

- (1) Ultimately the whole thing begins with Imre Nagy in 1953 when a new communist period tried to come to the fore. From 1948 to 1953 there was a strong terror. Then in 1953 more freedoms were allowed. The peasants were taxed less. Imre Nagy wiped heavy taxes away for many peasants. Then the intellectual group had a certain amount of "freedom". The old Hungarian operettas, The Tragedy of Mai, Ag ember tragédiája, the classical Hungarian drama, was presented in 1953. Then 1956 summer the Petöfi circle began to debate extensively and no one knew what would be coming or what was in the air. Then the Hetfői Hírlap was started and four issues printed. Here the Gomulka speech was printed containing the kind of agreements Gomulka made with the Soviet. It was eyeopening and surprising to see such news being printed. The Hajnocy circle was formed at the university law school. The debates that went on in the Petöfi circle were carried on in the Hajnocy circle about demands changes in the educational system. Thus the Gomulka speech as reported to the people gave and furnished to the students a certain amount of "ammunition". They started the Polish sympathy demonstrations. As to who organized them this no one knows, but it was not the writer's circle although they supported the demonstration. No one was prepared for a shooting revolution at noon on the 23rd. Harc a Stalinizmus ellen, fight against stalinism. For the slogan that in reality was accepted by the government and later the slogan "ruski go home" Russians go home rather was adopted.

- (2) It was an intellectual revolution. Already in 1955 little breezes could be felt. There was something in the air, everyone felt it. It was felt even more in 1956. No one thought of a revolution. It was impossible. A revolution could not be organized as such.
- (2a) Yes.
- (2b) Out of many small things resulted the Revolution. The people being squeezed out of politics, but nothing was certain. The youth did not have any future before them. The fact that wages and pay were so little, that there was no family life. So ~~FRESH~~ often both parents had to work to earn enough money and frequently the family was scattered. The fact that the youth could not even strive to own his own little house with furniture because he did not earn enough and ~~always~~ that always such people who did not understand or who were not skilled were the leaders. Imre Nagy let go a great many back-taxes for the peasants who held 10 or 20 hold, not to talk of the fact that these peasants could not have paid these enormous back-taxes anyway. However, his program was reversed in the party by Rakosi.
- (2bi) No.
- (2biii) No.
- (2biv) One of the main reasons for the beginning of the revolution.
- (2bv) We did not know exactly what happened at Poznan. There was a debate in the Petöfi circle which, when Poznan occurred, was stopped. We heard only from the western radios a little about Poznan.

- (2bvi) The demotion of Rakosi, the consequences of the 20th Congress very definitely.
- (2bvii) The Rajk funeral definitely. One of the signs pointing to the feelings of the people, for here they <sup>came out</sup> ~~came out~~ in such large numbers merely to demonstrate against the regime. They were not in favor of Rajk at all.
- (2bviii) The fact that Gomulka came to power was of extraordinary importance in Hungary. Yes it carried the greatest of weight.
- (2c) After the night of October 23rd everyone knew this was the turning point. Something new must follow.
- (2d) Without a doubt what these changes meant and how they would develop we did not know. The demotion of Rakosi, the mass rehabilitation of political prisoners, rehabilitation for example of reformed church ministers, all this was not publicized in the papers but here and there one would meet a man whom he had not seen for a long time for he had been in prison.
- (2e) They played a large role. They spoke for the people against the terror and the restriction of the intellect. Men can not write as dictated, writers and artists not be restricted.
- (2f) Tremendous changes. The Béke és Szabadság which contained a picture report about Vienna and also Tamás Aczél in an article asked why don't they let us go to Vienna to compare what is there with ours. The Szabad Nép also changed and so did the Szabad Ifjúság. In the summer of 1956 people began to read the newspapers. Previously they did not read the newspapers. We were forced to attend one half hour

sessions from the Szabad Nép at the university or <sup>others</sup> at their work. ~~As we remember~~ before classes started, someone read an article from the newspaper to us.

(2g) In the Hírösli Hírlap in which the editorial, Tiszta Lap, demanded the start of a new political life, an accounting for the old. The Rajk issue brought out the life of Rajk ~~XXXX~~ <sup>which</sup> made pointed accusations. Then the whole Parkas issue. This occurred in September revolving around Mihály Parkas and his son Vladimir. In September the secretary of our university DISZ said that if Mihály Parkas and his son Vladimir were not given an open trial we will go to the streets. This a year earlier would have been unheard of as a proposition. Imre Nagy became popular and in a sense a kind of a cult grew around him. In September I heard at the Petöfi circle a debate about education in the middle school and in the elementary school. There they confessed the bankruptcy of our education. The country schools had been accepted as equal to the city schools which was completely false. They showed how the history books had been falsified and also the Petöfi circle said that the DISZ secretaries and the party secretaries should not interfere with education.

(3) Let us start this way. No one thought of a revolution. It was a spontaneous revolution. Many smaller things and many big things converged to bring about this. Not knowing of western literature, being shut off intellectually, the deportations and the arrests, the dictatorship and the Gomulka event.

- (3a) It is very hard to say, I can't say. It was a development. At noon no one thought of a revolution.
- (3b) The fact that no one was a communist but so many were forced into being members of the party or following the line. There was an elite AVH but the blue AVH were drafted men. They were drafted for military service and had to serve the AVH. Two kulak boys who were neighbors of ours were not allowed to go to the university but were drafted to the AVH. I also was a kulak but was allowed to go to the university. Such men made up the AVH or part of it. The elite AVH had been formed in many cases from the lower or lowest stratus of society. They were taken to the AVH school. Those people who did not have anything before and uneducated were well fed, well clothed, and well paid. Under these circumstances they could shout and make themselves feel important and do what they were told, because <sup>they</sup> live so well. These peasant boys were "used" they were taken out of the barn from next to the pigs or cows.
- (3c) It started as a demonstration which wanted to do away with the Stalinism, allow for free thinking and expression. It was a demonstration of sympathy with the Poles.
- (3d) The demonstrators demanded that Gero not give his radio speech. The students demanded that their demands be read into the radio. It was then that shots were fired into the crowd of students at the radio station.
- (3e) Everyone had one goal as the slogans indicated, the Russians to leave and the end of stalinism.

- (3f) No one, except the Gero crowd.
- (3g) Those who were at home sleeping.
- (3h) Nem állunk meg féluton, Stalinizmus ~~szűnik meg~~ <sup>pusztuljon,</sup> we will  
NOT stop at the half way mark, Stalinism must perish.  
Bem apó es Kossuth népe, megyünk kéz a kézben  
The people of Bem and Kossuth together go hand in hand.  
Ruszkik haza Russians go home.  
Szabad magyar bíróság Free Hungarian court.  
Nagy Imre a kormány ban Imre Nagy into the government.  
Szovjét sereg menjen haza, Stalin szobrot vigye haza  
Soviet troops go home, take home the Stalin statue.  
Then in front of the parliament the crowd began to chant  
and demand: oltásák el a csillagot extinguish the stars  
the big red star on top of the parliament building. Later  
such as; Több párt rendszer. These did not come from the  
lips of the crowd as the earlier ones did.  
Szemleges magyarország a neutral Hungary.  
Egytmi szabadság ~~szabadság~~ <sup>universality</sup> ~~szabadság~~ Freedom or liberty.
- (3i) Without a doubt it was anti-soviet and anti-communist.
- (3j) Against the regime of communism.
- (3k) They were not communists in reality.
- (3l) If such appeared or came on the scene they were quickly  
run off or one who appeared with the armband bearing the  
arrow cross symbol. He saved his life only by running  
away. In fact the slogan appeared later: <sup>A</sup>paraszttságé  
a föld - the land belongs to the peasants.
- (3f) A supplement. Even the chief police said that the police

would not stop the demonstration. In fact a policecar was at the head of the demonstration leading it.

(3m) Communism would have been ~~xxx~~ swept away and in Hungary the foundations would have been built ~~xx~~ a democratic country.

(4) On the 23rd I was on Kalvin square. It was around toward three o'clock on the 24th in the morning that I went home. When I was going home people were being stopped, automobiles were being stopped and investigated why they were out. By that time the factories at Csepel were stopped and the Csepel people came into Budapest. There were no street-cars. There was shooting. I did not see a single Russian. On the 24th in the morning Russian tanks came into the city as if parading, the soldiers sitting in the tower of the tank with their heads out. This soon changed when Molotov cocktails were thrown at the tanks. There were tanks shot at and the armoured cars that came in at least 90 per cent were shot up. On the 24th new governments were coming in. No one/<sup>knew</sup> what was happening. In the country side things began to happen only on the 24th. At the university on the 24th the students formed the Nemzetörség, guardians of the nation. On the 27th Imre Nagy ordered to cease fire. By this time circumstances were driving him. The government was always one step behind the circumstances. Then on the 28th Imre Nagy with Anna Kethly, Maletar formed a new government. There was the demand for free elections, that the government recognized more parties. Everyone was in this

spirit. University students asked communists or Russian citizen professors not to appear in classes. The students said that they could not guarantee their safety.

On October 23rd the tactics of the Russians was that the Russian tanks would go in and out of the city and then Maléter said that he would fire upon them. On the 30th

I went to Kecskemet to have some fliers printed and distributed others. On the way we saw tanks stationed around Pest

This was the quiet period when AVH men were jailed and put away. Only in rare or few cases did the crowd harm AVH men.

On November 3rd it was generally understood that public transportation such as streetcars would start operation

the next day. But on the 4th many traitors' acts were committed

for example; the Hungarian tanks were called in and ordered to <sup>dis-</sup>assemble for winter. Thus the Russians came in with

their tanks. The Hungarian tank groups were disassembled some of them already had taken some of the equipment apart.

I was at the MME university on November 5th or 6th when the university/<sup>students</sup> decided to defend the university. A Russian

officer appeared with a white flag and said if we do not give up in 20 minutes they start to shoot up the university

although if we give up they would let us go. By this time

the AVH men were dressing over into the uniforms of firemen and other inconspicuous uniforms. On the 5th or 6th the

Russians were stopping groups that walked on the streets

picking them up and taking them away. But the revolutionary

council was working already and getting people back. Some



people came back from such distances as Ungvar. No one knew what was going on. Even the AVH did not know. Later the Russians searched the university for arms and found some but these arms that we had were not usable. They had been practice-rifles for class use. Many times the Russians would appear in the streets and merely shoot in various directions or the Russians advanced to take the MEMENTO MORI square from three directions and shot up all the buildings. There was no looting of the stores by the Hungarian people. Looting was begun by the Russians who were looking for whisky and for food when they were cut off or ran out of their supply. Then there came a new Russian soldier, the Mongol looking for the Suez. The Russians came to fight against the fascists as they said and the counts of Csépel. At Csépel there were long fights. The Horizon books were burned on the street out of the bookstores. On October 25th and 26th I saw long lines of people, great crowds coming from Angyalföld. They shouted we are not fascists and carried in front of them a red, white, and green drape. Everyone was convinced that the Russians will interfere but believed that the west could not and would not allow a fight for freedom to go down, to be defeated. If there was a Radio Free Europe, the radio would not lead us on. In the newspapers of Budapest editorials, such as "war or peace" were written. We knew or they knew it would be a World war. Cserbe hagyta, Amerika cserbe hagyta a magyart. America left us in the lurch. We don't know what we hate

more the Russians or the American official foreign policy.

After November 20th the only thing to do was ~~to leave~~ <sup>disszidálni</sup>  
that is leave the country.

- (4a) Yes, workers and peasants and students in Pest in many places.
- (4b) On the 23rd during the night they refused to follow the command and in fact shot back.
- (4c) No, I did not. I saw only traces of it or remains of it.
- (5) I participated in the revolt only through the university revolutionary committee as a member of it. It was a temporary committee. The students had elected it. They wanted to have a full student body elect the official committee on November 1st. This proved to be impossible.
- (5a) Yes.
- (5b) Only in the way that we said we would not go to lectures until the Russians leave.
- (5c) We taught little children how to use machine guns.
- (5d) Yes. Next to the university from one of the buildings we struck down a red star.
- (5e) In the editing of them and took many of them to be mimeographed at the university and from there took them out to the countryside.
- (5f) The university revolutionary council.
- (6) I did not participate as an actual fighter but I saw them fight and I saw traces of fighting.
- (7) It is difficult to say. The writers society Iro Szövetség had great prestige. ~~THEY WERE KNOWN~~ There were known

names there what they said was important in poetry such as Gyula Illyés and ~~Károlyi~~ László Németh.

- (7a) No great conflict.
- (7b) The closest and best of relations.
- (7c) Yes, with the student revolutionary council of the university and with the military group at the university. In the case of the latter only with those who dared to speak.
- (7d) No.
- (8) They stole and took all the typewriters <sup>that</sup> could be found, took books from the stores and began to molest women.
- (8a) They did not know what they were doing in Budapest, they did not even know that they were in Budapest. Those 18, 20 years old Mongols behaved as barbarians.
- (8b) I don't know.
- (8c) They behaved very well. They were on our side, especially the Koreans.
- (8d) They were very much afraid. The Russian families left Budapest quickly and were taken from Budapest.
- (8e) I saw a red, white and green flag on a tank but whether or not that tank came over, I don't know. In some cases I understand they put up such flags only because they ~~had~~ ran out of ammunition or were without food. The Soviets were behind everything that is the military force. They interfered in commerce and business and administration. Rakosi and all of his crowd were Soviet Citizens, in fact.

On October 23rd and 24th the civilian Russians were taken out of Budapest. During this time they were trying to see what is what. During the revolution the Russians were behind the scene. Then after November 4th everything was Russian. The Parliament building was full of Russians. Russians drove on the streets.

- (9) No one really know evergthing or very much. Then finally from Radio Free Europe we heard some things, but this was not dependable. For example they said: Shooting and bombing occurred where ~~they~~<sup>it</sup> really did not occur. For example the report about Kecskemet that a very serious attack took place in Kecskemet. This they may have exaggerated because all that happened was that few tanks went through the place and shot in various directions without any particular reason.
- (9a) <sup>As</sup> To what happened in the countryside we did not know. But we were able to read the newspapers Magyar Honvéd, Magyar Nemzet, and Népi Szabadság.
- (9b) From complete strangers and from friends I head of various kinds of battles, of shootings here and there, many kinds of rumors. Also from friends and people who heard the western radio broadcasts.
- (9c) Yes, on November 3rd there was good domestic radio broadcast they said in the radio that we have lied up to now and we will not lie anymore. Cardinal Mindszenty, bishop László Ravasz both spoke. The music was good. We listened to Radio Free Europe. Everyone was hoping and trusting that the UN would decide in our favor.

- (9d) From friends, through the university council, members and through various people who had contacts we would find out by word of mouth a complete picture as it stood in some places. What we heard on the streets was less important and less dependable.
- (10) They all fell apart. The university party organization fell at the moment of the revolution.
- (10a) Officially there was no central force after November 3rd. The built in AVH and informers continued to operate. In fact they took photographs in many places. Thus later were able to accuse people on the basis of these photographs. In many cases photographs of western photographers was ~~MM~~ a basis of accusation when these pictures were printed in western magazines and newspapers.
- (10b) The party fell apart also. Imre Nagy said that we should start a new, even Kadar said that we start a new on parliamentary basis and through parliamentary channels to regain the lost reputation of the communist party. The party functionaries ~~didn't dare show~~ ~~themselves~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ themselves. The police behaved very well, very regularly. They stood by the students on the side of the students.
- (10d) When an AVH man was discovered some called the police and the AVH was jailed. The merciless behaviour toward the AVH was not general at all.
- (10e) Did not operate. The bloody judges were taken under arrest, those judges who had sentenced many people to jail under the terror.

- (10f) There wasn't any army. Either it fought or the Russians drove them apart. The unity was not there in the army because the upper leadership fell apart.
- (10g) With regards to the ministries, I don't know. The government kept in contact with the university. The assistant of Imre Nagy, Losonczy, was out at the university.
- (10h) I don't know.
- (10i) They began a new life. Ravasz again became bishop and cardinal Mindszenty began to do away with the peace priests, ~~but~~ to democratize the church.
- (10j) I don't know of any except perhaps some of the west. This is west of the iron curtain. In Hungary there was not any time for organizations to be formed that might fuse the revolution to their own ends.
- (10k) The old political parties chiefly.
- (10l) In the factories men were called in by radio announcements that an election would be held for a worker's council and some elections were held when men came in to receive their pay.
- (10m) An absolutely democratic and independent Hungary.
- (11) Yes, absolutely and unconditionally. Which showed that communism and the regime was not a vital sort, one that was able to continue an existence. It also showed that it that communism wants to rule the world.
- (11b) Yes.
- (11c) Yes. The western radio always said that the aim of the west is to free the satellites. Eisenhower made such a statement.

secretly we hoped for armed forces and arms.

- (11d) It's difficult to say. In Hungary the oppression was great. Perhaps here they ~~read~~<sup>let</sup> the 20th Congress and anti-stalinism get out of hand. Too much freedom was allowed.
- (11e) He said he was communist to the end but finally the Hungarian man came out of him and he understood the desires of the nation.
- (11f) Pál Maléter, György Losonczy, Anna Kéthly, Béla ~~Károlyi~~ Király, László Nemeth, Gyula Illyes, Agi Meszaros, Szabó bácsi, a worker from ~~Angyalföld~~<sup>Angyalföld</sup> who was really a concept in Budapest; he was hanged.
- (11g) One, the intellectuals as forerunners, then as a united group working together the workers, youth and peasants. Connected perhaps to this group some of the soldiers. The irresponsible elements and others can not be counted.
- (11h) Yes, absolutely. They all were young men who wanted to see the world to have a greater perspective, a better chance in life, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ than to earn merely a maximum of 1200 forint as wages. They did not want to live under such uncertainty and fear.
- (12) On November 20th.
- (12a) The terror and arrests continued to increase and were great. I had been a member of the university revolutionary council. I also want to see the world to learn more and then gather experiences.
- (12b) Yes, with those who were with me, my friends. I told my parents and they said that I have to decide what I wanted to

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do. It was up to me.

(12c)

No.



- (1) A student.
- (2) During the summers for a period of 6 or 7 weeks I had various jobs such as a helper on a truck, or a concrete road building project, a laborer in a structural steel plant, a truck helper in a food storage enterprise.
- (2c) Six or seven weeks.
- (2d) No.
- (2e) 1.) As a truck helper I worked at a runway at an airport building of it.  
2.) A second job during the summer was at a small steel factory. I carried rods and plates to workers.  
3.) I worked at a fruit gathering center and carried cases of fruit to the trucks.
- (2f) 1.) Yes, it was very successful. It was the biggest enterprise for road building in the country.  
2.) It was a small factory but had plenty of work.  
3.) It was a national enterprise, a collection center for fruit from all over the country.
- (2g) 1.) We worked at the Keskemet airport.  
2.) Pest.  
3.) At Kecskemet.
- (3) (The respondent has selected as a typical job the work he did as a helper on a truck. The roadbuilding enterprise which was building a runway at the Kecskemet airport.) Yes, I liked the work. I could earn well during the summer. I had to work in order to earn money for my schooling although I did have a scholarship.

- (3a) There were many interesting things to see and I was able to meet many different kinds of people as a truck helper.
- (3b) Perhaps the early rising and the fact that we worked 12 hours at a stretch.
- (3c) In comparison ~~XXXX~~ to my other summer jobs I earned the most here.
- (3d) It was outside work. As far as medical ~~XXXX~~ care was concerned first aid was available.
- (3e) From Keoskemet on the enterprise auto-bus or by bicycle.
- (3f) Twelve hours. That is from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. on one week. and the next week from 6 PM to 6 AM.
- (3g) Seven days a week. It was a rush job trying to meet a deadline
- (3h) For four hours overtime above the eight hours we were supposed to be paid overtime, but we never got it as such. It was paid as regular wages.
- (3i) When there was no rush job, as here, we regularly worked six days a week with Sundays off.
- (3j) Yes, for the regular workers who worked throughout the year a minimum of 15 days of vacation. If a person had worked harder or produced more in some way he had more days off.
- (3k) Those who had a job that was harmful to their health got more time off. In fact they should have gotten different kind of food as protection at these unhealthy jobs. They were supposed to, but they did not.
- (3l) Tardiness was penalized.
- (3m) We did not have any.
- (3n) If the job at the airport was finished by August 20th the regular workers were to get certain premiums.

- (30) The regular insurance in medical and accident. Or some would get coupons for the heavier physical work, thus making it possible they be able to get some extra food .
- (4) There were various kinds of workers on the airport job who came from such former positions as military officers even some criminals. There were former city ~~mayors~~ <sup>mayors</sup> even village notaries among the workers who had been forced to leave their positions by the communists and could find only manual work. The truck drivers were a little more elite, more educated They had travelled the country. The manual workers were not so very educated with the exception of course who came from intellectual positions.
- (4b) The laborers and others on the job had a good relationship with the chief engineer, that is with all people who were skilled workers and had excellent training. However, the manual laborers hated the ~~NAKKINA~~ party secretaries ~~EMM~~ and those who held their jobs merely because of their party affiliation and had no knowledge or no skill or very little of each..
- (4c) Only at work or perhaps as one would travel to work in the auto-bus.
- (4d) Yes, we did. But at first we did not know one another. Then when we got to know each other we found out that he is not a Communist and I am not a Communist and then we understood one another.
- (4e) Definitely.
- (4f) I don't know.
- (4g) After 1945 there really were trade unions but after 1948 it was a big humbug. It was part and ~~parcel~~ <sup>parcel</sup> of the party.

- (4h) Not with mediation committees but with <sup>the</sup> arbitration committee that worked in relationship to the fruit gathering enterprise. This arbitration committee would need to decide for or against certain enterprises or certain centers that sent fruit out by mistake and committed errors. Or various centers or enterprises would bring charges against another center or enterprise.
- (4i) ~~XXX~~ At each place I worked ~~XXX~~ there was, but I did not have anything to do with it.
- (4j) Yes. But sometimes it was a question as to who the manager of the plant was. In general a person would be able to move ahead in his job if the manager was a good skilled man not a party worker.
- (4k) Yes.
- (4l) <sup>If</sup> Yes. A person dared to defy the political secretary he could but in most cases the workers did what the secretary said because the worker would say it is not my money that is being wanted.
- (4m) Very serious changes where they increased interference.
- (4n) Those boys who were of worker or peasant origins not kulak origin.
- (4o) It depended upon his origin. It also helped that if a person would speak, make speeches at the D<sub>1</sub>SZ or other places in public. Of course speaking in the communist line.
- (p) Certainly. But we never knew who they were. These informers were of varying kinds usually ~~XXXX~~ wrote reports to the AVO!
- (5) At one time it was not possible to change a job at all. If a

persons would leave his job the only road left to him for employment would be a mine or something similar.

- (5a) Usually for better pay if he worked in another part of the country, frequently he wanted to come back to his birthplace or home or where ever his family was.
- (5b) As a student I selected a kind of job that would pay well and that would not be very heavy physically.
- (5c) Perhaps at the concrete building job I could have become a paymaster or a truckdriver. However, as a student in my own field of work I did not have great possibilities because I had to be a party member. I would have had to appear in public places, make speeches. And for all of this a person needed a "stomach" to be able to take this kind of speech-making.
- (5d) Yes, they did, because they wanted to earn more but within certain limits.
- (5e) I would like to travel, go to museums like my father was able to do before the war.
- (5f) I had the same ideas. In fact I would be able to visit a friend perhaps "near the Balaton Lake". In the case <sup>of</sup> factory workers they would be able to go to the plant vacation spot.
- (5g) I want them to be educated and to study.
- (6) Up to 1948 we pulled ourselves together. We had to sell many things in order to live but then after 1948 it just got worse.
- (6b) We could get the everyday food ~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> for clothing we did not have enough money and had to make our own. For example my brother

and I made our own clothes

- (6d) Yes, the regime asked ~~XXXX~~ the maximum of everything in his strength and his ability. The demand in work but the wages were the lowest.
- (7a) iii) In 1955 ~~XXXX~~ 2200 forint a month for my father. This was good considering other things.
- (7b) Received the same as others in his agegroup.
- (d) My mother and father had to work. It was a necessity that they could live.
- (8) 2200 forint a month for my father.
- (8a) 1900 to 2000 forint left a month for my father.
- (8c) Twice in the year there were certain premiums if the production met the norm. He had a separate job as a lecturer in a machine school. This was at night.
- (8d) I don't know.
- (8e) For my father I don't know if they did. I doubt it.
- (9) I don't know very much about the expenses which my family had. As a student I lived with my grandmother in Budapest. All I remember is that my parents payed 100 to 120 forint for the lightbill a month.
- (9a) In my own case I did not have to pay a rent. I was living with my grandmother.
- (9b) Housing for students was rather good.
- (9c) There was a special goup plan for the students of lunch and supper at a 100 forint per month. Of course a person would

buy additional kinds of food, sugar etc. each month to keep at home for snacks.

- (9d) In my own case 95 per cent of the 1500 to 2000 forint I earned during the summer. All went for these items.
- (9g) To buy the notes and outlines for courses each half year cost 62.70 forint. No tuition.
- (9i) 200 forint. back and forth from school by streetcar.
- (10) I don't have a clear picture of this.
- (10a) No.
- (10b) Yes.
- (10c) As a five year old boy I remember we had ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ chocolate often. The family had an automobile and I remember the times as being good.
- (10d) At first there was a healthy development up to 1948, as far as I can remember, although I was young yet.
- (10e) This debate always changed and depended upon the war tensions
- (10f) Very little.
- (10g) Food was still high. Other things were high too. They always talked about reductions but no one ever felt the reductions in his own pocket.
- (11) Primary in importance.
- (11b) The material condition were the most important which also brought about the demoralization falling apart of the family. Arrests were one of the complaints also.

- (1) I finished the gymnasium and was a university student. A
- (1a) Two years at the Kecskeméti Református Kollégium, five years at the Budapesti Evangélikus Gymnasium, one year at the Jozsef Attila Gymnasium. In 1953 I received my maturity certificate, then went on to the university. I wanted to study veterinary medicine but the university took me on as a law student. I don't know why.
- (1b) To church and state schools.
- (1c) In ~~1953~~ <sup>1947</sup> to the ~~Kecskeméti~~ <sup>Kecskeméti</sup> Református Kollégium which has just been opened after the war. During the war and after it had been occupied by Russian soldiers. The physical plant was in very bad shape. The Evangélikus Gymnasium was first rate, the university was weak. It had a kind of middle school system
- (1d) No.
- (1e) I went to the gymnasium primarily because everyone was expected to attend the gymnasium and attended the reformed church gymnasium because I was a member of that church. My parents wanted me to go to Budapest to the Evangélikus Gymnasium Institute to get a different kind of school orientation that is living at an institute.
- (2) For me yes, although this was a kind of an accident that they accepted me at the university.
- (2e) I started with disadvantage that I came from a family with intellectual background.
- (3) Definitely. Marxism, political economics, Russian language and military science.



- (3b) Yes.
- (3e) Yes.
- (4) They wanted everyone to think from a Soviet point of view to have one mold or one type of thinking.
- (4b) Without results. School children and students alike did not become communists. They did not like Communism.
- (4e) It was a big circus. Everyone knew the professor did not believe what he was saying when he talked before thirty people. Then when we had to go out to parades and demonstrations this we did not like.
- (4f) Yes very serious changes in the last ten years. An increase in emphasis.
- (4g) Yes, the thinking of the adults and of the youth is very close. There is no great opposition between them.
- (4h) There is certainly to a certain extent if one lives under a certain regime for ten years which could be either negative or positive in behavior.
- (4i) It is rather hard to say but perhaps this example will illustrate that even the youngest children were not taken in by the Communists. I overheard my seven year old brother who was outside of our house playing with a friend of his and my seven years old brother warned his little friend that they cannot talk freely before another boy whose father is a Communist. No one from our family had cautioned my seven year old brother along these lines because ~~XII~~ we felt it would be difficult to make him understand but somehow even these smallest children know already how to behave against the Communists.

- (5) He was the chief city engineer of Kecskemét.
- (5a) In 1947 he was kicked out of his job from the city. It was just then that a metal work enterprise was established in Kecskemét and he became the chief engineer of that plant.
- (b) It was a rather good job but he had to do the managing of the plant too, because the plant manager who had been named by the party did not understand anything about the metal work.
- (5c) He had finished engineering school.
- (5d) Yes, even up to 1948 we had help but after the war help only came in to the house. They did not live in the house. I feel it was good to have such help.
- (5e) Yes, when my grandfather died we inherited a vineyard.
- (5f) Good.
- (5g) h) Seven. My mother and father and sister and brother are still at home. The older three boys are out in the west.
- (5i) With my grandmother in Budapest. My younger brother lived there also.
- (5k) It depended upon where I was. As far as being a good kader I was ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ not that.
- (13) No.
- (13b) No.
- (13c) We ~~XXXXXXXX~~ agreed.
- (14a) Our family ties in my case were limited for the simple fact that my younger brother and I lived in Pest away from the family at my grandmother's apartment. However, we went home at every

vacation time, when my father came to Budapest on official business he would always visit us. Thus one could say per-  
~~haps~~ haps we were close.

- (14b) Ours was rather a normal family not torn apart as other families were since we lived with my grandmother and at vacation times went home to our parents.
- (14c) Regularly went to the opera, theater, concerts and played Bridge, and participated in such private entertainments as available along friends. I did reading and on Sunday I went to church.
- (14g) Yes, tried to avoid the university parades and required demonstrations.
- (15) They loosened.
- (15a) I heard all kinds of things but in general they could trust one another.
- (15b) Certain things had to come about. A parent had to be silent when a child asked a delicate question and he could not be sincere with the little child.
- (15c) There were many divorces and it was easier to receive a divorce now. The church pressure against divorce especially from the Roman Catholic church was eliminated or ineffective.
- (16) Yes, Younger than before from age 22 up for men. No changes recently.
- (16b) Previously the mother and father were there during courting, now the boy and girl can go alone. Frequently the mother and father are too tired to socialize now. The work is so

heavy. The circumstances brought all this about. The parents have no time and now when a student receives his matura certificate ~~XXXXXXXX~~ he gets a scholarship for himself and continues studies thus he is more independent than before.

(16c) Not bad these changes.

(16d) More loose, perhaps the ~~XXXXXX~~ intimacy offered at the factories the fact that more women had to go to work had contributed to the higher divorce rate.

(16e) Secret prostitution. There was the slogan: Lányok ~~XXXXXXXX~~ <sup>discussióg</sup>, asszonyok kötelesség szülni. They tried in legal ways to handle illegitimate children. It was successful, in the big cities. There was a time when abortion was punished by the Communists and doctors who performed such abortions were jailed for 7 years. Now there are so many children, abortion is easy again. Marriage is easy. The two people need to be 18 years old and can marry. Many did this unthinkingly.

(16h) Yes, This is a proper form of behaviour considering the child.

(16i) Yes, they were completely emancipated. They could be police, trainmen, lift operator and had the same pay and same hours as men.

(17) I am<sup>t</sup> sure it did not rise.

(17b) It was very frequent. Everyone liked to steal from the state and they said: I am stealing ~~back~~ <sup>back</sup> my own.

(18) At the gymnasium at age 15.

(18c) We met a lot. He was a pre-medical student, I was a law

student. We asked one another about the kinds of courses each was taking. We talked about literature also.

- (18d) Definitely. Listened to the radio.
- (18e) None. A deeper friendship.
- (18g) The understanding of one another.
- (18h) I always had good friends.
- (18i) Largely they were from the same social classes. A great percentage of them had the same political ideas as I and the same world of view.
- (18k) Undoubtedly especially if he would be running for a political job.
- (19) In the gymnasium I studied religion although it was not required. In fact in the last year it was not even allowed. I attended youth meetings of the church. When at the university I never attended church in the neighborhood. I went to some other distant church. The students were always observed as to who was going to church.
- (19b) I went to church regularly. Although in the last few years I dropped out of the bible studies circle. Even in the last years there was a Bible circle and Sunday school for the children. Many children attended each sunday.
- (20) Of course.
- (20a) Yes, absolutely. They pressed each church because Communism and the church are different ideologies and Communism can not tolerate the church.
- (20b) They tried both. To eliminate it and to use it, for their own ends. They wanted to eliminate it by no allowing

religious education in the schools and by terrorizing the parents.

- (20c) The peace priests were those who served Communism completely. I do know if a pro-communist peace priest or minister was speaking in the church the people did not go to church on that Sunday. But when the assistant pastor spoke who was not a peace priest the church was filled. I don't know what they were like.
- (20d) The leading and prominent ministers were put out to country churches to villages from the city. Many of them were put on pension. This was put on your kader sheet and was used against you at various times.
- (20f) In Pest you could go to another church not in your neighborhood. Or even in the villages you could attend church. It was not prohibited but there was a danger. If you got married in a church you could be accused of being clerical minded.
- (20g) Yes.
- (20h) Yes, regularly.
- (20i) I can't say. There are always some people who go to church more and others who do not go as regularly. There <sup>will</sup> always be this kind of division.
- (20j) Yes, in various ways. Each church on the basis of its own ~~ARRRRRRR~~ agreement with the State.
- (20k) Yes, I see it in my own younger brothers.
- (20l) They did not help it very much.
- (21) Either study an oriental language or western language or go into engineering.

- (21a) The eastern or oriental languages especially because the eastern people are coming more and more into prominence. There will be a great need for such men who know these languages. In engineering there is a need and fantastic progress and development is ahead in sciences.
- (21b) To study and behave properly and normally.
- (21c) To those who were accepted at the university for study. Ultimately every class has categories of its own and situations differ. I saw some peasants who did very well, some very poorly. The division even depends upon the kinds of desires the family has. whether the husband drank or not, how the family budgeted its money. I don't think I can give such social categories.
- (23) People got mixed up--up and down. Many peasant boys went to the university and became engineers and middle class boys were not even taken into the university. He could not get a job. The big differences between categories in Hungary do not exist anymore.
- (23d) Everybody was a comrade from the worker up to the director.
- (23e) Greater.
- (23f) Good.
- (23g) Yes, changes did occur. The titles had been done away because no one asks for titles. There is no méltóságos, tekintetes, ~~egyes~~ anymore.
- (23h) The idea about courtesy is that people should greet another well, not to put elbows on the table, wear a clean shirt, give respect to the elders, keep your fingernails ~~clean~~ clean.

They use the phrase "Kézét csókolom" in greeting.

At the university "te" was used, that is use of the second person informal "you." It depended on how well one person knew another. The younger boys speaking to an older man would say: Laci bácsi, or Laci bátyám, a very proper address. The form ur was not used. It was avoided, because it had certain connotations and this is why today in Hungary the use of such a prefix as Mister or Herr would render a strange taste in its usage. There were minorities that suffered more under Communism. Those groups that were removed as families or displaced as families from Pest or other large cities their origin being former military officers or former government officials, kulaks in some cases, they had a free status. They were called for labor service. The work they did was road building, mining and so forth. The leading party members had many advantages. Today there is no nationality question in Hungary.

(24a)

No.

(25)

Communism did not treat the Jews well, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ even though the leadership of communism in Hungary was primarily of Jewish origin. Commerce had been in their hands as private concerns but after nationalization of commerce they still directed the commerce and economy of Hungary as they do today, holding significant positions.

(25b)

They had a large role.

(25c)

I had a few but not as close friends.

(25d)

As a Jewish group they did not appear or play a role. How they behaved individually I don't know.



- (25e) Neutral. There is no anti-semitism, nor is there any pro-semitism. The attitude is to live with them.
- (25g) In no case did it increase.
- (25h) I don't know, I have not thought about it.

- (1) Not too much because the Communists would not let us be interested. Although we did listen in, converse with our elders.
- (1a) Merely through our social contacts.
- (1c) No. I began to react only at the university in a significant way. I did not believe in Communism! It was a big ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ confusion. One year something was correct then the next year it was not correct because Stalin said so or it was not correct because Lenin said otherwise. It was to be accepted because he said so and the reaction would be that you would become sick of it and disgusted.
- (2a) I was too young.
- (2b) Yes, the small holders.
- (2c) the family life and the comparison between 1948 and 1952
- (2f) is basically. I must add that every order has advantages and disadvantages.
- (2h) If they did not obey they would go to jail, the terror made no exceptions.
- (2i) To a great extent this held the people in check and contributed to the terror.
- (3) They took our vineyard. Both my grandfathers were jailed in 1945 and 1947 by the Communists.
- (3a) VI, XII, XIII.
- (3b) III, XI, XIV, XV.
- (3c) I, II, XIV, XV, VI, X, XI.

- (3d) XIV, V, III, II, XIII, VI, VII.
- (3e) XV, III, I. (Had to, forced to live apart from the family)  
IV, IX, VII.
- (3g) In 1955/56 there began a possibility that a person could criticize, could travel.
- (4) The various party groups under the Rakosi clique behind which stood the Soviet Union.
- (4b) The ministerial council was made up with party members and before the council had passed anything legislative, administrative or otherwise it would come from central committee members.
- (4c) The Rakosi group behind which there always was Moscow and a Soviet Ambassador.
- (4d) It was a yes group. Their effect was ~~EREDX~~ zero.
- (4e) Merely to have a show for the outside world and even for the Communists themselves it was necessary for their psychology. In ~~appearance~~ appearance their power was based upon a legal foundation.
- (4f) Yes, I can't say exactly. But definitely more in certain areas such as the keeping the vital statistics. A fantastic number of people were employed.
- (4g) We did not have this. In fact we never had this in Hungary-
- (4h) Mixed groups.
- (4i) Merely from workers and peasants. The advantage was that he ~~EMX~~ got very good high pay, house and everything was provided for him. These men were brought up from villages where the highest positions or the best jobs they had was working

in a barn next to cow. Now as officers of the army they interfered in many things interfered where they did not have any understanding.

- (4j) Almost always a good kader, a party member and not a skilled trained man. Maybe the person was a lathe operator previously and thus the chief engineer or the book-keeper of the plant had to correct the mistakes which the manager made or do his work in fact.
- (5) No advantage because everyone was a member. The disadvantage was that a person had to attend the meetings and listen to the stupidity that "sok marhaság".
- (5c) A person could say "I don't want to be a member" but this was dangerous.
- (5d) Yes.
- (5e) When in 1949 D132 was formed I automatically became a member.
- (5f) I did not do anything except attend the meetings which I had to do.
- (5g) I did not do any work.
- (5h) Only monthly meeting attended.
- (6) It depends upon whom we are speaking about. It had certain advantages.
- (6a) The question is rather who was accepted after he was nominated. A person could not ask for his membership.
- (6b) I don't know
- (6c) I had to pay dues, progressive dues according to ones wages attend meetings, participate in party work and kind of agitation.

- (6d) I knew a few. I don't know when or how they became members.
- (6e) If we consider some fanatic Communists in many cases yes.  
In general no.
- (6f) This differs with each individual and according to their intelligence. Usually they saw that Communism was just a bunch of promises and no action to meet them, or was unable to fulfill what it said.
- (6h) No.
- (6p) Yes, in theory.
- (6q) No.
- (6r) The higher central leadership. The party was built in a pyramid fashion.
- (7) No.
- (8) I don't know. I would say a small part of the party.
- (9) It fell apart because the youth were unwilling members.
- (10a) Everyone felt it because no one could speak against it. If a worker was late at the factory he was penalized. I had to do what they wanted me to do not what I wanted to do at the university. This is terror.
- (10b) This was the trusted bastion of the order to investigate political ~~XXXXXX~~ matters.
- (10c) Nothing. It existed but a person never knew who will inform.
- (10e) I don't know.
- (10f) I don't know.

- (10g) They had big pay. High above the average and they had to pay less for food and for clothing and got a house.
- (10h) Not at all.
- (10i) The same. Informers were built into the AVH.
- (10j) The police had an entirely different area of supervision that is maintaining general order. I don't know what the relationship was.
- (10k) A close connection. It was hand in hand really.
- (10l) No.
- (11) Yes.
- (11a) They were ~~EXACTLY~~ <sup>merely</sup> arrested. I don't know why.
- (11b) The arrests were about the same kind. An automobile with curtains drawn on the windows would stop and two men would get out and ask a third man on the street or from the house would he, the third man please accompany them because they want to talk to him. Then this third man would be sentenced to 15 years or death. Sometimes the automobile would come to the factory to pick up a victim. Most often these arrests or pick-ups were done at night. This was the terror or fear of the night.
- (11c) One never could say who. Everyone susceptible.
- (11e) No. If the AVH allowed it and if they did not deny that the arrested person was there in jail.
- (11g) No.
- (11h) The deportations occurred in 1951 from Budapest at night. Automobiles would come to take people. They would get 24 hours notice before <sup>leaving</sup> and allowed to take a few personal

belongings. They were taken to desolate places in Hungary to peasant houses and barns and lived under such inhuman conditions. They were taken mostly to the Tisza vicinity. people who were deported were formerly military men or government officials primarily. These families could not leave these places. They worked in the fields but they could be visited and a person could correspond with them. They were put under constant questioning and inquiry.

- (13) Don't do any organizing. Don't make any public statements. Live very quietly.
- (13a) Properly a miner and a laborer.
- (13b) It helps, but even party members are in danger. They observe one another.
- (13c) They are helpful of course, but it depends whom I know, where.
- (13d) Yes, advantageous. It is difficult to deny if one is not of good class background.
- (13e) No.
- (13f) Perhaps.
- (13g) No.
- (14) Yes, there always were various methods and they changed.
- (14a) The deportation and arrests already in 1946/47.
- (14b) In June 1956 big wave of arrests in connection with the ~~RAJK~~ Rajk, other incidents and with regard to the Petöfi circle.
- (14b) In 1953 they stopped the internment camps. There was a lessening of some of the severity of the terror.

- (15) Of primary importance. The Soviet was behind everything.
- (15a) Could never tell. Everything really was done according to Soviet Moscow directives.
- (15b) The Soviet was the "god". The prime example of Communism. They told us this.
- (15c) The main directive was given in Moscow. Then they had to be worked out in Hungary.
- (15d) As a soldier I met the Soviet military officer who was an advisor to the Hungarian military. We had to do 10 steps in front of him every morning. Otherwise no other contact.
- (15e) Very strong in the economical and political. Everything went on the pattern of the Soviet type.
- (15f) Don't know. I do know they set them out to Hungary.
- (16) Chiefly in private groups.
- (16a) Yes, because they do not agree with the communist ideology.
- (16b) At the DISZ meeting or a seminar when I said something it was entirely opposite or different from what I really believed.
- (16c) With good friends only not with strangers.
- (16d) Spoke very little against the order. However, one could say this actress or that actor played poorly. But if talking about in general he had to follow the official line.
- (16e) Yes.
- (17) Always possible but to his own detriment if he did.
- (17a) I was never in court.
- (17b) No. They make him meet the <sup>required quantity</sup> ~~quantity~~ to the last drop.
- (17c) If there is a person who can help you.



- (17d) If the enterprise lets him go and is able to get the next job then possible. But his present employment must be severed with the full approval of proper authorities.
- (17e) Some achieved it. Some did not. It depended upon whether or not he had any connections at all.
- (18) The strong point was the perfectly built up security control and the presence of the Soviet party. The weak point was that they could not trust anyone and that they did not have a base or foundation among the population.
- (19) This depended upon when. Many people went to church as a form of demonstration. At Roman Catholic processions there were so many people as never before.
- (19a) Through church attendance and when Zoltan Kodaly ~~XXXXXXXX~~ <sup>music was</sup> played and when his seventieth birthday was celebrated. When a night or evening program was held in honor of Lőrinc Szabo who was rehabilitated the attendance was tremendous. ~~XXXX~~ Also by the fact that when Russian films were shown no one attended and an empty theater was a demonstration against the Russians and Communism.
- (19b) This was general.
- (19c) The big party kader, the party secretary, large groups of officers and military.
- (19d) It grew relatively speaking.
- (19e) Grew, really grew.
- (19f) No expressly organized group or separate organization, even the Petöfi circle moved within the organization of the <sup>DISZ.</sup> ~~DISZ.~~

(19g) I heard of it but I don't know any details.

(19h) Don't know.

(19i) Don't know.

(19j) Don't know.

(19k) Don't know.

(19l) The Petöfi circle came into existence ~~came into existence~~  
~~as~~ as an official form for debate of social questions in  
criticizing the system officially. The MEFESZ came into  
being before the revolution. It was a strong breeze before  
the revolution and reflected a change.

(19m) Only that which came out in the press. It wanted a more  
free intellectual life.

- (1) In part through the Hungarian press and Hungarian radio and from some athletes whom I knew and who had been outside Hungary came back and told me some things.
- (1a) Radio.
- (1b) Newspaper.
- (2) I went to lectures, school and studied, read, went to theaters movies concerts and operas. Yes, I read some papers. But I did not read the Communist papers regularly.
- (2a) Irodalmi Élet, Ujság, Béke és Szabadság, Magyar Nemzet, Szabad ~~Ujság~~ Ifjúság.
- (2b) Not regularly. These were the only to be had or the ones most available.
- (2c) Some of them had very interesting literary parts. For example Béke és Szabadság recently had a section about foreign travel.
- (2e) Of course, everywhere.
- (2f) They were the same except perhaps they had additional news about school events at the university.
- (2g) Yes, I saw them on the stand and in the library.
- (2h) "Daily worker" <sup>type of</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ newspaper in the library. East German papers, Russian papers, French and Italian Communist papers.
- (2i) No opinion.
- (2j) Yes, those which came from the West by balloon.
- (3) Yes, to how frequently depended on the films and if I could get tickets.
- (3a) The western films because even if they are <sup>leftist</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ they did

not have the stupidity we heard all the time.

(3b) Mostly the entertaining films.

(3c) Yes, in 1955/56 social satires. Each film had some reason as to why the Communists let it in. Perhaps it was anti-capitalism.

(3e) Yes. Classical plays. My attendance changed from time to time.

(4) Yes, I have no idea. Elfújta a szél, Marie Antionette, Dualizmuskora. Books by ~~Mikszáth~~ Mikszáth, Mor Jókai, László Nemeth drama essays and short stories. Poetry of Gyula Illyes, poetry of Endre Ady. Bernard Shaw, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, Jack London. On occasion a few old ponyva novels. Books from Sándor Mikszáth, Miklos Suranyi - Széchenyi élete Tolstoy and Count Zs. Széchenyi's book Vadász Könyvek

(4g) Not at all.

(5) Not with great interest except music.

(5b) No.

(e) During the mornings while I was dressing.

(6) Yes.

(6a) London, Voice of America, Radio Free Europe. Which ever one I could get.

(6b) Very irregularly.

(6c) I felt some propaganda was being given but at least they said the truth to a greater extent.

(6d) a little propaganda was mixed but in large measure they were trustworthy.

- (6e) Yes. This could or would be one point of accusation or indictment in court.
- (7) Of course. It varied. Political, social or literary. From friends or for example when I was working at the arbitration committee at the fruit gathering center, the older judges and arbitrators told me things.
- (7a) A person could never know.
- (7b) That Rakosi wanted the forint will be devaluated.
- (7c) At the strangest places.
- (7d) No particular place.
- (7e) Those who read more or who read western papers. The professors assistants at the universities were able to read western papers or scholarly journals that came to their departments.
- (7f) At home and at work.
- (7g) No any more.
- (8) Not trustworthy at all in general but depended on the news items.
- (8a) Decreased. Later in 1956 increased.
- (8b) If they talked about the fantastic successes of the Soviet ~~UNION~~ agriculture, this I did not believe. I did believe it if they reported that the Government had changed in France. I did not believe the reasons that were given in the newspapers for this change.
- (8c) The western radios mostly London BBC. Perhaps the Magyar Nemzet in Hungary a little more than the others.
- (8d) Yes, it was a good newspaper. Usually every week.

- (8g) If it came into my hands I usually looked into it.
- (8h) Absolutely. I read all three of its numbers. Very good paper.
- 9 They tried. Some tried to <sup>get</sup> German or English broadcasts.
- (9a) The older people.
- (9b) Those who were not interested or occupied with the daily problems of life.
- (10a) It was a terrible thing.
- (10b) The North Korean.
- (10c) I did not believe what the paper wrote about it. I thought it was propaganda.
- (10d) We believed that there is a ready army in Germany since they had been talking about it for such a long time.
- (10e) That they were coming into Hungary.
- (10f) We knew very little. We thought something happened there and knew that the Russian army was there. We did not know the cause of it.
- (10g) What the newspapers and radios told us.
- (10h) Nothing.

- (1) Everything will change because at present everything is set up on a Communist basis.
- (1a) Everything in Hungary on a new basis now and the ideology and the spirit ~~UNWARRANTEDLY~~ will undoubtedly be different and how to change over from this basis to a new ideology I do not know.
- (10b) For example the scholarship system, the development of parks sports, theater life to which much money is given unconditionally yes.
- (2a) Yes.
- (2b) For example fascist kind or certain racist kind of parties but such as these have no ground in Hungary. Let the Communists organize if they wish.
- (3) Let them speak freely.
- (3c) No, in a more than one party system it can't be done.
- (3d) Every state does it, yes.
- (4) Yes, proper.
- (4a) Yes.
- (4b) At that point where the state can only keep power by dictatorial means, then an armed uprising is proper.
- (5) I can't answer. I don't know this problem.
- (6) Yes.
- (6b) No. It could not be done. It would create tremendous hatred among the people. There should be some kind of cooperation

with the workers. The one owner property or factory is impossible.

- (6c) Yes.
- (6d) Don't know the difference between the two. Can't say which is advantageous.
- (6e) Yes, the state has to live from something. It can't live from taxes alone.
- (6f) The great commercial monopolies. This should be solved in another way.
- (6g) A private grocer could not deal with any one but the state monopoly. This is not healthy. This again is following the Soviet pattern which the Soviet says is good for Hungary. To a certain extent some things may remain nationalized, for example the making of soles for shoes.
- (7) In the small articles where there is a need for competition that is to ~~KNOW~~ produce fine excellent things such competition initiative and ambition should be maintained through small industry, independent business. For example a tailor should be able to be independent where I may have my taste satisfied. I have my tailor put my taste into my clothes.
- (8) As we knew it it was terrible. It did not agree with our needs.
- (8a) Of course in the final analysis things must be planned in theory. Every social system and factory has its plan of production.
- (8c) Only in large big sketches or forms.



- (8d) As of the needs and requirements of the market.
- (9) Yes, family life.
- (10) Yes. In a democratic state paying taxes, keeping the laws of the state. Live in such a fashion as the state or community requires.
- (10a) Progressive taxation.
- (10b) Necessary.
- (10c) Keep them.
- (10d) The democratic state I am against something morally if it is wrong.
- (10e) Yes, the fulfillment of the desires of the citizens and the the improvement of the welfare of the citizens, the proper leadership of the citizens.
- (11) Yes, officially it did.
- (11a) Yes, all the workers.
- (11b) The uniform care.
- (11c) Private doctors were better. They were more ~~NUMERICAL~~ conscientious, ~~as an institution.~~ as an institution good.
- (11e) Yes, it helps. I know, because I was operated.
- (12) I can't give an comparison. But today everyone can go He just has to get a ticket. Sometimes it is hard to get tickets. Because they are sold out.
- (12a) Yes.
- (12b) Yes. Chiefly.

- (12c) Chiefly the urban big city people. People of Pest chiefly. although even the country people who want to go can save some money and can allow themselves to go to a concert in the city.
- (11d) It depends on the person. Many don't have the money.
- (13) The diet is one sided. Food is not varied.
- (13a) I don't remember.
- (13b) Worse in 1950.
- (13c) It depends upon wages.
- (14) No.
- (14a) I don't know except the forint was practically worthless in 1946 with the inflation in comparison to that it is better now than in 1946.
- (14b) It is a relative thing and differs ~~NIKXNAN~~ <sup>according to</sup> individuals.
- (14c) Ultimately it depends upon the wages, a person ~~ENXIA~~ <sup>can</sup> earn.
- (15) Of course, yes.
- (15a) In 1945 Hungary was a war torn country.
- (15b) In heavy industry and even the light industry.
- (15a) ~~IK~~ The development of heavy industry is a disadvantage. The development of light industry is advantageous even though there were many mistakes in it.
- (15d) Yes. Not to build a city for heavy industry far from coal and iron ore on the banks Danube.
- (16) In the form of the plant committee or council.

- (16a) Protection of the interests of the workers.
- (16b) Completely independent.
- (16c) Can't say what would be good.
- (16d) Skilled men.
- (16e) Be responsible to the plant committee or council.
- (17) They were bad in general.
- (17a) Not all bad. Some exist where skilled men are the leaders and some are show places. But these are few.
- (17b) Under certain proper circumstances alright, but must have trained skilled leadership.
- (17c) Divide them up. In fact you don't have to do that, they will fall apart or dissolve on their own.
- (17d) Those which wished to remain at the decision of the members let them stay.
- (17e) Divided ~~among~~ among the peasants this will be very difficult. Because many families had been scattered and driven from their homes. Farm buildings, in many cases, were taken down by the state. Probably some kind of general arrangement has to be made because the peasants are so poor they lost everything and have no capital with which to start anew.
- (17f) Yes, this will be no problem because the estates will not exist. Some arrangement will develop. I am not against a few hundred hold in one ownership.
- (17g) This can't be done because there won't be enough people who can take it over. No.
- (17h) Yes, to the small peasants.
- (17i) They will divide it up quite normally by each saying that this is mine and take it. The problem will be that they

- will not be enough agricultural equipment and tools. No.
- (17k) Yes, something of this sort will develop because previously there existed marketing cooperatives. Cooperatives should exist where peasants can work better in this way.
- (17l) Yes, they will need such aid to begin serious agricultural life again. Loans especially, which will be defined as money, equipment, machines, etc.
- (17m) I don't know. We'll have to keep some of these in some form to tie it over, or ~~we~~ to work the tremendous land areas that were taken away from the peasants and others where all the buildings were removed ~~XXXXXX~~
- (17n) The power machines ~~we~~ yes, and give them out for use.
- (17o) Yes.
- (
- (18) ~~The~~ Be independent of one another. The Roman Catholic Clergy especially like to dabble in politics and became very involved in politics as a political force.
- (18a) Perhaps to offer a little state aid or help to build churches
- (18b) No.
- (18c) New buildings and as today help to supplement the pay of the clergy. And because the church has the role of educating the nation.
- (18d) No. Let the general education be uniform. This is not to say that the church should not or will not be allowed to maintain schools and to teach under uniform educational pattern.
- (18e) Yes.
- (18f) Church schools, P. Protestant.

- (18g) Don't give anything back. No land at all. But give perhaps some of the historic schools back, the gymnasium and institutes.
- (19) If anyone is a party member he will disappear in society. Not proper to judge someone mainly because he was a party member. No.
- (19b) To prison. Individually examined.
- (19c) Its another question to deal with the little people.
- (19d) None of the DIZ in general were communists. It was a mass group.
- (19e) To prison with them. But examine them individually.
- (19f) About the police I can't say. Those who continued to live will have in Hungary to decide what to do with them when the government does tumble. They will be able to see how these policemen behave.
- (19h) All of these people are in jail now, jailed by the Communists nothing should happen to them.
- (20) The Nándorfehérvár victory in 1556. The defeat at Mohács which did stop the Turks. The Rákóczy fight for freedom. The 1848 events. The rule of King Zsigmond. He built up the vegvar frontier or system against the ~~XXXXX~~ turks. In the 30 years war Gábor Bethlen ~~part~~ part. In general Transylvanian princes made their influence felt all over Europe. In fact some of them such as Bocskay became a Polish king. And through the centuries we had world famous scientists. Nobel prize winners as Albert Szent-Györgyi, others Lorant Eötvös, a mathematician, Bolyai.

I can't say that Hungarian literature is extremely significant because we are a small nation. As an ~~XXXXXX~~<sup>orator</sup> one remembers Count Albert Apponyi. There were numerous painters such as Munkácsy, sculptors and also writers Petöfi then Kossuth.

- (21) Absolutely.
- (21a) Of course.
- (21b) Very much.
- (21c) Yes.
- (21d) The national conscience grew without a doubt.
- (21e) Each social class has its characteristic. Yes.
- (21f) They existed very much or sharply.
- (22) This is very hard to say. I know them only out of history. Each one made mistakes. There existed a dualistic state there were certain mistakes and only then did Hungary begin to gather its strength economically. The ruler was not Hungarian.
- (22b) There was a lack of sufficient jobs. The great works, canals, railroads had been finished. Surplus of men.
- (22c) Yes. There were many feudalistic traces all the way to 1945
- (22d) Not proper. I don't know. There are so many contraversis about it.
- (22e) I don't have any idea.
- (22f) Significant.
- (22g) It had good sides and bad sides.
- (22h) The question is, could we have remained neutral if the Germans

came in. In the background officials were playing with the British. ~~XX~~

(22i) It was better than in 1938 but worse than in 1948.

(23) Under present circumstances, yes.

(23a) ~~XX~~ If there are such orders which emphasize nationalism they are important.

(23b) Yes, those ~~are~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ which are organically parts of Hungary even as concerns language today. I don't believe so. I have not heard of this.

(23c) I don't know of any.

(23e) I saw it. They get along very well. (We must ~~XXXX~~ get along together in the Danubian basin, we cannot make up nationalistic questions).

(23f) I don't know. I was not there. Everyone must put himself beyond historical conflicts and differences.

(23g) Very well.

(23h) They get along, have to.

(24a) Yes, should join in a Danubian ~~XXXXXX~~ confederation.

(24b) The Danubian basin state, a confederation. Hungary should have a leading role because of its central location, because of its communication. Since October 23rd it has predestined itself for such leadership in the Danubian confederation.

~~XXXX~~ A broad federation of all Europe is a very healthy idea. Here Hungary would not play a special role or prominent role, since it is a small state.

(24d) No, this is a barbaric thing.

- (25) Generally they are of good disposition and stupid. The soldiers are bad dispositioned and barbaric.
- (25a) Yes.
- (25b) No.
- (25c) Yes, but they are fantastically uneducated and uncultured.
- (25d) Yes.
- (25e) They deserve this.
- (25f) They are the ultimate in barbaric pigs. This may be a little strong but this is the only way I can express this.
- (25g) The same, they are exploiters, robbers and a no good crowd. "Mikado hands".
- (26) Marxism as Marx worked it out is ingenuous.
- (26a) 1.) Nothing which I could say quickly.  
2.) I experienced the whole thing affecting me.
- (26b) No, because they memorized the slogans as a whole. This was the average Hungarian Communist.
- (26c) I don't know.
- (26d) Certainly he was a good Leninist.
- (26e) He was a good Stalinist rather.
- (26f) I don't know.
- (26g) This is nonsense. Marxism and democracy are different.
- (26h) To have equal civil rights, every citizen of the state to be guaranteed his basic rights aside from his social status. All of this depends, of course, upon his certain basic education, required of all minimum reading and writing.
- (26i) I don't know when there was.



- (26j) Tito is a skillful vacillating politician.
- (27) Approximate this that the Communism is adapted or applied to a Nation's particular situation in its own uniqueness.
- (27a) Of course there were.
- (27b) That I don't know exactly. Imre Nagy was held to be that. That's what I said before (in a)
- (27c) He was very skillful.
- (27d) He is that.
- (27e) No, because a person is either a Communist or a patriot. Imre Nagy was a patriot but accepted the role of a ~~COMMUNIST~~ ~~ENEMY~~ of a Communist.
- (28) There would have been free democratic elections. The plural political party system would have developed and been organized
- (28a) He would have been in power only until the elections. After elections he would not have had any say so. He wanted a freer Communistic order. He did not want a revolution.
- (28b) The revolution would have swept ~~ENEMY~~ him away. He may have remained for a while.
- (29a) Bad.
- (29b) Bad.
- (29c) Bad. Its stupidity.
- (29d) Bad.
- (29g) Good.
- 29g). Good.

- (29h) Bad.
- (29j) I don't know anything about this problem.
- (29k) I don't know about this.
- (29l) I don't know.
- (29m) It's a delicate question. Good.
- (29n) Good.
- (29o) Is bad because of what the Russians did or the Communists did in Hungary to the Peasants.
- (30) Either the small-holders party or a Christian democratic party.
- (30a) Perhaps today Imre Nagy if he were asked for. But there weren't really ~~many~~ any men. Oh yes, Bela Kovacs.
- (31) a. less, b. less, c. least, d. less, really nothing, e. less, f. less, g. more, h. less, i. less. f. meaning the ordinary average government worker.
- (32) Peasants better. In general everybody was better off before 1948.
- (33) Conflict. b. coincide, c. coincide, d. conflict, e. coincide, f. coincide, g. I don't know, I think conflict, h. conflict, i. conflict, j. conflict.
- (34) None, whatsoever.
- (35) No one.
- (35a) Everyone relatively speaking.

(36) No, These are the opinions which had developed right along.

- (1) No.
- (1a) interesting.
- (1b) yes.
- (1c) From communist sympathizers.
- (1d) Yes, sincere.
- (1e) It's very broad anyway.
- (2) Nothing else.
- (2a) Absolutely.
- (3) Yes, it is important to interview and question every kind of person.
- (3a) No.
- (3b) No.
- (3c) Yes.

This young man had a certain kind of a humor about him and sometimes his language was colorful in expressing his hatred of the Russians and his complete dissatisfaction of communism in Hungary. As a 22 year old boy he is serious minded. He is extremely interested in seeing the world. It is a streak for adventure in him. He is interested in the whole <sup>of</sup> knowledge and does not want to be limited in this desire. His church training has left a wholesome mark upon him.