

- (1) That the Hungarian people was never yet so united as during the Revolution and that this was all against Communism.
- (2) In 1953 with the program of the government of Imre Nagy. This is a narrower date but I could say that with 1948 or 1949 with the beginnings of the Communist regime because even at its very beginning the Hungarian people did not like it at all.
- (2b) The Imre Nagy program in 1953, the 20th Party Congress and its precipitation in Hungary, the resolutions of the June Party Congress.
- (2c) No. There was rather a steady flow of events and changes.
- (2d) Even on the afternoon of October the 23rd, I did not dare to think of a radical political change. During the 12 years we had been disappointed so often already when we have expected something better.
- (2e) Without doubt, the role of the writers has accelerated the process which, in itself, was predestined. It would have come anyway. On the other hand, one could say that the writers have acted as the breakers in the ripening of the developments. For example Tamás Aczél who was a good friend of Rakosi and the spicli (that is the spy) inside the Writer's Union. It's possible that these have changed their colors in the last minutes but the people, just because of them, could not trust the Writer's Union's leadership. There were of course exceptions too, for instance the journalist Sándor Novobarszky, who has dared all the

time to say the truth.

(2f)

Without question the Hétfői Hírlap in itself under the editorship ~~and~~ of Iván Boldizsár and even in the tone of Szabad Nép. In the Béke és Szabadság an article by Novobarszky has appeared against the forced delivery system. But we can say that almost in every newspaper there were new voices sounded. We have regarded this as the effect of the 20th Party Congress.

(2g)

The article just mentioned by Novobarszky against the forced deliveries because this was a subject directly affecting my job. Further the entire Hétfői Hírlap of which each number meant a real recreation for me. I participated once around September 20th at a meeting of the Writer's Union which has had an immense affect on me and also on all the others present. They have criticized the forced Kolkhoz system, the treaty about the uranium with the Soviet Union and other such subjects which before were tabu. I haven't read much of Irodalmi Újság because I had strong ~~prejudices~~ ^{prejudices} against it since the same company has written it who have before prostrated themselves in adoration before the regime. Many people felt that these are nothing but turn-coat politicians, in Hungarian "hinta politikusok" ~~who~~ who always bend that direction in which direction the wind is blowing. I admit that I was wrong in this because the writers have behaved very well and they behaved since that time also very rightously. But at that time I just could not have confidence in them.

- (3) The reason was Communism. Communism is the thing which the Hungarian people can't stomach and it is impossible to force upon them.
- (3a) Up to 1948/49 there was a tremendous number of Russian occupation troops in Hungary. The Communists themselves did not seem yet such a horrible thing after the previous regime, there was still a certain freedom but between 1949 and 53 it changed to a limitless terror. The death of Stalin and the 20th Party Congress led to a certain relief. The people, even if not in the open but at least at home, began to speak frankly. The immediate explosion was connected with the Poznan events and the successive Polish development.
- (3b) Here too it is impossible to say that from one minute to the other the controls collapsed. ~~Many~~ Many Communists have been already in 1956 who have been disappointed but out of fear could not return their Party books. In Hungary there were ~~many~~ few convinced Communists. The others have joined the Party in part because of the lack of character and partly because of the necessities of life.
- (3c) They wanted only to demonstrate, they did not think of starting a revolution.
- (3d) The speech by Gerö, and the fact that they did not let ^{read} to ~~xxxxx~~ the points in the radio and that the Stalin statue was protected by the AVH and two people were shot there.
- (3e) There were only two goals. One against Communism and

the other represented by very few who tried to defend the system.

- (3f) The AVH, out of office. I have not met any civilian who, even if he would have opposed it, would have dared to say so.
- (3g) Neutrality was impossible.
- (3h) The immediate ousting of the Russians from the country, the publication and revision of the treaties with the Soviet Union, the destruction of the kader cards, freedom of speech and press, the right for strike, the abolition of the system of forced delivery, the abolition of forced collectives and the revision of the second five-year plan.
- (3i) Not anti-communist but Anticommunism.
- (3k) Communists? This is a very relative notion. According to my conviction, not everybody who had a Party book was a Communist. Secondly, the Communists are infinitely characterless and without any firm convictions, for whom it is just the same whether Communism or Capitalism will win if their own living is secured. ^{Here are} ~~xxxx~~ again two possibilities; In some the conscience might have awakened seeing the destruction of their country, others might have seen that ^{would lead} this process of ferment ~~xxxxxxxx~~ to victory of the reforms ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ and they wanted to secure their position in the future new system.
- (3m) The Revolution would have kept its victory without question.

(4) I went up to Budapest as a member of a football team on October 22nd and stayed there until October 28th. I was at ~~the~~ ^{the} radio station in the evening of October 23rd. I was eyewitness of the murder of the first hero ~~that~~ ^{squad.} of the Revolution, of a captain of an armoured ~~squad.~~ After that, I was fighting around Üllői út as a member of an ~~armoured~~ ^{armed} group near the Maléter barracks. We had been fighting there against the Russians helping thus the defenders of the barracks. My most terrible experience was, when I saw about 500 women, children, and other people standing in lines for bread. Two Russian tanks have appeared. The people tried to find shelters but then the Russians smilingly shouted to them, assuring them that they have brought only some additional bread and that they are on the side of the people. Thereupon the people surrounded them and in that minute they started to machine gun. About 150 to 200 deads were around. We haven't had any ammunition anymore and had to look on without being able to help.

(4a) Yes.

(4b) Yes.

(4c) Yes. At the end the people turned already to be beasts. In October 25th after the massacre ~~and~~ ^{at} Parliament square when the AVH people were thrown out from the windows of the Ministry of Interior, they had been torn to pieces. I came only to the end and was shocked very deeply. Later when I saw AVH men hanged on the trees at the City Park

revulsion.

I have not felt any more ~~revulsion~~ Those Poles, Stalinists who had fled after Poznan to Hungary and to whom Gerö has granted asylum were also thrown out through the windows of the Hotel Astoria and the mass has torn them to pieces. But those Party functionaries who have stepped ~~back~~ on the side of the Revolution were not harmed.

- (6) At the beginning there was no real organization. On 24th I received a submachine gun from a friend of mine. We got ammunition from the military barracks.
- (6a) The evening of 24th I was drafted in the number 4 group of a larger unit. There were eight groups in it, headed by a worker. I can't give his name, because he is still at home, ~~there~~ ^{and} I do not want to harm him.
- (6b) 20 or 30 people came together, for example students or friends and out of this it was formed a group. We did not even know what was happening in the neighboring streets. There was no central direction. I was hold up with my friend on the street by ^a university student, he has introduced us ~~with~~ ^{to an} other students, saying that he will be our group leader. This is the way we were drafted.
- (6c) Mainly the young people have joined. Everybody could join, everybody was accepted. One was disappointed to a certain degree in the university students. At the beginning when there was to organize demonstrations they have carried the flag. Later when they had to fight the great majority of the university students, especially those from the

country simply went home. The working and the miner youth were the real backbone of the Revolution. Nothing would be so wrong as to say that it was the Revolution of the intellectuals, the Hungarian Revolution. This revolution was the revolution of the whole Hungarian people, but first of all of the Hungarian workers.

- (6b) I know directly only ~~from~~^{of} my group which consisted of five young people. Two of them have died, one was wounded and two of us have escaped without any great harm. On October 28th, when everything quieted down, I went home to Nagy Kanizsa.
- (6c) From the Hungarian military barracks, from the Hungarian soldiers. We had gasoline, guns, machine guns, and hand ~~grenades~~ granades.
- (6d) It was unconditional discipline.
- (6e) Yes, the worker I have mentioned. I don't know much more about him. In my group this worker has entrusted the leadership to the oldest student, who was a student of engineering.
- (6f) Everything came from itself. We made only the contra, the pro was in the hands of the enemies. In other words, ~~when~~^{when} the Russians or the AVH started to shoot, we shot back.
- (7) I could not tell it, perhaps Maleter because his group has so heroically defended the Kilián-barracks.
- (7a) I can't recall anything like this but I think it almost impossible.

(7b)

There was an absolute understanding. There weren't any questions of prestige. The students have shown great admiration and reference toward the workers, especially toward the miners of Tatabánya ^{who} flocked in great numbers to Budapest and who had after all more practice in the fights being older people, who usually participated already in the last World War. The workers on the other hand have asked often for our opinion regarding the future, what, I must admit, we have seen at that time in very optimistic colors.

(7a)

Later in Kanizsa I had contact with the Revolutionary Council there and with the peasantry of the countryside. On October 29th I left Budapest and went to Kanizsa on the advice of an army captain whom I met on the Technical University and who called on the boys from the counties of Zala and Somogy to go home and organize the Revolution in their parts of the country and also the food deliveries toward Budapest. I found in Kanizsa ⁱⁿ the Revolutionary Council the same personnel who composed before ^{the} Town Council, only the president of the Council and the secretary have changed jobs with each other. We had there organized the food delivery to Budapest and sent 3 big trucks with food up there. Kanizsa seemed to me way behind of the events, ^{as compared with} ~~but~~ the rest of the country. The so called Liberation Monument was destroyed there only in the evening of the 28th October. On the 28th and 29th we organized demonstrations. The military has surrounded the barracks

with trenches and shot at as soon as somebody approached them. The people haven't had any weapons in Kanizsa. In the afternoon of the 29th a deputation, consisting of oil workers, of railroad men, gymnasium students and myself, went to the barracks and talked with Lajos Úveges who was the colonel and the head of the military there and also with the head of the AVH and a man named [REDACTED]. They argued that they have been afraid of anarchy, that's why they haven't done anything yet. But now seeing the victory of the Revolution they put ~~themselves~~ themselves also under the authority of the Revolutionary Council. Thereupon Úveges was named to be a member of the council. The Revolutionary Council regarding that there was nowhere enemy in sight, ~~namely Russians~~, namely Russians, decided that the people should not be given arms thus preventing the use ^{of} such weapons for the furtherance of individual revenge. On the evening of the 29th there was a great demonstration in Kanizsa. The people demanded at the Party house that Gábor Nagy and Sándor Ballai, party functionaries, should be delivered to them. When this was not happening (these two in the meantime were arrested already and sitting in the jail) the crowd did not want to believe that they were not in the Party house and has broken the windows. Inside there were arms but nobody used them. Actually this incident was only a side show of the great demonstration which went on on the main street. The information service was not sufficient, that's the reason why there were mistakes.

Later we have organized a better information, giving news through great loudspeakers. The old mayor of the city - that is who held that post before the Communist take-over, was elected as a president of the Revolutionary Council and remained as such up to November 4th. The Revolutionary Council was recognized by everybody as the temporary authority. The office for forced delivery was immediately dissolved. On November 2nd, two army officers arrived from Budapest with the news that a Russian attack could be expected. Thereupon the Revolutionary Council has ordered the military to put anti-tank guns on the highway toward the Lake Balaton and Budapest from which side the Russians were expected and it has organized also a military guard for the defense. This time also, a civilian guard was organized which consisted of about 50 people most of them oil workers, and these were given arms. Early on the 4th of November we received the news that the airfield of Sarmellék near by, was occupied by the Russians during the night. On the 5th of November from the other side of the city from Zalaegerszeg, two Russian armored cars and a tank approached. We stopped them. They talked with us only through the windows and told us that they wanted to preserve only the order and did not have any provocative intentions. We haven't let them go into the town, so they stayed outside for the night. On the 6th of November Öveges has ordered the soldiers back to their barracks. Many have refused obedience but the anti-tank guns were brought back to the barracks.

On the 7th of November news arrived from Budapest that the Russians have defeated the Revolution and that, inspite of the fact that there were fights still going on, the Central Office and strategic points were already in Russian hands. In the evening of the 7th, a greater Russian armored unit has proceeded from the direction of Zalaegerszeg into Kanizsa. To fight against them seemed to be hopeless. The majority of the army, most of whom were from the villages, have gone home. The AVH has begun immediately to arrest the participants of the Revolution. Around the 10th of November everybody who had any leading part in the revolution, disappeared from Kanizsa. The Revolutionary Council was relieved from its work and responsibilities by the District Party Committee (Járásí Pártbizottság). It is interesting to note that they had no confidence anymore in the former town council inspite of the fact that its members have very well played both cards. On about the 10th a complete AVH was already in its place again. Nobody knew where they have been hiding before, but now they started the raids and have released those people who were arrested during the Revolution, arrested the former mayor of the city, but he was released very soon probably because of the general protest and dismay of the whole population. On November the 12th I went to my grandmother's home in a small willage about 15 kilometers from Kanizsa, where I was looked for on November 20th by the AVH. Fortunately they could not find me. I was just at that time not at home, but I did not wait

for them to return and so on November 1st I started off my journey toward the West.

- (8) The Russian troops who had been in Hungary for longer time usually sided with the Revolutionaries. Perhaps this is the explanation for the relatively quick victory of the revolution in Hungary. The saying was; look even the Russians were on the side of the Revolution, and this gave courage and boldness to the Hungarian people.
- (8e) Naturally, at the first phase of the Revolution this was no use at all. Between October 25th and 28th was a time when the Russians realized that there was no fascistic putch but popular revolution. Great many of them have either actively or passively ^{helped} ~~xxxx~~ the Revolution. The confusing and uncomfortable fact was that you couldn't know from the particular groups or tanks whether they are with you or against you. I have come out from Hungary in the company of a Russian soldier. We proceeded together up to Güssing in Burgenland. He was for six years in Hungary and didn't wish to return to the Soviet paradise. After November 4th the new troupes directed to Hungary, have looked for the Suez Canal and the American troops even in Venezia.
- (9) Up to October 28th I was too much occupied with the fighting around the Üllői út and the Kilián-barracks to be able to listen to a radio or to read the newspapers. I heard news only from comrades who were

fighting around me and in our night quarters where people from the neighboring streets met. After the 28th I have listened already sometimes to the radio and also to German broadcasts from Austria and Germany. I couldn't receive Radio Free Europe because it was very much jammed.

- (9a) I had not time for the newspapers.
- (9b) I learned by word of mouth about the fights from my comrades.
- (9c) After the 28th I heard the domestic radios, R.F.E., Voice of America and Vienna.
- (9d) The Hungarian Radio.
- (10a) The Delivery Office, the AVH have been abolished. The councils have been abolished too or rather were subordinated to the Revolutionary Councils. There remained the financial department, and statistical department but many of the ministries were abolished or contracted into one. Actually during the Revolution only the Supply Office has effectively worked, but even that rather in a spontaneous, ad hoc way than with an organized bureaucratic apparatus.
- (10b) The Party was an absolute zero. The Party organizations were thrown out of the Party offices and the offices themselves were requisitioned. Nobody has ^{about} cared ~~with~~ the Party. The common opinion was that the Party will never be able to exist anymore and, if it will exist, then it will have only as many members as many upper leaders it had before.

- (10c) In the majority it went over to the Revolution.
- (10d) Those who could be captured were executed. There was no mercy toward them.
- (10e) They didn't function.
- (10f) Mostly joined the Revolution.
- (10g) See under letter (a).
- (10h) In certain places the Revolutionary Council was formed from the former local council. In many places the local council consisted from very good people because the Communists couldn't find enough bad people. In other places the councils were dissolved and a completely new Revolutionary Council formed.
- (10i) Cardinal Mindszenty was freed. The peace priests were kicked out. The population went demonstratively to the churches and to all religious manifestations.
- (10j) I don't think they used any. They formed their new ones.
- (10k) The Revolutionary Councils and the MEFESZ of the students. In Budapest the former Boy Scout organization has put a notice on a building between October 28th and November 4th. Without any further propaganda about 600 to 700 boys have registered who wanted to join the new Boy Scout organization. Everybody thought it natural that the place of the Pioneers would be taken over by the Boy Scouts and the central home and offices of the Pioneer organization was in effect offered to the Boy Scout organization.
- (10l) It was spontaneous in every work shop, every concern, in every office, and in every university faculty was

organized one.

(10n) Until the new general elections, Imre Nagy. After that either the Small Land-Holders Party or the Catholic People's Party. In the country there were no battles raging during the Revolution but the political parties have all organized their party offices, were already working to get the people and prepare them for the next elections. In the villages, ^{the} above mentioned two parties had the dominant position. Even in ^{Nagy} Kanizsa which is the center of the oil region of Hungary and a fairly large town and which has many workers, even there not the Social Democratic Party, but the Catholic People's Party was the dominant. In my view, in the future the Social Democratic Party wouldn't have had much better future in Hungary than the Communist Party.

(11) Yes.

(11a) Looking at exclusively from Hungarian viewpoint it didn't have much sense. But ~~it had some~~ ^{it had some} indirectly. It has done a certain service in the direction that the world would know more about Hungary.

(11b) Yes, with the moral aid of the West.

(11c) We have expected moral aid on the ground that the Western radio stations R.F.E., V.A. have constantly encouraged us that we should only to begin and aid will come. Nobody has thought that American tanks would come to Hungary to fight for us, but we have expected it

unconditionally that when Imre Nagy has asked for the guarantee of Hungary's neutrality the United States and the United Nations would give this guarantee and wouldn't leave us in the lurch, on the ground of the Yalta Pact.

- (11d) In my opinion, if in Hungary would have been only so much terror as it was in Czechoslovakia or Eastern Germany then we wouldn't have waited with the Revolution up to 1956. The reason why after 1948 the terror was much greater in Hungary than anywhere else was, because they have been afraid of a revolution. I am not a chauvinist but my conviction is that the Russians have been afraid from Hungary more than from any of the other people's democracy. This is shown also by the saying of Stalin, according to whom the Hungarian question will remain always a question until they won't have enough boxcars.
- (11e) Poor man! He was no good for anybody. The Communists didn't want him. He himself was a national Communist but the Hungarians do not want national Communism even to their little finger. (in Hungarian háta középenk sem kell.) He could have remained on the head of the government only until the elections. I respect him as a man and I am sorry for him very much because he has sacrificed the most in 1953 and again in 1956 but his politics is not for us.
- (11f) Maleter, Dudas, Attila Szigethy. I have good opinions of Maleter and Dudas but from Attila Szigethy, who was the chairman of the Győr Revolutionary Council and of the

National Council of Transdanubia. I think that he was a scoundrel. xxxxx I regard general Király and the writer Aczél as opportunists. Perhaps the greatest role would have been in the future for cardinal Mindszenty reserved. Before the people he has still an immense prestige.

(11g) In the fights the workers, the youth and the soldiers. The intelligentsia was rather active in the preparation of the Revolution. The peasantry has been perfectly on the side of the Revolution. Its duty was to supply the cities with food which it did excellently.

(11h) I would have thought that they would take a greater part in the armed fighting.

(12) On November 20.

(12a) Because the AVH was looking for me.

- (1) I have had my abitur in 1955 in the Benedictine Gymnasium of Pannonhalma. I was not accepted in any other school because my father was since 1948 in the West and before that from 1945-48 he was imprisoned. My mother was jailed between 1950 and 1954. According to the accusation she was spying for the West. After 1955 I was living in Kanizsa and was statistician for the District Delivery Office.
- (1a) Statistician.
- (2) I had to collect every day the delivery reports of 56 communities ~~communities~~ on the phone and then to compile them and send the report to the county office. I did this three days during the week and then for two days I had to go to the country to control their administration there and to propagandize the delivery among the peasants.
- (2e) The District Delivery Office had two groups. The administrative group with five employees, and the operative group with four employees. This all was a part of the overall delivery organization which was organized from the Ministry of Deliveries whose head was Andreas Szobek, minister, through the County District Offices, down to the Village Delivery Office.
- (3) I hated and despised it but I could not find any other job.
- (3b) Alone the fact that I had to occupy myself with the forced deliveries. Next to the WH this was the greatest outrage

(in Hungarian *gazem berség*) in Hungary namely the way how the peasants had been exploited ("Kizsigerelték"). **

- (3d) The office itself wouldn't have been bad but the bureaucracy was unbearable. In spite of the fact that the whole thing was actually useless, hairsplitting ("szalmacséplés"), everything had to be dealt with bookkeeping in 20 different directions. The working time was also beyond human endurance.
- (3f) It changed a great deal. There were days when only 8 hours. At the end of the quarter years and during the summer season, during the delivery campaigns 12 to 15 hours.
- (3g) 6 days, but in time of campaigns, Sunday was also considered as working day. They have promised in exchange certain other days off but afterwards you never got it. On the other hand I couldn't have taken days off anyway because then the work would have piled up so much that I would have never been able to catch up with it.
- (3h) Yes, I worked lots of overtime but they haven't paid for it.
- (3i) The great holidays of the Socialism. April 4th, May 1st, August 20th, October 7th. Outside of these, nothing.
- (3j) There was, 17 days.
- (3k) No, only according to the length of service.
- (3l) Yes, they did deduct from the daily payment immediately.
- (3n) They have forced us by threats of dismissal to achieve peak records.
- (3o) The social insurance, the so called SzTK.

- (4) It was a very good company.
- (4a) With the exception of a girl, they were all people with matura. All specialists. They have worked before in the administration and had been the members of the former middleclass. This applies only to the administrative branch of our office. The operative branch was already of different composition. The director and the vice director had been Communist Party members but I could speak with them quite frankly.
- (4b) Comradely. We had also good relations with our local chiefs. This does not apply further up toward the county office and toward the ministry.
- (4c) No, they were all older than I.
- (4d) Yes, but there was no discussion because we all had the same opinion.
- (4e) No.
- (4f) We always paid our dues, 10 forints in a month, and nothing else we knew about it. Nothing under the heaven was done by the trade union except perhaps we had to vote for new peace loans.
- (4g) We had only old specialists. In the operative group they have collected all kinds of scoundrels because nobody else would have done such a job.
- (4h) Unquestionably.
- (4i) They did. They have cooked up the plans for competition; they brought out the most impossible numbers and you could not protest against this.

- (4n) Worker and peasant origin, but the latter only then if their father has joined the T Sz Cs, the collective farms. Officially the progressive intelligentsia also belonged to the kader but this was not taken seriously by anybody because, either somebody was intelligent and then he could not be counted progressive in the Communist terminology, or he was just dumb and then how could you call him intellectual.
- (4p) No.
- (5) Even if there would have been another opportunity for a job, it was not certain that the person ~~would~~ ^{could} have left the old job. For instance from our place no person was allowed to leave. Once I wanted to go over to the finance office where I would have gotten also more salary but I was not permitted to leave.
- (5b) I would have gone to a medical school; since my childhood I always wanted to be a doctor. I was attracted especially to ~~skixxxx~~ surgery.
- (5c) No one whatsoever.
- (5d) It is only human that everybody wants to get ahead. Chances had only those who had ^{good} kader cards.
- (5e) I would travel a lot and I would secure a quiet and beautiful life and I would occupy myself very much with clean politics.
- (5f) I thought that I would study abroad and then I would return to Hungary as soon as it will be a healthy political

life there.

- (6) It was just horrible. Since 1945 the whole family, which numbers four members, was not longer together than three weeks.
- (6c) In Hungarian circumstances I did relatively well. I made 900 forints in a month. The average salary was only 700-800 forints. But to support a family of four, it was absolutely necessary that at least two members should have an average salary in the family. I had to support, besides myself, my younger brother, who was still studying, my sick mother and my grandmother.
- (7) In 1955/56 I had 900 forints in a month.
- (7a) This was a good average then.
- (7d) Alone.
- (8a) 10,800 forints.
- (8b) 9,520 forints.
- (8c) In fulfilment of the plan perhaps around 400 forints reward yearly.
- (8d) 1,280 forints. From this 800 forints the peace loan, 120 forints trade union fees, and 360 forints taxes.
- (9a) 40 forints monthly.
- (9b) One room and one kitchen for four persons. There was no water and no other necessary appliances. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

- (9c) About half of my salary. ^{the} Before/butcher shop you had to stand in lines, there was no lard often to be had etc.
- (9d) 2,000 forints.
- (9e) 2,700 forints.
- (9f) Nothing.
- (9g) 200 forints.
- (9h) Nothing.
- (9i) 100 forints.
- (9j) 210 forints.
- (9k) 200 forints.
- (9l) 300 forints.
- (9m) 360 forints.

These are not absolute numbers but what I remember about the expenditures.

- (10) It ~~led~~ ^{led} the nation to a catastrophe.
- (10c) I don't know it.
- (10d) Unquestionably it was a deterioration.
- (10f) There was no re-emergence of Maszek; even in the last month they have forced the TSEZCS cooperatives and in the same way the small artisans and tradesmen were forced to the collectives.
- (10g) I really don't know. Before last year I was in school, away from the real life.
- (11) They were in the fifth order. In Hungary there was a certain minimum for the exist^ence and if somebody had a

little luck and some income and lived with great economy he could live somehow.

- (11a) Among the reasons of the Revolution the ^{economic} ~~economic~~ causes were not the dominant ones.
- (11b) That, that you didn't have any rights. There was no freedom. If something was bothering somebody he couldn't tell it to anybody because they would jail him for that. That absolute injustice from the courts downwards everywhere.
- (11c) Except of the narrowest group, the party functionaries, ministers and AVH people, for everybody.

- (1) I have a matura or abitur from the General Gymnasium, from 1955.
- (1b) In Ecclesiastical School at Pamonhalna.
- (1c) I wanted to study and I was not accepted elsewhere.
- (2) No.
- (2b) I wanted to become a doctor. In 1956 I was finally admitted to the University but only to the faculty of Law, and there also only to the Correspondence Section, and that was only because I was good at football.
- (2c) It's evident.
- (2d) Excellent.
- (2e) No, I have not had.
- (3) No.
- (3a) I liked history, Hungarian, mathematics. I didn't like Russian and biology. The others were neutral.
- (3b) Yes, we did.
- (3c) We had both; Materialist and Catholic ideology. Two hours for each, weekly. They were not required courses. In the other schools they haven't given them, and we had it in the afternoon. We were very much interested in it so that in spite of the fact, that they were not obligatory, everybody has taken them up. I am convinced that we, who attended Catholic Schools, have much more knowledge about Communist ideology, than those who attended the State Schools.
- (3d) We had air defense course.

- (4) To win over the youth to Communism.
- (4b) October 23rd has shown this.
- (5) Officer of the Army.
- (5b) After '45 he was jailed for 3 years. After his release, in two weeks they wanted to arrest him again and then he left illegally. Since that time he is living in Germany.
- (5d) Yes, up to 1945 it was necessary.
- (5e) We had a small villa on the Lake Balaton, but that was confiscated.
- (5f) We lived well up to 1945, but after that it was the worst.
- (5g) Four.
- (5h) My father was in jail from 1945-48. He came out in 1948. After that we lived at my grandmother's place in the country, my mother, my brother and I. In 1950 my mother was arrested because of my father having left for Germany. According to one point of the accusation, it was possible that, in the case of a counter-revolution, she would stand on the side of the enemy. She was released in 1954. In the meantime I went to Pannonhalma to school. In 1955 I did my matura, and afterwards I went to work and I have supported the whole family. My brother went to the Franciscan Gymnasium in Esztergom in September 1955. Of course, we received a very good education in these religious schools, and it was a great luck that I was accepted in Pannonhalma and my brother in Esztergom, but it had its terrible drawbacks too. Anybody who goes to a church school, is marked already, and just to

give an example; he wouldn't be admitted to the University.

(5i) My mother, my grandmother, and my brother.

(5k) It hurt me very much.

(11) Very well, when we could be together. Since 1945 the four members of my family had been together only for two weeks, in 1948, December.

(12) Yes, we did.

(12b) My mother, since her release from the prison, never dared to say one word about politics, even to us, her children.

(13) No.

(13b c) No.

(14a) Very close.

(14b) It was not typical. We had a very vexed family life. With other people the family ties were loosened up very much. The children were taken away from their parents and educated by the state. This was done through the ways that the women had to work and so neither the father nor the mother had much time to occupy themselves with their children.

(14f) I would have liked to go to theater and to read such books, of which after my maturation, I just couldn't get hold of. I would have liked to go on a vacation, if only for a few days each year.

(14g) No, because after work, I had to go to the seminaries for

further trainings in ideology. It was very typical, that the lecturer didn't know the half about those things what we, his pupils, knew. For instance, as I mentioned before, at Pannonhalm; I got such a thorough training in Marxist philosophy, but xxx ^{together} with it also from Christian and Western philosophy, that I could have brought the lecturer in the greatest embarrassment any time I wanted. But of course, who dared to do so? I would have lost my job, which was a miracle that ^I even have got it.

- (15) I think, that in general, they have been loosened, because the members of the family couldn't be together as much as before.
- (15a) The parents were afraid to speak frankly or to listen to foreign radio stations before their smaller children.
- (15c) Yes.
- (15d) In the ~~country~~ country less than in the cities.
- (15e) Of course, the whole school policy and educational system was directed to that aim, namely that the children should be separated from their parents and should be reared for the system.
- (15f) There are many divorces.
- (16) To a great extent.
- (16a) The age limit became lower. While before men have married when they were 25-30, now 18 years old boys marry already. In general they have killed the responsibility from the people. At the same time there are many people who don't

dare to marry because they don't have material basis for this.

- (16b) The relation between boys and girls is much more licentious. People who have certain jobs or positions could conclude only civil marriage, church wedding only in secret. Parents have less and less say in the education because of the above mentioned reason, namely that the children and the parents are more and more separated by this policy of the regime.
- (16d) ~~It's~~ more loose. The church has less and less say in the education. The regime ^{has} achieved ~~xxx~~ that 99 per cent of the youth has no firm ideas and no responsibility whatsoever. Religion was killed off from their ^{soul} ~~xxx~~. On the other hand, they couldn't stomach the Communist stupidities and so they live only for the tomorrow.
- (16e) Much more than ever before. According to Mépszabadság in ^{operating.} Budapest about 10,000 prostitutes are ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Officially they are not permitted but they are all around.
- (17) It has sunk on all levels.
- (18) I met him in 1954 in Nagykanizsa. He was a student and later we worked together.
- (18b) Yes, our ideas were the same and our attitudes.
- (18c) Movie, dance, theater.
- (18d) Yes.
- (18f) Yes.

- (18g) Unconditional trustworthiness and that he could remain my friend also when he couldn't expect from me anything anymore.
- (18h) No.
- (18i) It was a very good company. Wherever I was, I usually had one or two friends. After Pannonhalma I had only this friend of mine in Kanizsa, whom I just mentioned.
- (18j) There was somebody to whom one could talk about his thoughts, his problems, his opinion of the system and with whom you could pass your time.
- (18k) I had only such friends who wouldn't have done such a thing.
- (19a) Roman Catholic. The same attitude.
- (19b) Now I could see really how great need is for religion, when the Communists have done everything to destroy it. I can explain the complete fiasco of Communism only because it had fought against religion.
- (20) Yes.
- (20a) No, it didn't persecute the Protestants in the same measure as it did the Catholics.
- (20b) Provisionally they want to use it for their own ends and after they want to stamp it out.
- (20c) They were scoundrels. Partly people who didn't have any backbones, partly such who have been worked over for this reason by the AVH.
- (20f) Catholics were considered fascists and those who went to church could lose their jobs even if they were good

specialists or skilled workers.

(20g) Yes, they were.

(20h) I went every Sunday and about twice in a month I went to the Holy Communion.

(20i) There ~~XXX~~ were people who have abandoned going to church because of fear. But there were people, and many, who went to church just because it was forbidden. These people often went to other churches and in other time/~~they~~ ^{thank} when they could have expected ~~any~~ spies looking for them. But the safest of course was for the older people to go to church and the younger generation easier forget about it. Although in the villages and in small towns generally the whole population went to church.

(20k) It is less important. This is the effect of the Communist system and education. The young people knew about the priests and religion only negatives. The most destructive effect was the role played by the peace priests, who have preached from the pulpit about the grain delivery and called ^{on} the people to vote for the Communists Party.

(20p) Perhaps the only basis against the Communists remained the church. Of course where regular, not peace priests, have been. Christian ideology is contrary to the Marxist Communist ideology and as long as Christianity remains a force, it keeps awake in the population the anti-Communist ideas and attitude. This was the reason why the Communists did everything to destroy the church and to break its influence especially on the youth. Therefore ~~it~~ ^{they} prohibited,

or made it very difficult, the religious instruction of the children. For instance, to register for religious instruction at the school there was needed a written application from both parents and the child. There was usually only two days left in September for the handing in of the application and the date of those two days was ~~divulged~~ ^{divulged} only at the last minute. Then, before the parents could reach the right authority, they had to proceed through several rooms where the Party functionaries and the teachers would work on them with all kinds of promises and threats. ~~These~~ ^{For those} people who were in State employment, for instance teachers, it was impossible to send their children for religious instruction. In many places those children who have taken religious instruction were discriminated by the other professors and their chances to get to higher schools were as much as nil.

- (21) This question is an academic one because there is no possibility for free choice. Very, very few have the opportunity to become that what they would like to become. But if I disregard ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ this reality, I would recommend to him to become a physician.
- (21a) Because it is everywhere revered and ~~XXXX~~ it is clean from politics and because it is ~~also~~ profitable materially.
- (21b) In order to make a career, he must expose himself politically, which means, he has to join the Party. (This of course, I would never recommend to anybody).
- (21c) To working class or peasant origin.

- (22) The best off are members of the AVH, Party functionaries, ^{managers.} and factory ~~xxxxxxx~~. In general, everywhere, even at the Kolkhozes, the managerial section. Among the intellectuals the best off are the doctors, and the engineers. After these come the skilled workers. The worst off are the deportees, the members of the Kolkhozes, people who have had political past, then clerks and then workers.
- (22a) To those who have had political past (because of my parents)
- (22b) I was satisfied with my ~~xxxxx~~ lot.
- (22c) Excellently.
- (22d) For the artists there were already some limits.
- (23) Workers, peasant, and progressive intelligentsia. There are some other categories, as for instance, small artisans, small traders, kulaks and then there are the so-called ~~xxxxx~~-people who are the so-called fascists and the reactionary party of the intelligentsia etc.
- (23b) Certainly.
- (23c) Its absolute negative side is, that it ^{created} ~~xxxxxxx~~ a strict and unjust caste-system.
- (23d) Only the Communists were interested in such aspects, the rest of the population was not.
- (23e) They are less. Today there is a greater difference as regards of the origin of the people. For instance, those who were born from a family of the ~~xx~~-category, are not regarded as human beings at all. Such a person, for example, cannot go to the University, not even to a high-school.

- (23) Rules of etiquettes are not known anymore. Politeness is completely disappeared. Of this, there was much talk even in the newspapers in the last time. It was not important, what is proper, or what is not, but what was according to the Party line and what was not according to the Party line (in Hungarian the expression is *pártszerű*). For example it was according to the Party line, it was *pártszerű*, to wear a shag overcoat (in Hungarian *Lóden Kabát*) and also to wear a ^{beret} ~~barret~~ (in Hungarian *svájci sapka*). This went to such an extent that even persons who would have liked to dress otherwise, had to wear such clothings when they went to work in their offices.
- (24) No, except those whom I have mentioned as category ~~xxx~~ Y
- (24a) I don't know about it.
- (25) Generally the Jews have occupied all those positions in which money could be made without work, accordingly 70 percent of the factory managers and of the "hang-men" of the AVH came from among the Jews.
- (25a) They have served it.
- (25b) The leading ~~xxx~~ roles.
- (25c) In official dealing, I had many opportunities for contacts, but among my friends, or near acquaintances, were no Jews.
- (25e) As against the Jews, as Jews, there was no discrimination.
- (25c) We can't speak about anti-semitism today in Hungary. But it is without question that there was a certain antipathy toward them. The fact that many of them perished during the

Revolution did not happen because of anti-semitism but simply because the most AVH people and party functionaries were Jews.

- (25a) From the Jewry collectively, I can't speak. I am for individual judgement. In my opinion, in Hungary there is still a certain Jewish problem but that is by far not so great as it was before the war.

- (1) Yes.
- (1a) About 50 per cent.
- (1c) After '55 I began to be seriously interested in politics, and since the recent months I was more and more absorbed in it.
- (2) I have experienced on my own skin, the "blessings" of Communism since both of my parents suffered in Communist prisons and I myself had to suffer the consequences of my family background. It's only natural, that from the very start, I was against them.
- (2a) See the question 2.
- (2e) See the preceding question 2.
- (2f) See the preceding question 2.
- (2h) With the use of terror.
- (2i) Those who had kaders could get ahead. Those who did not have good kaders were stuck. The kader cards, with very few exceptions, have been very accurate. With their help the population could be kept under control with almost a hundred per cent effectiveness.
- (3) The arrest and imprisonment of my mother, that they haven't admitted me to the University, that my grandmother's family was deported for the country from Budapest.
- (3a) IX, XII, I or II.
- (3b) XIII. Since I have known anyway what was the truth, then V and IV.
- (3c) X, XI, and XV.

(3d) XIV, I, and II.

(3e) XV, VIII, and V.

(3f) For example, I went home from the office, and there the AVO was waiting for me and took me along to their headquarters. They asked me, what was the atmosphere in the office, who is not satisfied with something, why ^{n't} are we working harder, why don't deliver more the peasants, why am I going to church, why did I note only 200 forints for the peace-loan (the answer on this question was the easiest, namely that this was the amount they made me to sign, on the basis, of course, of the voluntary offerings). This happened to me several times and I had the good luck, that each time I was permitted to go home, after two, three slaps in my face. Then, for instance, you had to wait before the grocery stores, for hours, sometimes for days for a pound of lard. Then, another example, we lived, four of us, in one room and a tiny little kitchen without any other space and comfort, and so forth.

(3g) During the last years, among my greatest joy was, that my mother regained freedom in '54. Then the fact, that I could go to school in Pannonhalma and that after my natural examination, the first time I had a vacation and did not have to go to Sztalinváros or to other places voluntarily for slave labor.

(4) The Russians.

(4a) The entire government was Moscovite .

- ((4b) Subordinate.
- (4e) "Vakulj magyar"! It was just eye wash.
- (4f) It was incomparably greater than before '44. My acquaintances who had been working before, with the administration, told me that before 1944 there were not so many acts at a district notary's office (in Hungarian *körjegyzőség*) as now at a trashing machine controller.
- (4g) Yes. The peasants had succeeded often in bribing the Council functionaries in order that their lot should be easier. According to public opinion, everybody is lying, deceiving, and stealing wherever he can, if he has any advantage of it.
- (4h) Generally from good keepers. But of course, they could not afford to be without the old specialists all together, and so these had been kept too.
- (4i) Mostly from children of peasants or former *zsellér*.
(cotters)
- (5) I don't know, but I know that on the Universities it ~~EXISTED~~ counted a lot.
- (5a) I don't think so.
- (5b) In the state high-schools and on the University it was obligatory.
- (5c) I was not a DISZ member but mostly also for the members their membership consisted only of their paying one forint membership fee monthly.
- (5d) No. They would not have taken me in, because of my family background.
- (5e) No.

(51) The Party.

(6) It is a relative concept, to be a member of the Party could mean that the person was a Communist. But it could mean also that he was forced to join the Party.

(6a) Actually everybody ought to have joined the Party who was a public clerk. But in fact, if somebody had a little backbone didn't join.

(6b) The rascals.

(6c) Prospects for advancement in his job. In fact, with joining the Party, the person had done the first step toward his career. His duties were, to pay the membership fee and to applaud the lecturer on meetings, to spy and denounce his fellow workers, etc.

(6d) Yes, I have known very many. 90 per cent of them has joined because he was afraid that he would be fired from his job.

(6e) Being a member of the Party didn't change somebody's character. Those who joined ~~because~~, because of conviction - such people were very few - have not been changed by this act. The others have paid their dues monthly only with gnashing their teeth.

(6f) Because they have seen finally where its leading

(6g) Not many.

(6h) No, and I think, they wouldn't have taken me either.

(6r) In Hungary, the Central Committee of the MDP, indirectly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

- (6p) It has changed. The Party has pursued always such a policy what kind of winds were blowing from Moscow. See the changes of the policy toward Tito. These changes came mostly after the death of Stalin. The greatest was after the 20th Party Congress and the July Party Resolutions.
- (7) I was a member only of a sport society. It was called "Kanizsai Olajmunkás^s, Bányász Sportegyesület."
- (7c) Its purpose was; bodily exercise and sport.
- (7d) I joined it to have opportunity for little sport and thus a relaxation from my worries ~~and~~ at the office and at home.
- (7e) I was active in many branches of sport activities.
- (7g) They did not take it seriously and were annoyed by it. They thought that the whole thing is just to get the membership fee out of their pockets.
- (7i) They were stagnating.
- (7m) They did not have any special feeling about the Trade Unions except that they hated to pay for such an organization which had not done anything for them.
- (8) About 5 per cent.
- (9) The DISZ was never a stalwart Communist organization. They have only proclaimed it to be such, just as they have said about the miners and the workers that they were the greatest Communists.

- (10a) Everybody has been in a constant fear, because of the terror.
- (10b) To keep in check the Hungarians and to secure that it shouldn't be such a revolution which at the end has erupted anyway.
- (10d) They have organized their system of informers (Hungarian spicli). Partly in the way that they have arrested persons, who had some background for which to be afraid and these persons were blackmailed and forced to be informers.
- (10e) When the young men were inducted, those who had good kaders were taken to the AVH. But in my opinion, those who got to the political section of the AVH they have manifested somehow their own will to get there.
- (10f) Generally young men, most of them Jews.
- (10g) Fantastic salary, all kinds of bonuses, advantages, for instance they had travel opportunities, vacations, separate stores, where they could buy things for pennies.
- (10h) No, because no one could know when the politics ~~xxx~~ ^{would} change.
- (10j) The AVH people have looked down on everybody. They thought ^{that theirs was} of themselves as supermen. It is without doubt, ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{the} merit that up to now there was no revolution in Hungary and they could have been rightly proud of this fact.
- (10k) The two have moved on different tracks. In practice the AVH seemed to be the more powerful, but in the last instance it stood still under the direction of the Party.

- (11) My father and my mother.
- (11a) My father was convicted by the so-called People's Court in 1945, for three years. My mother was held by the Military Attorney's Office (in Hungarian Katonai Ügyészség) without trial, for four years, in different prisons. So we did not know anything about her, all that at the time.
- (11c) My father was beaten up terribly. From his back, they have ripped off straps of skin. They put him into ^{an} electrical cell. There he was stricken by electricity in case he leaned to any of the walls. He had to stand there for days. Also my mother was beaten up several times, and tortured.
- (11d) Mostly those who had some past. But in fact, everybody was afraid equally because nobody could know which minute they would cook up something against him.
- (11f) That varied from case to case. There were some people with whom you could not get at all in touch. There were some whom you could visit and could write to. But this was the case usually only with such people who had a trial already. The others, just like my mother, were simply forgotten in the jail.
- (11g) No.
- (11h) I know that there was deportation to Siberia and there was deportation to the Great Hungarian Plain.
- (13) He shouldn't go to Hungary. ~~And~~ To someone who is already in Hungary, it is impossible to give advice. Because if he is speaking little, that would be suspicious. If he

is speaking a lot, that will be suspicious.

(13a) There are none.

(13b) For the moment it helps, but later his fall would be greater.

(13c) Yes, "protection" is very great. Of course, it depends, what a person wants to achieve.

(13d) It does. It is difficult to conceal ~~any~~ ^{an un} favorable one.

(13e) It helps because he can bribe them, the honest officials.

But, too bad, very ^{few} people have money and those who have they usually ~~don't~~ don't need to bribe people.

(13f) Unquestionable^y the Catholic religion is more likely to be persecuted than the others.

(

(14) In 1953, with Imre Nagy program, there was a softening and again in 1956 they have ^{orted} ~~switched~~ to a luke warm policy of convincing the people.

(14a) At the beginning of '55 there was a great purge.

(15) Whatever the Soviet Union wanted, was done in Hungary.

(15e) Strongest was on political and economic fields.

(16) It was impossible.

(16c) One ~~will~~ ^{will} be carefully selecting as one gets to know the people. According to that knowledge ^{will be} ~~will be~~ speak.

(16b) I have talked only about sports freely. Although even there you had to be careful with the criticizing of the Soviet Sports. Perhaps only the weather was a free subject. You had to be careful with anything else, especially ~~medicine~~ which had any connection with politics.

- (16e) In the most recent times people dared already to speak somewhat freer about certain things.
- (17) "Aki ért a szakmához, az áttudja dobni őket." He who has know-how can fool them anytime. For example, if he has among his acquaintances a doctor, he would get a certificate that he was ill on the 1st of May. Therefore he could not go to the parade.
- (17a) No. I did not.
- (17b) In no way at the best he would not grow the required amount. But then he would be arrested and jailed for sabotage. There was very little chance to avoid the authorities or to bribe them. Generally the described amount was requisitioned ~~EM~~ of ~~or~~ the peasant.
- (17c) With connections.
- (17b) With connections.
- (17e) In no ways.
- (18) The strength of the regime was the AVH. Its weakness was the Hungarian people.
- (19) There was no possibility for open resistance. Individually everybody has hated within himself the Communism, except ^{those} of course who have profited by it.
- (191) It was the consequence of the ferment which was taking place since '53.

(19m) I knew about the Petöfi circle and about the movement of the students. I was happy about it. Only, I found it very strange, that the ¹readers of the Petöfi circle were exactly the people who had been the most loyal and faithful servants of the regime.

- (1) From the radio, from newspapers and from RFE pamphlets.
- (1a) The R.F.E., the Kossuth Rádió. Between the two somewhere ~~was~~^{lay} the truth.
- (2a) Szabad Nép, Nép-Sport, Képes-Sport, Rádió Újság, Éleves Tudomány, ^kBéke és Szabadság, Hétfői Hírlap.
- (2b) Regularly.
- (2c) These newspapers did we receive in the office, except the sport papers and the Hétfői Hírlap. This latter I read out of my ~~own~~ own interest. Of course, I was interested also in the Élet és Tudomány and naturally also in the Szabad Nép. From that latter did I learn how to double-think and double-speak. In Hungarian the expression is hantázni.
- (2e) They were.
- (2f) In no way were they different from the newspapers since we had cut out articles from the regular newspapers and made out of them the wall-newspaper, whenever our turn came.
- (2g) The paper of the Austrian Communists.
- (2j) The pamphlets of R.F.E., which were sent in by balloons. Many people have got in trouble because of these; if such were found by somebody, he was put in jail for five years.
- (3) Yes, every week.
- (3a) Italian and French.
- (3b) Entertaining. I didn't go to the political movies.

- (3e) Yes, about three times a year, namely when I could go to Budapest. I went to opera, to operettas, and classical dramas. For instance last year I saw Faust, ^SGrardáskirálynő and the Tragedy of Man, by Madách.
- (4) "Gone with the Wind" by Margaret Mitchel, then "Faragott Képek" (I don't remember the author of this one), then the novels of Nyirő, of Ferenc Herczeg, Irén Gulácsy, as for instance "Fekete Völegények," and "Sibói Bölény".
- (4c) Because I was interested in these.
- (4b) Until I went to school in Pannonhalma, there was no problem, because of the immense rich library of the abbey. Later it was much more difficult already, but I could borrow from the private collections of my acquaintances.
- (4e) Nyirő, Irén Gulácsy, Hall Caine, Shakespeare, Göthe, Arany, Vörösmarty, Ady, Heine, Villon.
- (4f) "Férfihűség," by Hall Caine, "Gone with the Wind," by Margaret Mitchel, then Faragott Képek," and "A'rva Krisztina".
- (4g) Usually not.
- (5) Yes.
- (5b) Yes, an Orion set.
- (5d) The musical programs and the sport news.
- (5e) Two to three hours.
- (5f) At home and also in the office.

- (6) Yes.
- (6a) To R. F. E. in order that I should hear also what they are lying ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the West, not only what they are lying ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the East. (Although that time I have still believed that in the West they are telling more truth).
- (6b) In the evenings every day.
- I knew that it is only partly truth, what they say, but ~~they~~ ^{we} preferred to believe them, rather than the domestic stations, because they have lied at least good things.
- (6c) My uncle was caught once, listening to a foreign radio. He was arrested by the police, taken into their quarters and beaten up very badly for it.
- (7) Yes, I did.
- (7a) About foreign political news.
- (7b) From my acquaintances.
- (7c) Their reliability changed according to persons and according to situations.
- (7d) For instance, that at this and that time will come the Americans to liberate us. Or, for instance, that President Eisenhower has demanded in an ultimatum from the Russians to leave Hungary.
- (7e) Especially on the trains you could hear miraculous things. During travels, people talk^{ed} nothing but politics, especially during the last months.
- (7f) For instance, one of my acquaintances, who spoke several

languages and after his work in the office, he hasn't done anything else, until 1 o'clock in the night, ^{but} ~~then~~ listening to foreign stations. He did news gathering and disseminating almost as his professional vocation.

(7h) Wherever people came together in company.

(7i) No.

(8) Political news, absolutely not.

(8a) Sport news.

(8b) Political news.

(8c) It was equally unreliable all the time.

(8d) Intuition.

(8e) The B.B.C. .

(8f) Yes, but not regularly. I was looking at those names who have written the papers, and in those I couldn't have any confidence. I can't trust those disillusioned Communists. When another wind will blow, they will get their illusions back.

(8g) Yes, daily. Very few numbers it had, in which, among the political news, anything would have been true. In fact, it was rather an economical paper than political. But on the field of economy it has lied just as much as in the questions of politics. Szabad Nép has written also of our district, the "Kanizsa" district, that we have overfulfilled our plan by 120 per cent, which, of course, was an insolent lie.

- (8h) Yes, I read all its numbers, ~~but~~^{My} feeling was, at last, there is somebody who dares to say it.
- (9) Yes.
- (9a) Everybody who has been interested in politics.
- the
- (10a) It was basest thing after the basest possible.
- (10b) The Russians have provoked it.
- (10c) I knew only so much about it, what I read in the domestic papers, but I could not believe it.
- (10d) It's unquestionably necessary.
- (10e) It was a great nonsense, in Hungarian "nagy marhaság volt".
- (10f) Our greatest sorrow was, that we couldn't help them. We were not permitted to go out from Pannonhalma for three days. The AVÖ has occupied the entire building.
- (10g) I became very bitter, because I felt, that they were coming to an agreement and everything was to remain as of old.
- (10h) I haven't heard much ~~from~~^{of} them.

- (1) The one Party system has to be abolished and also the State Church Bureau. Interference with the work of the law courts by the Party and by the AVO has to be eliminated. Our contracts with the Soviet Union ~~has~~^{have} to be revised and above all, our status of dependency toward the Soviet Union has to be radically changed. The system of forced delivery and the system of the norms have to be abolished. The kader cards have to be ~~d~~^estroyed. The AVH has to be dissolved and first of all, the Soviet troops have to withdraw from Hungary. Free elections must be held.
- (1a) I would leave the land with the peasants and I wouldn't give back the nationalized factories and banks either.
- (1b) The land reform. But this was actually not the work of the present regime but was done by the common policy of the coalition government of 1944/45.
- (2) Yes, I do.
- (2a) Naturally.
- (2b) No.
- (3) Yes, there is no need for limitations.
- (3e) No.
- (3b)^d No.
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Yes.
- (4b) If the government doesn't serve the interest of the people.

(5)

The abolition of the ^tnorm system and of the system of forced deliveries, the revision of the economic contracts with the Soviet Union, and the creation of ^eTrucking Unions, which would serve the interests of the workers.

(6)

I don't think that it is unconditionally the right thing in each case. However, as far as the heavy industry is concerned, I think centralization has its advantages for the country.

(6b)

Only the very small ones, lets say, up to ten workers.

(6c)

It's good.

(6e)

Yes, for instance, alcohol and tobacco monopolies.

(6g)

It's a silly thing. For example, I am not in favor of this one.

(7)

It is difficult to answer ~~ix~~ this. You have to take into consideration the circumstances in each given country. For instance, in principle, I would favor if they would permit now in Hungary the private initiative, at the same time I have a certain feeling against giving back the factories, already nationalized, to their former owners. Although I know that this would be unjust, namely if there would be a possibility to become new manufacturer, but at the same time, the former owners of factories would remain deprived of their ownership. In any case, the former owners should get some compensation for their

nationalized property.

- (8) In such a country where everything is in private hands, it is unnecessary.
- (8a) In the case where the great industry is already nationalized there, planning is necessary. But in those places, where it is not yet introduced, I wouldn't start the nationalization because by this, the free competition is excluded and thus the people do not make much effort to get ahead.
- (8b) It has failed.
- (8c) Where they have introduced already the nationalization, there it should be limited to the heavy industry.
- (8d) The state, according to the work and time which went into the production.
- (9) Yes, for example, the free exercise of religion and the family life.
- (10) Yes, for instance, to obey the laws of the state and its orders.
- (10a) According to one's economic strength but not to such an extent that after paying taxes, one should become unable to exist.
- (10b) It is necessary.
- (10c) It is necessary.
- (10d) Only in such a state, which is serving the interests of the people.

- (10e) Yes, for example, to safe-guard the civil rights of the citizens and their right to work.
- (11) No.
- (11a) That stratum which came afore through the present system. With other words, the new ruling group.
- (11c) Private physicians work better, because it is in their own interest.
- (11d) Everybody is insured but if somebody has some serious illness, he would go to a private physician because he knows, that in the State Health Services they would only bungle his case. (In Hungarian the word is eltólják.)
- (12) Unquestionably. There is more opportunity to go to the movies. Before the war, there were movies only in the bigger towns. Today there is one in every little village. They are comparatively cheap. Much cheaper, for example, than in Austria or in Germany. Of course, it was for propaganda reasons that exactly the movies, newspapers, and books were cheaper in Hungary than in the Western countries.
- (12a) They do take advantage of it.
- (13) No.
- (13a) No.
- (13b) Maybe.
- (14) No.

(14a) No.

(14b) No.

(15) It did increase.

(15c) If it wouldn't be one-sided, it would be good. But so it causes more harm than profit.

(16) They should direct the factory and the production in the form of Worker's Councils.

(16a) The defense of the interests of the workers.

(16b) Completely. Within the rights of the Trade Unions. For instance, the state shouldn't interfere with strikes.

(16c) It should be voluntary^y.

(16d) The Worker's Council.

(16e) The workers. Under the workers I understand, all the employees working in a given factory; the engineers, the clerks and also the other intellectuals, not only the manual laborers. They all should be represented in the Worker's Councils.

(17) In the form, in which they exist today in Hungary, I held them extremely bad. On the other hand, such co-operatives which exist for instance in the Netherlands I would not mind, but only on a voluntarily basis.

(17b) Between two evils, it is the lesser one.

(17c) They should be dissolved, if the majority of the members wishes so.

- (17e) In case of this solution, everybody ought to get back his own.
- (17f) Yes, about 200 Hungarian yokes.
- (17g) The great estates over 200 yokes and the lands, formerly owned by the church, shouldn't be returned over a certain limit. This limit could be set differently according to the needs in the different cases.
- (17h) Yes.
- (17i) Yes, they should give it back to a certain limit. For instance 200 Hungarian yokes. Some compensation should be given for the rest.
- (17j) It should be distributed according to an agreement between the members.
- (17k) Yes, but only on a voluntary basis.
- (17l) Yes, with artificial fertilizers, and with improved seeds.
- (17m) That was not a bad idea. It should be kept.
- (18) They should ^{be} ~~be~~ completely independent from each other.
- (18a) The schools should be returned and for the economic security of these, some land and immovable properties should be returned to the churches.
- (18c) If the churches would have enough property and income for their subsistence, they should not receive anything from the state, because thereby their independence would be impaired.
- (18d) Yes.
- (18e) Yes.

- (18f) To denominational schools.
- (19) I am for individual judgement. Those ones, who have hurt others, should be brought before the courts.
- (19f) The members of the AVH must be brought before the court without delay.
- (20) Nándorfehérvár, with other words the victory at Belgrad, of which the ringing of the bells at noontime remind the world even today. The steady battles against the Tartars and the Turks and the fact that Hungary has given so many scientists, poets, writers, to the Western culture.
- (21) Yes. It differs from all other nations.
- (21d) No, it has remained, although it became less pronounced.
- (21e) Yes, there are differences. The peasants, the middle-class, and the aristocracy, each had its characteristic grades. traits
- (21f) Yes, they were.
- (22) The Horthy era was the least bad of them.
- (22e2) Everybody remembered it with horror.
- (22f) There were great inequalities.
- (22g) Besides its many good sides, it had also faults. Example for its good sides is, for instance, that it has led out the country from the great economic crisis and it created

until 1938 such a high living standard that it is even today remembered ^{as the peak} of the well being in Hungary's recent history. There were also greater freedoms in expressing opinions. There had been more than one political parties and greater freedom of speech and press than ever after. On its debit side, is the fact, that although quite unwillingly, but still it has involved Hungary in the second World War.

(22h)

^u
Hungary pursued a wrong policy during the World War II. She should have remained outside of it. How, that of course, I don't know. It's much easier to exercise criticism, than to do the right policy under difficult circumstances. It's very possible, that there was no way to do otherwise as Hungary's wartime government have acted.

(22i)

It seemed that, maybe, the Russians would leave and perhaps the multi-party system would remain and finally such a party would win at the elections, which would be capable to create and maintain order in the country.

(23)

Yes.

(23a)

The present borders of ~~EMM~~ Hungary are unquestionably unjust.

(23b)

Those territories where the majority of the population is Hungarian, should be returned to Hungary. For example the Csallóköz^z from Czecho-slovakia and the Hungarian territories in Transylvania.

In each case the status quo ante should be considered, namely the conditions before the new resettlements affected by the successors's states, in order to change the nationality character of the respective territories.

- (23c) The Russians want all of Hungary.
- (23d) There is no such a thing as natural conflict. However, there is a long standing conflict of interests between the Hungarians and the Czechs and between the Hungarians and the Rumanians. With other nations the Hungarians do not have serious conflicts.
- (24a) The Danubian confederation. Not the Hungarians alone, but the neighboring nations do need this. The main goal is a united Europe. If this would be created, then the problem would come up, whether the Danubian confederation would be taken in as a unit, as for example the Benelux states.
- (24b) Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Rumania.
- (24c) A member state. There shouldn't be leading states, and subordinated states. It should be an absolute democracy.
- (24d) In the united Europe, yes. But only after she has thrown away Communism.
- (24e) Only on the principle of voluntariness, and not the voluntariness by the state, but by the individuals.
- (25) They are dumb.
- (25e) Loathing and contempt toward them.

- (26) It is wrong in its fundamentals. Such a theory, which has absolutely no philosophic basis, cannot survive.
- (26c) The slogan was "a marxismus nem dogma, hanem a cselekvés vezérvonala." In English; Marxism is no dogma, but it is the leading line of action. Thus they could claim everything as Marxism and everybody could be a good Marxist.
- (26g) No.
- (26h) Somebody who is willing to give equal rights to every man.
- (26i) Never, up to today. Maybe in the few days of the October Revolution it came close to it.
- (26j) Tito is a man without convictions. He is doing always the things from which he can profit the most. (Question 26 was done according to the old version before the questionnaire was revised).
- (27) It is a battling between Communism and Democracy, of which the end couldn't be else but submerging again in the International Communism. This is a question of time only.
- (27a) Imre Nagy.
- (27c) It is a transitory period, the suspension of problems after which everything will remain in the old.
- (27d) Yes.
- (27e) No, or better very naive or silly.
- (
- (28) Yes.
- (28a) Imre Nagy would have remained probably with the national Communism but the multi-party system and the elections

would have excluded this.

(28b) Until the elections would have taken place.

(29a) Good.

(29b) Bad.

(29c) Bad.

(29d) Bad.

(29e) Bad.

(29f) Bad.

(29g) Bad.

(29h) Good.

(29i) Good. Because the Communists have persecuted them so terribly, they couldn't be called bad, only good.

(29j) Bad.

(29k) Bad.

(29l) What do I know about Chiang Kai-shek?

(29m) Bad.

(29n) Good.

In my opinion on these items it's impossible to answer ~~it~~ good or bad.

(30) The Catholic People's Party or the Small-Holders Party.

(30a) Zoltán Kodály.

(31a) Less.

(31b) Less.

(31c) Less.

- (31d) Less.
- (31e) Less.
- (31f) Less.
- (31g) More.
- (31h) There weren't such.
- (31i) There were only very few of them.
- (
- (32) Outside of the party functionary, everybody's lot was much worse than before 1948.
- (33a) Coincide.
- (33b) Coincide.
- (33c) Coincide.
- (33d) Conflict.
- (33e) Coincide.
- (33f) Coincide.
- (33g) Coincide.
- (33h) Conflict.
- (33i) Conflict.
- (33g) Conflict.
- (34) Before I left Hungary I was only once very much disappointed in the United States, namely, I did not expect such ~~EMKH~~ a cold handling of the Hungarian question during the Revolution.
- (35) The AVH.

(35a) The others.

(36) No, it hasn't.

- (1) No, I haven't.
- (1a) I think, they are useful.
- (2a) Yes.
- (3) There is none.
- (3a) No.
- (3b) I have thought of it, but I haven't had yet time for it.

The Agricultural Collection System in Hungary*

The lastly used collection system (until October 29, 1956, when the collection system was abolished) was started in 1954.

Before that, the peasants had to deliver part of their produce to the state according to a so-called "point system," without compensation or at a discount. This meant that the collection ~~was~~ authorities specified, after having taken into consideration the producer's economic status (size of the land, quality of the soil, number of cattle, etc.), a certain category number, expressed in points, for each particular property, according to which the yearly deliveries had to be made. The unit of the point-system was called "wheat kilogram," i.e., the value of every produce was ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~^{converted}, according to a specific key, into "w^eat kilograms." In this system, the producer could deliver his quota in the produce he chose, that is, in whatever suited him best. The ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~^{conversion} key varied almost from year to year, since this system had not crystallized yet.

In 1954 a new collection system was started; the Communist leaders found this necessary on the grounds of the following considerations:

1. If the farmer will always deliver his quota in whatever produce suits him best, this will not necessarily be the best thing for the state, too; on the contrary, this will mean that the state will get too much of some kinds of agricultural products

* Hungarian original written by respondent for CURPH.

and not enough of some others. In a planned economy such a state of affairs cannot be tolerated!

2. Since we live in a dictatorship of the proletariat, and the members of the state have to contribute to the creation of a brighter and happier future for us, a certain percentage is deducted from the wages of the workers in order to raise the living standard. It cannot be allowed, therefore, that the peasantry evade taking its share of the sacrifices made for the common goal, and so it seems necessary that, in addition to paying the normal taxes, the peasants deliver to the state part of their produce below the market price. (This was, more or less, the theory behind the collection system in general.)

3. To compel the farmers to grow products which they would not produce without pressure, just on their own account, but which the state is in need of, (for instance, sunflower seed).

To fulfil the tasks of collection, an organization was set up, with the Ministry of Collection at its peak. This was headed by the Minister of Collections, who based his work on the work of the chiefs of the several departments.

Immediately subordinated to the Ministry were the County Collection Offices, subordinated to these were the District (járás) Collection Offices, then the village (községi) collection officials. This apparatus ^{performed} ~~performed~~ after 1954 the task of collecting the agricultural products, based on the following rules:

Rules of the collection system:1. Who were under ~~XXX~~ obligation to deliver?

All persons whose lands (arable and pasture) total more than 800 square fathoms (négyyszögöl).

2. What factors determined the quantity of the deliveries to be made?

The size of the arable lands and fields, as well as their net income per cadastral yoke (based on the gold crown).

With the aim of establishing a fair collection system in mind, the producers were grouped, according to the size of their arable lands and fields put together, into the following categories:

From 800 square fathoms to one cadastral yoke;		
from one to three cadastral yokes;		
from three to five	"	"
from five to eight	"	"
from eight to ten	"	"
from ten to fifteen	"	"
from fifteen to twenty	"	"

The produce to be delivered was divided into the following major categories:

- 1., animals and animal products;
- 2., agricultural produce;
- 3., wine.

The first category consists of:

- a., pork
- b., beef
- c., poultry
- d., eggs
- e., milk.

The second category consists of: a., wheat, rye, barley, ^{oats} ~~maize~~;
 b., corn;
 c., sunflower seed;
 d., potatoes;
 e., beans.

The third category consists of: a., wine
 b., grape-juice
 c., grapes.

As I have mentioned before, the "currency" of the collection system was the wheat-kilogram. For the purpose of executing the collection orders, this was further divided into wheatkilograms and meatkilograms, and these then broken down into the above categories. This worked as follows:

One meatkilogram (pork) equalled 10 wheatkilograms.

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|----|----------------------|
| 1. Agricultural produce: | 10 kgs of wheat | -- | 10 wheatkgs. |
| | 10 kgs of rye | -- | 9.3 wheatkgs. |
| | 10 kgs of {barley | | |
| | {oats | -- | 8.5 wheatkgs. |
| | corn | | |
| | 10 kgs of sunflower seeds | | 13 wheatkgs. |
| | 10 kgs of beans | -- | 17 wheatkgs. |
| 2. Animals and animal produce: | 10 kgs of pork | -- | 100 wheatkgs. |
| | 10 kgs of beef | -- | 75 wheatkgs. |
| | 10 kgs of poultry | -- | 100 wheatkgs. |
| | 10 liters of milk | -- | 10 wheatkgs. |
| 3. One liter wine | -- | | 11.6 wheatkilograms. |

THESE To sum it up, they calculated the delivery obligation in wheatkilograms based on the size of arable land (plus fields) and on the gold crown; this was then further broken down into various items according to a given percentage, as shown in the above table.

With respect to the meat quota, the total size of arable lands and fields was all that was taken into consideration. The farmer had to deliver 16.5 meatkilograms ^{per hold,} (i.e., 165 wheatkilograms in meat). Out of the 16.5 meatkilograms 8 meatkilograms had to be delivered in pork, 4 meatkgs in beef (i.e., 6 kgs of beef), 2.5 meatkgs in poultry, and 2 meatkgs in eggs. (Those who own more than 5 holds, have to deliver 60 percent of the poultry in lean meat, 40 percent in fat meat).

The situation with regard to milk delivery was as follows: If the producer did not own a cow, he had to deliver 3 kgs of meat per hold instead. If he did own any, he had to deliver milk:

1 - 3	cadastral yokes:	100	liters
3 - 5	" "	200	"
5 - 8	" "	298	"
8 - 10	" "	396	"
10 - 15	" "	494	"
15 - 20	" "	592	"

Whoever has no land, but owns at least one cow, has to deliver 100 liters of milk.

The obligation to deliver wine affected those whose vineyards were 400 square fathoms or bigger; their quota, expressed in our regional unit, amounted to the following quantities:

399	-	600	sq.fath.	--	66	liters,	11.5	malign degrees*
600	-	800	" "	--	99	"	"	"
800	-	1000	" "	--	132	"	"	"
1000	-	1200	" "	--	145	"	"	"
1200	-	1400	" "	--	164	"	"	"
1400	-	1600	" "	--	186	"	"	"

* alcoholic strength

Wine was calculated in 11.5 maligan degrees; whose wine was weaker had to deliver more, whose wine was stronger (but it happened very rarely that someone delivered wine stronger than this) could deliver less.

Schedule

When the yearly collection plans were implemented (always in March - April), they also determined the time when each produce was to be delivered (i.e., they were scheduled).

This was done as follows:

Wheat, rye, barley, oats had to be delivered straight from the threshing machine;

corn had to be delivered until December 1;
sunflower seed until December 15;
beans until September 1;
potatoes until September 31.

The delivery of animals and animal products had to be scheduled from month to month.

Those farming on a land bigger than 5 holds had to deliver a pig weighing at least 125 kilograms. Naturally, the total was not always necessary for the settling of the delivery obligation; the smaller farmers could join together for the surplus. The pigs had to be delivered each year at the time scheduled by the authorities.

The scheduling of the beef delivery was done in a similar way, but with the restriction that this had to be fulfilled by September 31.

Lean poultry and eggs had to be delivered by June 31,
 by
 fat poultry ~~until~~ December 15 (this was the ~~last~~ deadline of
 all deliveries).

Milk deliveries had to be fulfilled during the summer months
 except if the cow was having a calf.

Wine had to be delivered by December 15.

Payment of delivered goods

The main point about the collection system ^{was} in that the
 delivered goods were paid for below the current market prices.

For the so-called "wheat-field tax" nothing was paid.

The wheat-field tax was calculated in the following way:
 the gold-oreen value of the total of the producer's real estate
 was multiplied by four. The figure arrived at in this way meant
 so many wheat-kilograms, into which the different products could
 be converted in the usual way.

The payments for the "B" products (beadása = to be delivered)
 were ridiculous. I should like to demonstrate this with a few
 examples:

They paid for 100 kgs of wheat 80 frts. The free market
 price was 200 - 600 frts.

They paid for barley and oats 60 frts per 100 kgs. The free
 market (possibly black market) price was 200 - 500 frts.

The "B" price of pork was 5.60 frts, its free market price
 20 - 28 frts, at the butcher's you bought it for 30 - 32 frts.

Slaughtering a pig

For this one had to ask separate permission each time, and if one had no delivery arrears, one could even get it. Once the pig was slaughtered, one had to deliver lard according to the following scheme:

One person	one pig	15 kgs pure lard
2 persons	"	8 kgs "
"	"	4 kgs "
"	"	3 kgs "
"	"	1 kg "
"	"	no delivery obligation
One person	two pigs	15 kgs pure lard
2 persons	"	15 kgs "
"	"	15 kgs "
"	"	10 kgs "
"	"	8 kgs "
"	"	4 kgs "
"	"	3 kgs "
"	"	1 kg "
"	"	no delivery obligation.

After each slaughtering a special permit had to be made out and a one-forint stamp stuck on it.

enforcement

If the producer has not fulfilled his delivery obligations by the scheduled date, he becomes "a person in arrears."

After the expiration of the deadline, it was the collection official's duty to call on the producer, either in person or in writing, raising, at the same time, the quota in the unfulfilled product by ten percent.

If the reason for not fulfilling the obligation was failure of the crops or some other such serious handicap (the grain was needed for seed), the unfulfilled part of the quota had to be converted into "weight articles" (sulyponti cikkek), which were pork, wheat, corn.

In case this was not so, and the producer did not fulfill his obligation within three days of the warning, a procedure of pawning was conducted on his premises. If the pawned object was a fattened pig, eight days had to elapse before the execution of the transfer, otherwise only three.

If the producer had, meanwhile, delivered the pawned products or objects, the pawning lost its validity.

If he had not, then the transfer had to be effected. This meant that, on a hired cart, with laborers hired for the day (only Gypsies were to be had for this job), the pawned objects were carried away to be sold. The laborers were paid from the money thus raised.

This task was carried out mainly by the operative group of the District Collection Office, with the cooperation, of course, of the local collection official.