~, that is the <sup>nationality</sup> national problem and the problem of land reform.



- However, it was too late by then to solve the nationality problem. Karolyi offered cultural ~~HEAVENLY~~ <sup>autonomy at</sup> a time when the nationalities were satisfied with nothing less than national autonomy.
- (22a) Communism is Hungary's 20th Century tragedy. Communism stopped Hungary from developing into a democratic state three times; in 1919, in 1947/48 and in 1956. The so-called white terror was right in destroying Communism. It is understandable that it fought not only against Communism but that it was a reaction also ~~against~~ <sup>to</sup> that which came before it, that is ~~against~~ <sup>to</sup> the bourgeoisie Revolution of Karolyi. The Horthy regime ~~said~~ <sup>claimed</sup> that this was the cause of Communism. The fact that the Communists were able to take power in 1919 was due to Karolyi's stupidity. It was Karolyi's personal fault and not the fault of the 1918 Revolution.
- (22f) There was a great deal of social and economic inequality before 1945.
- (22i) Since 1945 Hungary has been an occupied country. In spite of the Russian pressure, however, Democratic forces attempted to go in a Democratic direction between 1945 and 1948. These Democratic forces fell apart and became powerless. But during that time much happened that was necessary and good for Hungary. There were revolutionary changes: The republic was established, the land-reform, the establishment of social and cultural equality. There were genuine attempts to create a democratic state, which were ~~wiped~~ <sup>knocked</sup> in the ~~ground~~ <sup>back</sup> by the Communists.

(23)

Hungary suffered an injustice in 1920 and in 1945 because ~~in~~ both times the succession states got many millions of Hungarians, as a result of the peace treaties. Between the two World Wars the succession states were extremely ~~chauvinistic~~ <sup>chauvinistic</sup> and oppressed the Hungarian minorities. The Horthy regime was right in saying therefore that Hungary had suffered a serious injustice. But it was not right in claiming the thousand year old borders with large minorities of ~~Slovak~~ <sup>Slovak</sup> and other peoples. Horthy's entire policy was built on this, <sup>inaccessible</sup> neglecting internal reform. This was wrong. The result of this policy was <sup>threshold</sup> that when Hungary was on the/of war, she had to pay a very high price for receiving Hungarian territories from the Germans. The price ~~for crossing the war~~ was the death of thousands of Hungarians. ~~This was very bad,~~ <sup>on the Russian front</sup>

The injustice of Trianon was repeated in 1945/46.

Between 1938 and 41, after the return of some Hungarian territories, the country did not fulfil its promise with respect to the good treatment of national minorities.

In Slovakia, for instance, even the Hungarians were treated badly. The atrocities in Novi Sad were shocking. The policy of sending stupid administrators to these areas was incorrect.

In spite of this, and in spite of the fact that Hungary lost the war the boundary settlement of 1945 was an injustice. After 1945 these problems should have been

settled Democratically and justly. This was not done.

6(23d) No.

(24) There should be a closer political and economic tie with the neighboring countries. There should be some sort of federation but first the nationality problem should be settled by giving ~~them~~ equal rights to all nationalities. All those areas which are inhabited by a majority of Hungarians, should be returned to Hungary. This should be done in agreement with the neighboring countries and not in opposition to them.

(25) The Russians are a pitiable poverty-stricken people who have always lived under some type of dictatorship. The majority ~~of them have been~~ <sup>was always consisted of</sup> miserable slaves, with a small upper class. The Russian minorities are and have been badly treated. These minorities demand to be independent. Russia can ~~only~~ <sup>safely</sup> be called a slave-holding state. The Russians <sup>nation has</sup> have a great culture and a terrible regime. However, the people as a whole, because of their suppression by the regime, have a very low level of culture and hence have very little ~~to do~~ <sup>in common</sup> with European culture. Although today's regime raised the cultural level of the Russian people, Stalin's regime was the successor of Peter the Great's state. They were both <sup>imp</sup> materialistic dictatorships. ~~Except~~ <sup>With</sup> some exceptions, the Russian people are more distant from Europe than the East-European Slavs

such as the Bulgarians and the Poles.

- (26) In its own age, in the middle of the 19th Century, Marxism was a vital force because it <sup>provided</sup> gave a just criticism <sup>of</sup> the society of its time. Marxism was wrong in its principle, it was mistaken and it was impossible to carry out; subsequently it branched out in two directions. The European direction exemplified by the Social Democrats, ~~was~~ is chiefly scholarly and scientific in character. It is not particularly good or relevant but its criticism of capitalist <sup>is</sup> ~~society is alright~~ <sup>Satisfactory</sup>. The Eastern branch, the Stalinist branch of Marxism has proved to be a complete failure. Marxism was formulated to answer the needs of a typical capitalist, <sup>industrialized</sup> ~~industrialist~~ country. That's why it failed in Russia.

- (26c) Lenin was a great Marxist theoretician. He made Marxism possible in Russia. Lenin was chiefly a politician but he was also a thinker. Lenin started from the Marxist basis and creatively changed it in his own spirit.

- (26d) Stalin was a dictator and an ~~IMPERIALIST~~ intriguer not so much a theoretician. If he was a theoretician at all, he was a dogmatic one. He decided to change life according to a set of Marxist dogmas which he distorted and misunderstood. He chiefly used the Marxist dogmas to build up his own power.

- (26f) There is only one Hungarian Marxist; George Lukács.

~~The rest are not scholars but politicians, Leninists~~

Stalinists instead of Marxists.

- (26g) I know little about the Hungarian Social Democrats. I think they are probably better Marxists than the Communists.
- (26h) It is probably possible to be both, a Marxist and a Democrat. A Marxist theoretician and scholar can still be a democratic citizen. But a Communist Party politician can not be a Democrat, he must ~~have~~ support of dictatorship by definition.
- (26i) There never was pure Democracy in Hungary in the Western sense. There were many periods, however, when Hungary ~~enjoyed~~ enjoyed some Democratic civil rights, and when in spite of the bad government, many Democratic concepts were in circulation. For instance, the Horthy regime allowed many freedoms until 1937/38. Although the Communist Party was illegal, the village explorers and opposition journalists were allowed to write. The post 1876 government also provided a great many civil rights.
- (26j) A Democrat opposes all types of dictatorship and respects and defends all human and civil rights.
- (26e) Tito is not really a theoretician but a statesman. I don't know how orthodox his Marxism is, he probably is not really a Marxist, though Yugoslavia is closer to Marxist principles than the Soviet Union. The Yugoslavs have a number of good theoreticians, such as Kardelj. Tito is a national hero, because he fought against fascism. He is ~~a~~ <sup>the</sup> Communist chief of a non-

Democratic Yugoslavia. He did two good things: He fought against foreign influence in Yugoslavia and he allowed more freedoms than any of the other Communist states.

- (27) National Communism, if such a thing exists, is a social system based on Marxist principles, but coupled with national independence and an unwillingness to follow the Moscow line. The existence of Communism involves a logical somersault. Marx claimed that the basis of any society ~~is~~<sup>was</sup> determined by its economic set up and that the super-structure based on this was the cultural administrative and political organization of the state. He claimed that a new society came to be when the economic sub-structure was drastically changed and with it there was a need for a new superstructure. Thus, as the feudal economic basis of ~~the~~ society disintegrated, the seeds of capitalism began to sprout both ~~in~~<sup>through</sup> revolution and through peaceful development. This, however, is not so true of Communism. This is the logical somersault. In Communism ~~the~~<sup>the</sup> super-structure came first and gave birth to the economic base. The October Revolution created a dictatorship without the suitable economic basis. It was the dictatorship with its secret police and other organs of suppression which altered the economic system to suit the dogma. According to Marx, the people must become conscious of the fact that the old regime was wrong. This does not

exist under Communism. Under a Communist regime only a small percentage of the people is convinced that the new Socialist system is higher ~~than~~ than the former regime or than any other regime. Thus this minority even in Yugoslavia forces its own will on the majority. This is not national Communism, ~~but~~ <sup>it is</sup> national Communism only if the majority of the people are convinced of the correctness of Communism. There is no such country in the world today. Thus the Communist system can only be called National if it rests on the will of the people. Yugoslavia is unusual because in the fight for national liberation during the last World War the Communists were in the majority. But in spite of Tito's stature as a leader of this struggle, the Yugoslav Communists do not have the political backing of the Yugoslav people. The Yugoslavs, however, are different from the other Communist states because they have achieved some independence from Moscow and because they were able to adjust the regime to the economic <sup>circumstances</sup> ~~situation~~ of the country. This consideration for the national characteristics of the country ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup> not national Communism. This name is wrong. It would be National only if the Yugoslav people were convinced that this was the correct political and social system for them. It would be ~~a~~ national Communism only if it were established on the basis of free elections.

(27a) This is a very difficult problem. There undoubtedly were some National Communists <sup>among</sup> ~~in~~ the participants of the October Revolution. It is difficult to tell whether they really meant ~~the~~ what they said about National Communism or whether they used these ~~simple~~ slogans only to get free elections. During the summer and fall of 1956 there was ~~such~~ a feeling about ~~National Communism~~ that the existing regime would only be opposed ~~in this~~ ~~form~~, by demanding National Communism. At the time it was the best weapon against the regime; <sup>but</sup> it was ~~merely~~ merely a tactical weapon. ~~Yes~~. There was only a small number of those who were truly believers in National Communism. There were a few among the leaders ~~among~~ <sup>of</sup> the Pesti circle, a few around Imre Nagy. These went beyond the concept of nationalism in the ~~wide~~ <sup>Titoist</sup> sense, since they were also against dictatorship. In Hungary this sincere National Communism had no basis because Communism was forced on the Hungarian people and there was no gradual development during which a Communist ideological elite could have been trained. National Communism is taken too seriously in the West. It is a good slogan, nothing more.

(27b) Gomulka is a Communist.

(27c) It is impossible to be a Communist and a Hungarian patriot. Communism today means serving Moscow.



question: What about Imre Nagy, isn't he a patriot as well as a Communist?

Answer: Imre Nagy chose between Communism and patriotism when he made his neutrality declaration.

- (28) It is difficult to say. The November government was fairly realistic except for <sup>K</sup>adar. In the free elections, of course, the Communist Party would be beaten. Imre Nagy would have remained popular and would have remained the leader of the country as president or as head of the cabinet. The country would not have turned reactionary or fascist.
- (29a) It depends on the definition. If we mean the Western sense, involving social justice etc. then it is good. In the Eastern Communist sense, socialism is bad.
- (29b) bad.
- (29c) Nonsense and stupidity. Class struggle is an artificial theory. There is such a thing as social inequality but not class struggle.
- (29d) Bad. It is a Russian propaganda concept.
- (29e) Bad.
- (29f) Capitalism as a form of social and economic development is a necessary thing as such but its faults are bad.
- (29g) Bourgeoisie is good, middle-class is bad. (Interviewer's note; by middle-class ~~mean~~ respondent means the historic Hungarian middle-class and intelligentsia which was never a productive bourgeoisie in the Western sense).

- (29h) Kulak, it is a bad concept.
- (29i) He is a sensible writer; a good writer.
- (29j) He was an intelligent man. ~~He was as a concept~~ <sup>But:</sup> bad because he also served this thing.
- (29k) Masaryk was a good scholar but as a politician and especially ~~with his attitude~~ <sup>in his attitude</sup> to Hungary he was bad.
- (29l) Bad.
- (29m) Good.
- (29n) Good, although I do not agree 100 per cent with his stand. What he did was right. He showed stiff opposition to Communism and therefore I admire him. His stand was truly heroic.

Question: What do you think about Mindszenty's speech during the Revolution? What do you think about his stand as compared to Cardinal Viszinsky's in Poland?

Answer: Viszinsky was in an entirely different position and therefore can not compare the two stands at all. Viszinsky did not have to cope with the October situation and the Revolution. He had a peaceful situation in which he could navigate. Mindszenty was not informed about Viszinsky's stand. In his speech the foreign policy part was correct; about the only <sup>thing</sup> that one could criticize ~~was what~~ <sup>was what</sup> he did not say about church, wealth, and schools. (~~When interviewer suggested that the church found on voluntary martyrs, who were guilty of the sin of pride, respondent flushed angrily and denied that Mindszenty could be placed in this category.~~)

- (30) The small-holders.
- (30a) Imre Nagy. Possibly Bela Kovacs. Perhaps Anna Kethly.  
Who knows?
- (31a) Less.
- (31b) Less.
- (31c) Less.
- (31d) They did not get anything, ~~they destroyed~~. They were  
persecuted.
- (31e) Less.
- (31f) Less.
- (31g) Perhaps one part of them got more.
- (31h) Less.
- (31i) Less.
- (32) <sup>about:</sup> One can't generalize the workers. Some of them were  
better off before 1948, the rest were worse off.  
The small-holders were better off before 1948, the  
government employees were better off before & 1948  
except Party functionaries whose condition has improved since  
then. Party members, in general, were worse off before  
1948. Artisans were better off before 1948.
- (33a) They coincide.
- (33b) They coincide.
- (33c) They coincide on the whole.
- (33d) They coincide though it is difficult to say.

- (33g) There wasn't much contact between them so it is difficult to say.
- (33h) There wasn't much contact but their interests definitely did not coincide.
- (33i) Conflict
- (33j) Conflict.
- (34) I had no fear about the United States, I never saw any danger in America.
- (35) Those who defended the regime during the Revolution, the AVH, the Party secretaries and the other scum would fight on the side of the present regime.
- (36) My opinions of the West and my ideas about economic concepts have changed to some extent as a result of living in Germany.

(1a)

Generally the interview was very good and interesting. Some of it is too crude such as the question about Chiang Kai-shek. It is a little bit like a newspaper interview. It's too obvious.

(2a)

I like to go back, if I ~~can~~ could.

Appendix.

Description of Petöfi Circle Meeting at which Respondent was Present.

In 1953 or 1954 the Kossuth club was ~~xxxx~~ established by the Party to help restore the trust of the intelligencia in the Party and especially to support the technical intelligencia. The Kossuth club had no political significance; it discussed narrow technical problems and enabled the young Party intelligencia to play cards and see movies among very pleasant surroundings. It was a sort of <sup>sc</sup> ~~sc~~ to the Party intelligencia. The Petöfi circle was founded as a debating club for the members of the Kossuth club. It had no political <sup>significance</sup> ~~meaning~~ at first. The top age was to be 30. ~~It had there no political meaning at first.~~ The Petöfi circle's significance rose after the 20th Party congress when freer debate was allowed. At this period it was still used by the Party <sup>in its attempt</sup> ~~as a peel~~ to win the young intelligencia for the Party's aims. At the same time the <sup>insive</sup> ~~insive~~ Party opposition among the young intellectuals attempted to use the Petöfi circle as a platform for themselves. The Petöfi circle was under the <sup>Budapest DZ</sup> ~~bureaucracy~~ committee's propaganda department, which <sup>made</sup> ~~was~~ Gabor Tanczos the secretary of the Petöfi circle. Tanczos finished the university in Budapest in the early fifties. He belonged to the leftist Communists who were very loyal to the Party line. He was a Marxist <sup>assistant</sup> ~~assistant~~ professor <sup>(Tanarseged)</sup> ~~(Tanarseged)~~. He was ideologically a Stalinist at first and gradually moved to the right by

the time he ~~was~~ <sup>became</sup> secretary of the Petöfi circle. The first significant debate of the Petöfi circle took place in March 1956. It was the historians debate. It lasted about two days. There were about 300 people present at the first meeting and about 400 at the second. I was present at both meetings. In the spirit of the <sup>Party</sup> 20th congress which allowed free debate, the speakers who were mostly historians from the university started in with a critical spirit. They attacked Stalinist historical concepts and those Hungarians who represented these concepts in Hungary such as Erszebet Andics. Andics was extremely angry her face was a sight <sup>to be seen.</sup> ~~to be seen.~~ The atmosphere of this meeting was extremely <sup>C</sup> excited and heated. It took place in a fairly small room with a smaller side room also full of people who listened to the meeting through loud speakers. The meeting went until late at night. The chief ~~subject~~ <sup>object</sup> of attack was the Stalinist direction of historical writing. It became obvious that Hungarian historical writing after 1945, and especially the work done under the Communist regime, was worth less than nothing. Scholars and professors admitted and attacked the fact that Hungarian historical writing under the Communist regime was unpopular, because it lied, and because it attempted to follow the current political line. A 25 or 26 year old instructor of history George Litvan talked about the teaching of history. He said ~~xxx~~ that

that the irresponsible and extreme praise of the Soviet Union had the effect of developing a strong feeling of Hungarian patriotism in the students, and constant attacks on the West had the ~~effect~~ <sup>effect</sup> of developing ~~adoration of~~ <sup>adoration of</sup> the West among the students. The same Litvan was the first ~~one~~ <sup>to</sup> demand that Rakosi resign at the 13th district party meeting in Budapest.

Perence Santa a writer discussed Attila Jozsef. Santa stated that Jozsef was a good Magyar ~~and~~ <sup>whom</sup> to ~~the~~ Communism meant a rise in the cultural and economic standards of the country and the Hungarian people. He added that Jozsef was expelled from the Party by those who were not Hungarians but servants ~~of~~ of the Soviet Union who did not represent Hungarian interests. The audience was very pleased by this speech. The significance of the Attila Jozsef issue was that it represented a strong attack on the ideological wing of the party, on Marton Horvath, <sup>that is</sup> ~~There was a~~ <sup>There was a</sup> demand that Bajcsy Zsilinszky ~~and~~ be rehabilitated as a Hungarian hero, because he was a great man and a great Magyar. There was great approval of this demand on the part of the audience. The significance of this issue was that it celebrated a real resistance hero and thus could be taken as an attack on the fictitious party heroes of the underground. The first or second day Andics attacked the speakers who said that recent Hungarian historical writing was worthless. She said that there had been mistakes but that historians



had made a solid contribution to Hungarian history. She pointed to her own works as part of this contribution. The result was that people laughed at her. Somebody answered her by saying, that comrade Andics is using outmoded debating methods. We have outgrown such methods. One can't argue this way on a public platform any longer. Some other subjects ~~discussed~~ discussed were: The ~~role~~<sup>role</sup> of the Soviet Union in world war 2; the ~~statement~~ statement was made that the Soviet Union didn't beat Japan in 2 weeks single handed. This was a further attempt to stop ~~denigrating~~<sup>denigrating</sup> and underrating the West. 2.) The question was raised why the 17th and 18th century imperialistic ~~strivings~~<sup>strivings</sup> of Russia must be regarded as morally correct. 3.) There was a demand for the rehabilitation of the older historians such as Kosary.

It was around this time that the Petöfi circle began to be a symbol among intellectuals.

I was not present at the next meeting which was the economist's debate about 3 weeks later. It had great significance because it ~~was~~ criticized the Party's economic basis especially with regard to theoretical problems. This was a 2 day debate. Magyar Nemzet carried a good report on it.

Meanwhile ~~the anti-~~<sup>the anti-</sup>Rakosi opposition in the Party was becoming stronger. The Rakosi ~~fraction~~<sup>fraction</sup> attempted to disarm and ~~win~~<sup>win</sup> to its own side the most significant

personalities of the opposition. There was also an attempt to ~~then over~~ <sup>get hold of</sup> the Patöfi circle, to neutralize its important opposition ~~role~~ <sup>role</sup>. This ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup> how the George Lukacs debate came about. Lukacs had no ~~roll~~ <sup>role</sup> in the setting up ~~of~~ the Patöfi circle. He and his followers were popular in ~~the~~ Marxist intellectual circles. They belonged to the anti-Rakosi opposition, and were ideologically to the left of Imre Nagy. The Party realized the importance of the opposition presented by Lukacs and his ideological group and tried to win him over. The people around Lukacs were not known names but chiefly instructors at the university under him. They were all "echte partemberek". Hence to ~~subvert~~ disarm Lukacs a philosophy debate was organized in the ~~Patöfi circle~~ <sup>Patöfi circle</sup> at which Elemér Balogh, professor at the Party academy (partföiskola), the Party's representative at the meeting, rehabilitated Lukacs but also managed to oppose him. At the same time the Patöfi circle wanted to use this debate to prove the emptiness of Marxist philosophy. ~~There~~ There were many there ~~among the speakers~~ who were not interested in philosophy but were present simply to attack the Party. A Party ~~man~~ <sup>hack</sup> attacked Lukacs, saying that he was responsible for the fact that a personal cult was being built up around him. Lukacs got ~~up~~ <sup>up</sup>, he is a thin little man, and said: "tell me please, do you think it is in my power

either to encourage or to prevent this? ) There was enormous laughter.

There were about 1200 people in the hall and 800 in a separate room <sup>s</sup> listening <sup>over</sup> the loud speaker. People were sitting on steps. The crowd was restless, there were shouts and interruptions and and the Party representatives were hissed. One of the Party representatives said that he was sorry about the personal cult around Rakosi since---- at that point there was a shout from the audience, "that's because the power is in your hands".

Istvan Meszaros attacked the Party ideology, Lukacs was at the <sup>height</sup> of his popularity that day. After Rakosi's fall it looked as though ~~they~~ he were satisfied with the status quo and therefore he lost his popularity but <sup>at this meeting</sup> he was tremendously popular because he happened to agree with the masses about Rakosi. He <sup>managed</sup> to condemn Rakosi without mentioning Rakosi's name. He said that he who today <sup>claims</sup> that he is ~~an~~ Stalinist speaks <sup>with</sup> the voice of the enemy. ~~La~~ Loud applause. He said that today scholars are produced <sup>at</sup> an assembly line and that there is a counter selection meaning that the more stupid a student is the further he will get. He added that the Hungarian Party's prestige was extremely <sup>low</sup> ~~poor~~ abroad even in the peoples democracies. He said that one speech of one man can't change anything. He was probably referring to Rakosi's speech. Thus Lukacs <sup>was aware,</sup> rally ~~realized~~ and criticized the ideological failure of the Hungarian Communist Party.

Szabad Nep gave a false and incorrect account of this debate. Irodalmi Ujsag and Magyar Nemzet protested against this false account. With this debate the Petöfi Circle became very popular. Intellectuals from Budapest heard about this and became interested.

I wasn't present at the next two debates, at the one where Mrs. Rajk talked and the press debate.

Mrs. Rajk addressed Hungarian youth at one of the debates and said that youth should not allow the horrible things which happened to her husband and others, to happen again. That youth should prevent the criminals who were responsible for these deeds to have so much power in the future. This was the first time that anyone made such a call to youth. Mrs. Rajk, by the way, was obviously hysterical and somewhat unbalanced. I saw her at the Rajk funeral and it was obvious that she was not quite normal.

There was always such an overcharged atmosphere at the Petöfi Circle meetings. Imagine 2,000 people full of hatred. They get hot, they perspire, they abuse the regime. Idiots defend the regime, the audience gets angry etc.

I did not go to the press debate because this was during the exam period.

After the press debate the Party ~~announced~~ <sup>passed</sup> a resolution against the Petöfi Circle. Meanwhile some debating

circles were organized in the provinces but they did not get around to hold ~~any~~ debates yet. The provincial functionaries persecuted the Petöfi circle saying "Well, this too is a reactionary organization". Szabad Nep first praised the Petöfi Circle and later condemned it. Meanwhile we had summer vacation. In September the meetings began again. The summer decree against the Petöfi Circle aroused the interest of people who have not heard of it before. In the Fall 800 people asked for membership, while one protested and left. In the fall it was the university students who showed the greatest interest. Until then the ones, mostly interested were the anti-Rakosi leaders. Meanwhile the leftist of the Petöfi circle decreased ~~gradually~~ gradually and by the fall the youth became stronger. Leftist Party members were pushed into the background

At the end these leftists almost disappeared. Among the opposition leaders, Imre Nagy was interested in Petöfi Circle and National Communists were represented in it, although in all of Hungary there are probably not more than a few hundred National Communists. It was practically useful that it ~~was~~ <sup>should be</sup> these loyal and convinced <sup>to</sup> ~~provincial~~ Communists ~~who~~ started the ferment.

In general one could say that Petöfi Circle was organized by the regime to be exploited and to serve its own aims. It soon appeared that Petöfi circle ~~was~~ <sup>would</sup> turn into a

serious debating forum. Although anti-Rakosi Party leaders sympathized with it, for example <sup>Kallai</sup> Karolyi, they were not its real leaders. The leaders were young Communist intellectuals who turned against the Party in 1950/51/52 and who were close to Nagy. They were people like <sup>Tanczos</sup> Tanczos, old <sup>Nékos</sup> Nékos members, <sup>"leftist populist types,"</sup> "leftist" who demanded new people's <sup>collegia</sup> ~~collegiums~~. The listeners, the audience played an important role in radicalizing the Petöfi Circle debates. This <sup>influenced</sup> ~~informed~~ the leaders who wanted a flexible, serious debating platform which would help correct the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ country's problems. As of September, youth was the majority of the audience, which had a great mass effect in radicalizing the debates. As for the writers they attended the Petöfi circle meetings and they talked at the press debate. I cannot agree however, that Hay was one of the leaders of the Petöfi circle. The opposition press and Petöfi Circle had a strong reciprocal affect on each other. A large public heard about the Petöfi Circle because the writers wrote about it. As for the role of Imre Nagy he certainly did not direct, was not a leader of the Petöfi Circle but he knew what was going on. Some of the leaders of the Petöfi Circle were close to Nagy. It is difficult to know how far Nagy influenced them. Petöfi Circle was one of the first places which demanded Nagy's rehabilitation.

In the fall the leaders were still the ~~merely~~ <sup>young</sup> ~~young~~ <sup>pink</sup> intellectuals, but even the leaders began to think of National Communism as merely a tactical solution. By the fall you could do everything at Petöfi Circle except praise the regime. From the fall on Petöfi circle was the strongest anti-regime forum in the country. That Rakosi did not take stronger measures against Petöfi Circle before his fall was partly due to the fact that there was too great an opposition to stronger measures within higher Party Circles and partly to ~~Sutov's~~ visit. It was this visit which saved ~~Dery~~ <sup>Dery</sup> from imprisonment and merely got him expelled <sup>from the Party</sup> for the press debate.

The first fall meeting of the Petöfi Circle was the *Né Kossz* debate. It looked at this debate that the tone of the circle was becoming somewhat duller and that it now dealt with less important questions. This was the first disillusionment. The ~~XXXXX~~ toning down was due to the Party resolution against the Circle which still existed, and also ~~because~~ <sup>because</sup> there was <sup>to</sup> pressure from above to be more cautious. ~~XX-A-~~ <sup>The *Né Kossz*</sup> ~~A~~ debate started as a movement to rehabilitate the former leaders of the people's colleges <sup>2</sup> who were imprisoned in 1949. It was stated that *Né Kossz* had made mistakes, but essentially it provided a good Communist education. However, the debate went further than the leaders counted on. Somebody go up

and asked why new people's collegi<sup>a</sup>ums were needed when the general schooling in Hungary was on a frightingly low level. It was suggested that a sociological research group should be formed in order to examine the terrible poverty of the Budapest worker's districts. It was decided to establish a people's collegium, <sup>named</sup> ~~called~~ <sup>after</sup> Laszlo Rajk. There was thunderous applause at this suggestion. It was not as though Rajk had been popular anywhere except perhaps in the Party but he had become a symbol <sup>as a victim</sup> of Stalinist methods, and therefore taken up by the masses. The name of Rajk was a sharp and dangerous weapon in the hands of the regime, <sup>a</sup> The weapon which back-fired.

The debate on technical development was not very interesting. The debate on a garden Hungary, based on Gabor Pap's article, was interesting. I was not present at this. It discussed the agricultural problems of Hungary and suggested that Hungary must <sup>introduce</sup> ~~have~~ intensive agriculture. The debate proved that the collective farm system did not pay.

The education debate lasted two days and discussed the problems of Hungarian education. I was present at this meeting. This debate gave some interesting ~~details~~ details about Hungarian education. The Communist professors at the University were held responsible for the use of Stalinist pedagogic methods. It must have been extremely unpleasant and painful for them to practice self-



criticism before <sup>a hostile</sup> audience of 1200 people. Someone suggested sarcastically to one of the professors that it would be much better if he resigned from his post before making his selfcriticism. ~~Somebody got up and started to praise Rakosi, he got confused and embarrassed at~~ ~~of insults and shouts from the audience. It~~ ~~must have been extremely unpleasant.~~ At the first education debate, George Litván, who was extremely popular by then, made a very strong attack on Rakosi. He said that Rakosi thought, until 1950/51 that Hungarian youth could be used as cannon fodder. DISZ was organized to train youth for such a purpose. Then when young people were unwilling to go along, youth was attacked as cosmopolitan and cynical. He quoted Rakosi's statement at a 1955 meeting of Party activists. Rakosi said at this meeting that ~~the percentage~~ <sup>the</sup> percentage of peasant youth had to be reduced at the university because they had a detrimental effect on the rest of the students. He also quoted a comment which Rakosi made in 1955 at a closed meeting to the effect that Yugoslavia should keep quiet because Hungary had arms which could destroy Trieste or Belgrad from the territory of Hungary. Rakosi had claimed that Hungary could wipe Yugoslavia off the map. Litván spiced his speech with sarcastic comments; ~~to a mass of people which~~ <sup>the audience</sup> was extremely susceptible to this sort of talk.

Interviewer's comment on respondent.

Respondent was an extremely intelligent, <sup>well-informed,</sup> extremely articulate very well educated young man. He was a trifle arrogant and <sup>swifty</sup> at first and was very conscious of the fact that he was making a statement, <sup>disclaiming</sup> ~~declaring himself~~, to an American <sup>Organization.</sup> I think he had a feeling that his words would go down into posterity or at least influence American policy. I tried to discourage this sort of self-consciousness. He warmed up in the course of the interview, however, and became much more casual and human. He is obviously of above average intelligence <sup>though he</sup> and <sup>conventionally,</sup> <sup>and</sup> thinks fairly ~~independently~~ <sup>though,</sup> some stereo types can be noted in his thinking. His training in history is excellent, partly as a result of independent reading of works which were <sup>banned</sup> ~~not allowed~~ by the regime. He claims that his excellent memory was developed by the examination system at the university which demanded almost <sup>spewing back</sup> verbatim <sup>A</sup> of prepared material. ~~Almost all questions~~ He was rather reluctant to discuss his family, ~~remarkable young man would that be that the American~~ and personal matters, apparently feeling it was none of our ~~graduate student of history were of his calibre,~~ business; ~~I thought it best not to insist~~ He is somewhat enamored with the sound of his own voice. A friend of his told me that respondent had rather shamefacedly admitted that during the war he sympathized with the Germans. He is ~~is~~ although he didn't admit this of Swabian (Swab) origin. I believe his attempts to whitewash, or petrify ~~is~~ ~~is~~ (see questions on anti-semitism) may be due to the fact that he was conscious of our being an American organization.