

- (1) The most important is the fact that nobody wanted Communism. Any form of Communism is rejected by the Hungarian people. The destruction of Communism was the main goal of our Revolution.
- (2) The Revolution was preceded by a spiritual Revolution which was the work of the writers' union. The armed Revolution broke out on the 23rd of October in the evening as a consequence to the Gerö speech.
- (2b) The death of Stalin followed by the third Party congress, the Berlin revolt on June 17, 1953 and finally the Poznan revolt. The rehabilitation and exhumation of the body of Rajk was also important, because of the silent demonstration connected with it. In these demonstrations about 3000 university students participated. The demonstration was not because of the person of Rajk, but against the regime. The Hungarians have made use of every opportunity to demonstrate against the regime. Such was, for instance, when Hungary has lost the world championship in football or when a Russian team of athletes came to Budapest etc.
- (2c) The death of Stalin.
- (2d) The foundation and work of the writers' union, the Petöfi Circle, the freer atmosphere, surprising articles in the newspapers. This became very pronounced at the end of ~~August~~ August or the beginning of September.
- (2e) The writers had started the whole thing, exactly those

exposed writers of whom everybody thought that they were the experts of the system; like Dery, Gyula Hay, Zoltan Zelk, Tamas Aczel, Tibor Meray, Gyula Illyes.

(2f) Yes, the Irodalmi Ujsag, Művelt Nép, Hetfői Hírlap. The first number of the Hetfői Hírlap was such a sensation that the people have torn each other to pieces in order to get one and the happy owners had literally to climb on the lamp posts in order to keep their exemplar. This shows the best how terribly were the people longing after a change. Also Szabad Nép has contained many surprising articles.

(2g) An article in the Művelt Nép, written by a county Party secretary who had admitted openly that they, the Communists, are torturing the whole population. Then there were other articles in Művelt Nép, which have demanded more contact with the Western culture. One article in Szabad Nép, written by a so-called worker who has complained because of the removal of Rakosi. This complaint was answered by Tibor Meray who took this occasion to put Rakosi's crimes mercilessly in the spotlight.

(3) In the case of the workers, the norm system, the pasha-like behavior of the kader people (in Hungarian: a káder emberek basáskodása), the incredibly bad salary and, in the case of the peasants, the system of forced deliveries and their forcing into the kollektíves against their will.

- (3b) The working class was united in spite of the control system. The AVH was hated by everybody. Part of the AVH behaved confused and more or less accepted the Revolution.
- (3d) The destruction of Communism, free democratic elections, with one word, a complete democracy.
- (3f) The kader people. In my working place, when the students arrived with their demands, these have been the ones who tried to quiet them down and promised that they would accept everything, except the condition, that the Russians should leave Hungary. Needless to say that ^{the most} this was important.
- (3g) At the beginning among the workers the technicians and the foremen remained neutral because those had been afraid of losing their positions. The same thing happened in the military with the officers.
- (3h) "Ruszkik Haza", "Földet, gyarat vissza nem adunk", "Üresék a vagonok, gyerünk haza davajok". In English, "Ruski go home, We don't give back the land and the factories! The box cars are empty, let's go home Russians! There were many other slogans, the people of Pest have invented steadily new ones.
- (3i) Completely. At the beginning nobody knew what will happen, but in one or two days the masses had turned entirely against the Russians and against Communism. I myself, have talked much about this with many workers.
- (3k) A part of the Communists had been lukewarm ~~GENERAL~~ oppor-

tunists. See for instance Attila Szigethy. He was a prominent Communist who became the president of the national Revolutionary Council of Győr. He is the example of a man who changes sides when the winds blow differently. There were other Communists who could be called national Communists. These were usually a simpler stratum of the country Party secretaries who have not been so shrewd and have been enthusiastic only for the ideas of Communism, hated Russian Bolshevism and saw that it cannot go on like this. Many of them had been arrested and in jail in connection with the Rajk affair.

- (4) I was working in the needle factory of Sopron. In Sopron already on the 22nd of October the students of the university of Forestry and Mining have come to our factory with 12 points of demands. The directorat of the factory has objected to the point which demanded a leave of the Russians from the country and also against the point which championed the domestic use of the Hungarian uranium. On the 25th in each work-shop the workers' councils were formed in which former Communist Party members could not take part. Finally on the 28th the whole old leadership and directorat was thrown out of the factory. On the 25th I left Sopron for Győr. That day was there the Revolutionary Council and the national council of Transdanubia formed, headed by

Attila Szigethy. In Győr, I was witness of the siege of the AVH headquarters. I saw with my own eyes the torture chambers in the building. In Győr there was a great demonstration already on the 24th. During this, a young girl tried to remove the star from the Russian monument and was shot dead by an AVO officer. From Győr many people have left on trucks in order to help other communities. They went to Magyaróvár and to Tatabánya and also to Komárom. But everywhere the local population had already finished off the AVH before the trucks from Győr arrived. 5 trucks had started out ~~from~~ also towards Budapest, but these were annihilated by the Russians. The Russians had tanks and heavy armor while the men from Győr had only small hand arms. Things went on without planning without organization. On the 27th I went with a truck carrying food to Budapest avoiding the main road, taking instead dirt roads through the fields. We reached the outskirts of the city, but could not go in so we unloaded right there. From there we went back to Sopron where in the meantime the national guard was formed. The city was patrolled by units consisting of one worker, one soldier, and one student. The Austrian border was open. Immense quantity of medicine was brought in from abroad and transported ~~through Sopron~~ through Sopron to Budapest. On November 4th, ~~the~~ we have sealed off the roads leading to Sopron by canons, but through the

treachery of the officers and because of sabotage the canons became useless when the Soviets' tanks arrived. (They have ~~unscrewed~~ ^{unscrewed (striker)} the Utöszeg in the canons, thus make their firing impossible) When we, the civilian revolutionaries who had only small arms and were taking cover behind the canons-had seen that we had been betrayed and were facing total annihilation, had fled back to the city in panic. The officers began negotiations with the Russians and finally they entered the city on the top of Russian tanks smiling and waving to the population. Right away they restored the old order. The national flags have been destroyed, on the ruins of the Russian monument they put a wreath and they started to organize immediately the new border police out of Party functionaries, because the regular military have dispersed and those who have stayed behind have led people leave through the Austrian border. In Sopron there was no bloody revolution. Those 8 or 10 blue ~~xx~~ AVO people have fled and hid out in unknown places. There was a great AVO center in Györ and also in Szombathely, but not in Sopron!

- (4a) Yes, in Györ and on the road to Budapest.
- (4b) Almost the entire border guard and the entire army.
- (4c) In Györ I saw AVO officers who were literally kicked to pieces. It was revolting but, in spite of this, under the influence of the mood of the masses, I myself have watched it with the most gratifying feeling, although

I am not a sadist. The peasants from the surrounding villages have come up to the city too in order to revenge themselves on the AVH who have tortured them so much.

- (6a) I belonged to the national guard.
- (6b) The workers' council of Sopron has organized it. Its units were composed from one worker, one soldier, and one student.
- (6c) It was under the immediate direction of the workers' council. Former Party member could not join it.
- (6d) The members of the workers' council have all came abroad already on November 4th. Many left Hungary also from the national guard.
- (6e) We ~~got~~ had machine guns, guns form 48, submachine guns and hand grenades. We got them from the military and from the police.
- (6f) There was a great discipline.
- (6g) The leaders were usually active soldiers or men who have been soldiers before. The national guard was divided into companies. It was under command of the revolutionary council. On October 25th, the same day as in Győr, the Revolutionary Council of Sopron was formed. It belonged to ^{the} national council of Transdanubia which had its headquarters in Győr. Among its leaders there was a worker, a professor, and an officer. From each factory, each school, and army ~~units~~ units

a representative was sent to the council.

- (6h) In the factories an experienced old skilled worker. At the national guard a career officer or a former soldier, at the University of Sopron a former dean who was a simple miner before he started to study and became a mining engineer.
- (6i) Superior orders came from Győr, but local orders were given by the Revolutionary Council of Sopron.
- (7) The Korvin-Köz group of Budapest and the defenders of the Milian barracks under the leadership of Pal Maleter. Because these were the firmest and most energetic people. "Nem gatyaztak az AVO-sokkal".
- (7a) Only in small detail questions. For instance, some wanted to finish off the AVO right away, others would consider ~~this~~ this as anarchy.
- (7b) They were united.
- (8) I was eye-witness when in Győr the mob^{has} surrounded a Russian patrol and spit on them. The officer has nervously reached for his revolver, but the soldiers have suffered this humiliation with down-bent heads.
- (9) I knew about events in Budapest through the radio. In Győr and in Sopron I had my personal experiences.
- (9a) I have read many newspapers, but I could not tell the titles of them because they were so many that time.

- (9b) I was talking with the students who were transporting the medicine from abroad to Budapest and then I have spoken also with people in Budapest when I was there with food.
- (9c) Yes, to the Szabad Szombathely, to the Miskolci Szabad Afo, to the Dunapentelei and Rakoczi radio stations, also to the Szabad Kossuth Radio in the last days of the Revolution. Then I listened to the Radio Free Europe, to BBC, and to the Voice of America.
- (9d) The Hungarian broadcasts of the foreign radio stations because of the UN resolutions.
- (10) They dissolved.
- (10a) The police has been dissolved to a great extent. In the public administration the leaders were replaced by new men and thus the organizations have changed for better. The youth organization DISZ has dissolved right ~~way~~ away as if it had never existed. The so-called pioneers, little children in the schools, have torn down their ^{red} ~~black~~ neckties, tore to pieces their Russian lecture books. It was simply fantastic. It could be explained only with the immense hatred which was in the ~~entire~~ entire population against the Russians and against the Communist regime. The Hungarian-Soviet Society had disappeared in a matter of hours. Its houses were seized, its furniture and inventar has been destroyed.
- (10b) It has been liquidated.
- (10h) The local councils ceased to exist. The Revolutionary

Council has been formed of completely new men.

- (10k) The Revolutionary Councils, and in the formation was the boy scouts organization, at least 13 different political parties had been formed like Christian Socialist Parties, Social Democratic Party, Peasant Party, etc.
- (10,l) From freely elected representatives of the factories and workshops.
- (10m) A free democratic state on the Western pattern. The neutrality of Austria was the example.
- (11) Yes.
- (11a) The Revolution was useful from the point of view that it has shaken awake the West towards the Soviet danger. For example, NATO was reinforced, West Germany will be rearmed. Besides this, the Hungarian ~~Revolution~~ Revolution has damaged the Communist Parties in the West, thus lessened the Communist danger for the West. It is a tremendous achievement that the fellow traveller intellectuals have turned against the Soviets. Furthermore, it has shown an example also to the other satellite nations although this example has 2 different sides.
- (11b) Yes, for sure if the Soviets would not have intervened.
- (11c) Of course, through the United Nations moral and also armed help.
- (11d) That could not be explained otherwise, ~~XXXX~~ as through the ancient Hungarian virtues: (In Hungarian: "az ösi magyar virtus"). On whom could one count besides? The Poles?

They are afraid from the Germans, afraid for their Western territories. The Czechs? Those are a dirty crowd (in Hungarian: "Piszok náció"). And besides they are Pan Slavs. The Rumanians? From them I don't even want to speak. Who else remains then?

- (11e) I have the best possible opinion of him. He was a Communist but before his eyes were first of all the Hungarian interests. Poor man!
- (11f) Maleter, Bela Kiraly, Anna Kethly. Mindszenty has not had political but he had the more moral role. The masses were crazy about him. One of the greatest slogans was: "Mindszentyt szabadon!" which means Freedom for Mindszenty. He was not forgotten by the people during his long imprisonment. The bad thing was that in the government of Imre Nagy there were people who should not have belonged there as for instance Istvan Dobi, Janos Kadar, traitors and scoundrels (in Hungarian: szemét népség).
- (11g) Youth, intellectuals, workers, soldiers, peasants.
- (11h) Yes.
- (12) On the 8th of November.
- (12a) The Soviet intervention and thus the failure of the Revolution. Besides, I did not see any possibility towards getting ahead in Hungary.
- (12b) With my parents, with my brother, and my friends.
- (12c) No, I only wanted to come to the West and here to study.

- (1a) Draftsman and toolman.
- (2) I was an unskilled worker in a locksmith shop, then an attendant at the gas station, then an unskilled worker in a depot of plastic material, then an unskilled worker in a state farm, then apprentice of technical drafting and toolmaking.
- (2a) I was apprentice in the needle factory.
- (2c) For 2 years.
- (2e) It was an establishment employing about 300 people.
- (2f) We manufactured needles, pins, safety pins, patent fasteners, and buckles. Our section in 1953 has manufactured combine knives-and-knives for export. It has delivered goods to Brazil. I think that the factory had made good profit because recently they have bought four machines from Western Germany. This was done of course, at least partly, at the expense of our salary. For instance, there were no premiums given that year, although the director and his entourage ~~xx~~ might have taken up those premiums for themselves.
- (2g) Soproni Tügyar.
- (3) No.
- (3b) The whole set-up of the factory, the robber ~~XXXXXXXX~~ barons and the boot-lickers inside.
- (3c) It was somewhat better for me because I had not to work so much since I was an apprentice. ~~I~~ It was another good thing in such factories that the possibilities for

sport were ~~xxxxxxxx~~ completely without charge.

- (3d) The factory was quite an old one. They were planning some restoration. Compared to the workshop ~~xxxx~~ ^{where} I am working now here in Western Germany, the working conditions at home were uncomparably worse, especially on the fields of the social services. The worst was of course, the norm system.
- (3e) I had to walk about half an hour because I could not afford a bicycle.
- (3f) 8 hours.
- (3g) 6 days.
- (3h) ~~Nxxxx~~ Naturally. The first 2 hours were paid as ~~xxxx~~ regular hours, after that with 50% raise. At the last week of the month was the great rush, then you could not avoid the overtime. There was often 12 hours and sometimes even 16 hours workday then.
- (3i) Yes, the 4th of April, 1st of May, 20th of August and 7th of November.
- (3j) 2 weeks.
- (3k) For those who had worked in unhealthy jobs somewhat more. Also after 4 years of work every year one day more was given.
- (3,l) If one was late at work, one had to pay fines. For 5 minutes 10 forints, but after 3 times being late it could mean firing by disciplinary way. Firing by disciplinary way meant that the person would remain without work for 6 months. At the best he could go in the mines and work

there. To stay away from work for a day would be punished by a fine and the losing of one day off and by a notice. Second time it would mean also firing on disciplinary way.

(3n) There was a man called the "normas" who had a stopper watch with which he would check the working time. He would come to the work bench, would urge the worker for a quicker job and then he would establish that as the new norm. If the income of the factory was not satisfactory, or if there was a deficit then each month or even twice a month there was a new higher norm declared which meant that for the ~~same~~ same salary we had work more.

(3o) There was ^{insurance} social system, the so-called OTI later SOT and up to 1952 there was medicine without charge. Later we had to pay 50% of its value. The worker on ~~paper~~ paper could go for vacation to the resort hotels, but this in fact was only for the top management and for the good kaders. 50% of the vacation expenses had to be paid by the person. Those who have been trade union members would get a free travel ticket for 2 to and from the place of vacation.

(4a) My immediate co-workers were all right. They did not believe in the regime. They were simple workers and skilled workers without any higher schooling but they were mentally healthy people. (Among the 500 workers only 5 of us had matura examination)

- (4b) My relationship with my superiors was extremely bad. They always put hindrances in my way because they saw in me a class alien. But the other workers did not like the superiors either.
- (4c) More intimately I have been in contact only with those boys of my age who have had their maturation too.
- (4d) With workers of whom I could be secure I have talked about political questions, but only secretly because it was dangerous especially for me. If there was nobody from the leadership in our workroom, there was lots of talk about the higher living standards in the Kx West among the workers.
- (4e) Naturally. The members of the Party have received all the good paying jobs. That is why so many joined the Party without any convictions. The workers have ~~not~~ not discriminated against those of whom they knew that they were forced by the circumstances to become a member, but towards the leading group of the factory their feeling was inimical.
- (4f) As the government has dictated. The workers had no voice. The elections took place ~~automatically~~ automatically. We elected always unanimously, by showing our hands, the candidates put forward by the Party.
- (4h) I did, because once I was fired in disciplinary way. My job was given back to me thanks to 2 workers in the mediation committee who took up my case. Else the whole thing was only a comedy, it did not really matter.

- (4i) Sure. The director, the head ~~man~~^{book} keeper and the director of the personnel office. The director of the personnel office was the "god almighty". He has given orders to the director, to the head bookkeeper etc. He was only a peasant. (bunko paraszt) He had friends in the ministry of interior which means with the AVH. Besides, he had an affair with the wife of the director. The director did not dare to do anything against him. On the other ~~xxx~~ hand he kept the director on his post for 6 years, a unique achievement without example in the whole Transdanubia. The head bookkeeper took care for the money for all three of them, so the shop triangle worked out fine.
- (4j) In my work place, no. For instance, an excellent mechanical engineer who received his diploma abroad has been suppressed in every respect.
- (4k) Evidently. For example, the normas who has been an ignorant land laborer before, has received 1500 forints salary and in fact, he did not do a thing.
- (4,l) Yes, the director of the personnel office, the normas, and the Party secretary. For instance, the Party secretary has forced engineers, who had known much better foreign methods, to work according to the Soviet examples. There was no way of protesting against his orders.
- (4n) For example those whose father had been Communist in 1919 or has taken part in the Spanish civil war and people without character.
- (4p) Yes, for instance, the chief technician and the direc-

tor of the personnel office. They had been stupid beasts, (buta barmok) and have fraternized always with the AVO people.

- (5) Skilled workers were not permitted to leave the factory. Then there were ~~dismissals~~ dismissals, disciplinary and voluntary which in fact had consequences very similar to the disciplinary dismissals. On the new work place, one did not get vacation for ~~x~~ a year, there was deduction from the salary etc. And thirdly there was ~~dismissal~~ dismissal with the permission of the factory leadership. This was very rare and usually only for those who have "rationalized".
been ~~xxxxxxx~~
- (5a) Sooner or later I would have been dismissed on disciplinary way or I would have left voluntarily for Budapest or even further somewhere where they would not know me, although they would have very soon looked up my kader cards because these things were sent after somebody wherever he went. It was a really revolting system and I would have fled to the West probably even if the Revolution would not have come. I could not have taken it much longer.
- (5b) Mechanical engineer because I have inclination for it and because of the material profit connected with it. Although even ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~xxx~~ engineers make relatively very little money, they have about 1100 forints starting salary.
- (5c) Absolutely nothing.

- (5d) Of course, mainly because of material aspects. People are very materialistic there. They are rather working something for the regime in order to get some more, but this is understandable since family men can hardly get along with their salaries.
- (5e) I would like to live a life. I would buy a car and later a nice little cottage. I would travel lots in Europe and abroad. I would do much sport.
- (5f) I had always this wish.
- (5g) No.
- (6) Bad.
- (7) In 1952 I had 800 forint salary after my matura examination. I was working then at a gas station and was stealing the gas. I sold it on the black market especially to my friends from the army. In Hungary anybody who wanted to live has stolen. Stealing was not considered as a sin, because it was against the state.
- (7b) In 1955 I had 600 forints monthly. I was only an apprentice but even a skilled worker has received only 800 forints at the beginning.
- (7c) About the same.
- (7d) We have been 5 of us. 2 have worked, my father and I. My brother was soldier, my sister went to school, my mother was working at home in the household. My father

was working as calculator at the hotel and restaurant industry. His brutto salary was about 16 200 forints a year.

- (8a) 7 200.
- (8b) 6660.
- (8c) Nothing.
- (8d) 540.
- (8e) 20 forints for peace loan, 10 forints for the trade unions, 15 forints bachelor taxes. Altogether 45 forints monthly, 540 for a year. My father has made about 1200 forints monthly. But this was not enough to support a family, therefore I gave them 200 forints monthly. The rest I could spend according to my wishes.
- (9a) I lived at my parent's house. I paid them 200 forints monthly for room and board. We all lived in a house which was formerly ours. But in 1952 it was nationalized and since then we had to pay rent 80 forints monthly to NIK which was a state office for apartments.
- (9b) We had 5. It was a modern house. We had 3 rooms and a kitchen. (One of the rooms was not registered, it was put on the ~~nik~~ record as storeroom.)
- (9c) From my father's netto income about 1200 a month, about 1100 went for food.
- (9d) 1600.
- (9e) 780.
- (9f) Nothing.

- (9g) 460.
- (9h) 1800. (This item was almost exclusively my spending.)
- (9i) 100.
- (9j) 200.
- (9k) 150.
- (9,l) 300.
- (9m) 2340.
- (9n) 600 forints for the hospital stay of my mother for a month, which we could pay only through the help of an aunt of ours.
- (10) Very badly. People without any qualification and knowledge have been directing everything from responsible positions. There was an absolute failure of planned economy plus the Soviet robber economy.
- (10c) I was too young that time but as far as I heard about it, it could not have been ideal either.
- (10d) It was worse. Up to 48 there was still ~~hope~~ ^{are developing} hope that the politics ~~xxxx~~ and the economic life ~~was well going~~ in the right direction. In 1948 came the year of the great change as the Communists used to call it "a fordulat eve" and with that the nationalization, the state capitalism and the whole economy plunged downwards.
- (10f) In 53 has begun the MASZEK with state loans but with very unfavorable conditions of repayment. They were ruined very soon because the taxes were too heavy. The MASZEK simply could not compete with the state in spite

- of the fact that they were speaking always about healthy economic competition. This was only a bluff because ~~there~~ ^{there} simply could not be any economic competition.
- (10g) It was bad with great stability. In that moment where the salaries were raised the prices went up too, and if the price of a certain item was reduced that item disappeared from the market for sure.
- (11) The ~~men~~ people were against Communism. Communism on the economic field meant state capitalism and exploitation. Thus it had its part naturally among the causes of the general dissatisfaction, because people are striving always for better living which Communism made simply impossible.
- (11a) Secondary, because if the political and police system would have been abolished then the economic conditions would become automatically better.
- (11b) For the average man the economic problem was probably the most severe. The fact, that his wife had to work too, that he could not give an education to his children and that he had to fight all the time with ~~great~~ grave economic worries for living and for securing the future of his family. There were many divorces, a tremendous amount of rum was consumed which according to reliable data was 6 times the quantity of the pre-war consumption. All this was because of the general bitterness and hopelessness of the people. For those who had

higher demands towards life on the other hand and who had made better money, for those the complete spiritual slavery, the enforced close-off from the West, and the blind following of the Party line was the most difficult.

- (1) I had a matura examination (abitur) from the humanistic gymnasium in Sopron in 1952.
- (1a) From 1940 to 1952.
- (1b) Four years of elementary school in public school, four years of gymnasium in church school. But this was nationalized in 1948. After that four years again in state school.
- (1c) The students and the teachers have criticized the regime when they were in intimate company. This applies especially to the older teachers. But officially, they Party line was taught. Outside of the school, there existed a ~~confidential~~ confidential relationship between the teachers and the students. The teachers have lectured without conviction and ~~enthusiasm~~ enthusiasm, the students did not believe them. But we had in the class 3 or 4 good kader boys from whom we had fears and did not dare to speak before them. We had a professor, for instance, of mathematics, an excellent specialist who dared to scold the regime openly in class and to praise America. Among the younger teachers there had been more so-called vonalás, namely who had followed the line.
- (1d) I went to a course in technical drafting. It was held at the technical university in Sopron. That was in 1952-53 after I had my matura examination. It was an evening course. It had no political taint~~ing~~, it was strictly technical. In 1955-56 I went to a course for laboratory attendance at the same university.

- (1e) Better future.
- (2) No, I would have liked to go the technical university. During 4 years I have tried each year.
- (2c) I wanted to become an engineer. I have hated to remain a laborer.
- (2d) I had a B average.
- (2e) No.
- (3) Yes.
- (3a) A course in the constitution and history.
- (3b) Of course, 5 hours a week.
- (3c) Only the course in constitution and ~~party~~ ^{Party} history.
- (3d) Up to 1950.
- (3e) Yes. In the Magyar Önkéntes Honvedelmi Szövetség, the MÖHosz. This was not obligatory, but besides the training in fire arms, one could learn driving and also had the opportunity for sports. That is why many young people have joined in.
- (4) For the education of the new political kaders.
- (4a) Discipline and the glorification of the so-called Soviet Socialism.
- (4b) It was shown by the Revolution.
- (4c) Steady, silent opposition.
- (4h) A complete lack of confidence towards everybody.
- (4i) In the age of the pioneers between 13 and 16 probably

is the most effective, although this depends entirely on the parents, namely from what the youngster receives at home. There, usually he is told the opposite what he was told in the schools and at the pioneer meetings. What has happened with the youth in the Revolution it is due to the education of the parents and not to the schools.

- (5) He was a hotelier.
- (5a) Yes, because he was bombed out.
- (5b) As in generally by the state companies it is heavy and tiring work with very little salary.
- (5c) The hotel industry.
- (5d) Up to 47 we had servants. Since that time we have nobody.
- (5e) We had a house and 2 lots.
- (5f) Under good circumstances.
- (5g) Four.
- (5h) We had been bombed out, then the school etc.
- (5i) My parents, my sister; my brother was soldier~~x~~.
- (5k) To my disadvantage.
- (11) Very good.
- (12) Naturally.
- (12a) Of the faults of the Communist system.
- (12b) Nothing, we agreed in everything. I can ~~think~~ thank for much to my parents.

- (13) Nothing but thanks.
- (14a) The possible closest connection and ~~my~~ loyalty.
- (14b) It is typical for the older families. At the new marriages there is already many family tragedy and divorce.
- (14c) Outing, learning, and with others smaller recreation.
- (14d) Outing and walking.
- (14e) 3-4 hours daily.
- (14f) With practical learning and exercise of technique. For instance, if I would have had a motor, I would have occupied myself all the time with it.
- (14g) During the disciplinary measure against me mentioned above in the factory they have intruded in my private life. They told ~~that~~ me that I should not go so much to the espressos. After this I did not dare to go out much. ~~fixxit~~

(Sections 3 starts here again with question 1)

(1) I attended schools from 1940 to 52. I made my baccalaureate in the last year in a state gymnasium. The teachers there were no Communists particularly not the teacher of history, although history is usually taught by a Communist. Concerning the ~~xxxxxx~~ students, in every class one could find one or two persons who were Communists or better to say were the secretaries of the DISZ. We did not talk freely before this DISZ secretaries, however, among us we spoke about politics. The spirit in the schools was not the kind the Communists wanted. In every year one or two students were kicked out because of political reasons. The students arranged an anti-Communist demonstration quite often during the year. For example, a demonstration against the pictures of Stalin. ~~On~~ every corner, in every classroom there was a huge picture of Stalin. At several occasions it ~~xxxxxx~~ happened that the picture was torn down, was spit upon or was smeared with human ^{fecalia} ~~xxxxxx~~. When something like this happened, the AVO people immediately arrived in our school. They always found a few spies who told them everything. If the student was caught, he was kicked out of the school.

(1a) After the nationalization of the schools, it was impossible to select freely. Before the nationalization of the schools, I attended the schools of the Benedictines, a Catholic church school. In 1948 the students of the Benedictine schools were ~~xxxxxx~~ dispersed by the autho-

rities in the different schools of the city.

- (2) No, I wanted to attend the technical ~~university~~ university and become an engineer. Now I am doing it here in Germany.
- (2e) I was of non-proletarian origin and there was no freedom but there was no real class struggle either. Even if a son had a worker father, if his father did not fall in with the line of the Party his son suffered. Even the worker's son was called capitalist or kulak if his father was not entirely for the Party.
- (3) Such subjects as history, constitution and civil defence were nothing but politics.
- (3b) Yes, Russian education was introduced in 1950. It was a compulsory subject. I had to take it for 2 years up to the end of my studies, 5 hours a week. It was taught by a Hungarian fellow who had originally been a language teacher but later had taken some special summer courses and got his diploma in Russian language. The students regarded the Russian classes as something imposed upon them. They did not want ^{to learn.} The class received the worst marks in Russian. The teacher was not a Communist at all. I still know something out of my Russian studies but I would be unable to read a Russian newspaper. Perhaps I could get through it with the aid of a dictionary.

- (3e) Sport training was the only good thing in the school. There was an MHK group in the school. It was possible to register for a sport course and to pass the MHK examination. Those sport courses were held in the afternoon. They were ~~above~~ ^{above} the 4 hours ^{of} physical education we had every week. It meant of course, that in the afternoon we had to return to the school. The students were permitted to join the Szabadsagharcos Szovetseg where pre-military education was given. The Szabadsagharcos Szovetseg was compulsory. The MHK was not, however, the sportsmen were selected through the MHK so it opened great changes for the good athletes of the school.
- (4) They wanted to re-educate the youth, particularly through the organization of the DISZ.
- (4b) The education of the Communists did not bring any results for them as it was shown by the Revolution.
- (4d) We liked sports.
- (4e) The political subjects. The glorification of the Soviet.
- (4f) I don't know what was the situation 10 years ago.
- (4h) No, but the constant propaganda made everybody suspicious. Everybody watched before opening his mouth and did not speak up unless in the company of trusted friends. There were spies among the students. For example, the school's ~~xx~~ so-called controllers ~~book~~ of studies. They worked for money and sent reports which

finally reached either the kader or the AVO. The controller of studies or tanulmányi felelős was elected by the students out of the students. Practically, however, he was nominated by the secretary of the DISZ and nobody dared to elect anybody else. His duty was to establish and control the study circles. In every class there were 3-4 study circles depending on the size of the class. There was always a study circle for Russian language and history. The study circles met 3 times a week but everybody tried to avoid such meetings. A meeting lasted 2 or 3 hours. Every study circle had a leader elected by the students and actually the work of the study circle depended on the leader. If he was a good boy and not a Communist he did not want to do any real work. In many cases no meetings were held or the boys got together and were talking about everything except the subjects. The leader of the study circle must have been a good student. I was one for a while. In my case I was not elected but appointed by the headmaster of the class. I was the leader for a few months only, not for a whole year. I was dismissed because we did not do any real work. The controller of the studies visited the meetings of the study circle and controlled whether everybody showed up and controlled what work they have done there. At the beginning we had a lot of homework. Up to 1951 we had to work very hard. The students had no time left. Then an innovation came.

We got less homework and the life of the study circles became looser. From that time on we were told that we should spend more time with our studies. The requirements of the school were, I think, very high. In the last year of the gymnasium we used 4 books in the history class. They contained a huge material. On the average, I think, we studied at home 1-3 hours a day depending on the day and the classes.

(4i) I don't know.

(5) My father rented and managed a hotel up to 1948 when the hotel was nationalized. Then he became employed by the Allami Vendeglatoipari Vallalat. He had different jobs there but for such a man every job was poor. He was an old expert and a capitalist from the old regime. He was always suspicious to the Communists. He tried to do his job and did not want to ~~szeksz~~ speak up there.

(5d) Yes, up to 1948.

(5f) Before 1948 we lived better.

(5g) I had one older brother and a younger sister. We were altogether 5 people in the family.

(5h) My brother is here in Germany with me, the other members of the family are at home. My brother received his baccalaureate from a gymnasium, then became laboratory technician with a hospital. Actually he wanted to become a doctor. Since he was not accepted by the university he selected this job. Then he was drafted and served

3 years. He was discharged by the army shortly before the Revolution. After the Revolution we left the country together and now he is attending the university here. My sister is still at home. She is attending school and living with the parents.

(5i) In 1966 I lived with my parents and my sister. My brother was at that time in the army.

(5k) It hurt me.

(10) Family life became closer and this was the main reason why the Communists could not reeducate the youth. The kid believed more ~~to~~ his daddy than ~~to~~ the school. The family gave an anti-Communist education and this showed up in the school. The kids tore their Russian textbooks apart or the girls their red pioneer neckties. My sister did it at the age of 13 when you would think a kid had not got any political sense. The children had a certain freedom. For example, selecting their place of work. In this case, the parents could not do very much. It depended on the shrewdness of the boy to find a job, if possible a good one. We learned from Communism that one should be materialistic and one should look for the pay and for nothing else in a job. There was no special pride in work. It was only a matter of making more money. In selecting friends the parents did influence the children. The usual case was that the parents were friends and the children were friends. In

politics the family had usually the same opinion. In every family even the mother was working. Most families sent the little babies in the state nurseries. After work every worker had to attend different meetings. Father and mother spent not enough time with the family.

(11) There was the best possible relationship in our family. That was general in the middle class. It is true, that there was a marriage craze among the youth and they often divorced after one year. But in the old families there was still a good ~~xxxxxx~~ harmony.

(12) Yes, politics was the most important topic at home. Everybody was ~~expected~~ expected to talk. Everybody told at home what ^{he} had experienced in the school or in work. Our mother did not work because she was sick. She was at home and she was eager to hear our news.

(13) No.

(13b) No.

(13c) No.

(14a) Very close.

(14b) Yes, typical of the middle class.

(14c) Most often I went for a stroll with my friends. If we had money we went into an espresso or pastry shop. All my friends were playing in the basketball team which

took up much of our time. Our school had a so-called twin plant, a factory, which financed our basket ball team. They gave us enough money to carry out the games and to get the necessary equipment.

(14d) My father came home usually about 6 o'clock in the afternoon. We talked of politics or we read the newspaper. He usually went to bed pretty early since he was an old man. On Sundays we went for a walk.

(14g) Yes, except when there was some official thing to do. For example a meeting. I do not remember of any great controls. However, once I wanted to change a 100 forint note. I went into a liquor store. A policeman was standing before the store and he wanted to see my personal legitimation. He asked me: "Comrade wherefrom do you have 100 forints." ~~It~~ I told ~~me~~ ^{him} that I am working whereupon he said: "In that case comrade go home". This was, I suppose, mainly because of my young age. At my last place of work I was kicked out because of political reasons, however, after one week I was taken back. But I was told that I should not visit the espressos so often. It was an interference with the private life.

(15) The family ties have tightened.

(15e) I cannot answer it.

(16) The relations between boys and girls did not change. Morals became looser in sexual matters. The girls wanted money. They wanted to make a good marriage. They

(16b)

wanted to find a doctor or an engineer as husband. There was this craze that the youngsters wanted to get married as fast as possible, even the Communist press wrote about it. The ~~marriage~~ courtship depended on how much money the boy had. In many cases the boy had not much money and the girl paid her share. It was possible to get acquainted with girls in dancing schools, in balls, or even on the streets. It is not a custom here in Munich. Balls were arranged by the schools, except for ^{one} year or so when they ~~were~~ were not permitted by the Party. The student balls were pretty common and there were places where boys and girls could meet. Many of my former school mates have already married. In this field there was not much of parental interference. The youth had to leave home in order to work and that ~~was~~ was the end of the Parent's ~~&~~ influence.

(16e)

Prostitution was not permitted but it went on secretly. There were secret public houses.

(16f)

They were less strict.

(16h)

The state established special nursery homes for illegitimate children where they got a good Communist education. There was a ~~famous~~ ^{famous} Communist poster saying for a wife it is a duty, for an ~~unmarried~~ ^{girl} an honour to bear children. I saw one of those posters in a hospital. It is true, that this situation changed in the last few years.

- (16i) The women are now free.
- (17) The morals became ~~looser~~ looser.
- (17d) I know that there was hooliganism in Budapest and in some other cities where there were many workers. I have heard many stories of what happened in Sztalinvaros.
- (18) I had 2 good friends. Our parents knew one ~~xxx~~ another. Our friendship started way back in the school when we were sitting in the same benches.
- (18c) We played basket ball, we went to dances, we made excursions, although in Sopron we had many difficulties with the excursions. Anybody who went out a little bit far was arrested by the border guard police.
- (18f) One of my friends stayed at home. The other one is here with me.
- (18g) Friends should have similar natures, they should have a spiritual harmony with small differences, however, concerning opinion.
- (18i) Our ~~firm~~ friendship came slowly because we fitted together.
- (18k) Perhaps it would not have affected our friendship. I am not sure, it would have depended on many circumstances.
- (19) My family is Catholic. Most of the people in Sopron are Catholics, however, there is quite a number of

Germans who belong to the Evangelical church. We had some friends of this kind.

(19b) Religion does not matter with the Communists.

(20) On paper, there was a freedom of religion. In practice, there was no such thing. For example, if a church wanted to make a procession the Communists arranged a Communist demonstration on the same route and at the ~~same~~ same time. After 1950 processions were held only within the church.

(20a) All faiths were equally hit.

(20b) Communism would like to stamp out religion because religion opposes the materialistic ideology. However, this plan cannot be carried out. People are more religious nowadays than they were in old times. In the churches there are masses in every half hour. There are further masses in the afternoon and in the evening. Everybody can go to the church any time, and people do so because it is prohibited and people like to do what is prohibited.

(20c) In Sopron there was one peace priest, a parish priest and at the same time he was a member of the city council. His sermons were straight Party line speeches. He told the same thing as a Party secretary. He was despised by the people. I don't know whether he received any reward from the Party for his activities. I don't know either whether he was an enthusiastic

Communist. In Sopron we had only one enthusiastic Communist, the former swine herd who now became a Party secretary.

(20f) Yes, but it was put down on the kader card whether somebody attended church. People in higher positions did not dare to go to church.

(20g) Yes, many people.

(20h) I attended church as long as I went to school. After school I did not attend it very often. At that time I was working and I did not have a great religious conviction.

(20i) Workers and middle class people. The old people, particularly the old women were all the time in the churches.

(20k) Many young people thought that religion represents another ideology which can counterbalance the Communist ideology.

(20,l) There were many priests who talked freely from the pulpit. They said very dangerous things. I think the clergy had an important role from this point of view.

(21) I would advise him to become a doctor or an engineer.

(21b) He should study and he should get at least the baccalaureate. Then pretty much depends upon his origin. If he is of non-proletarian origin, he should leave his city and go to work in another place. It is true, that the kader card goes after him but in this case it is still better to live in another city.

- (22) The leading class and the new kader were the best off because they were completely according to the taste of the Communists. The working class and the peasantry were the worst off.
- (22a) I came from the middle class but I belonged to the working class at home.
- (22b) To the middle class.
- (23) According to the Communists there was no class struggle. However, actually a great class struggle was going on. The working class was set against the intellectuals and vice-versa. We can really use such words as working class or intellectuals because there are great differences. The working class has a poorer salary. On the other hand the ~~times~~ intellectuals are maltreated in some other way.
- (23b) Yes, but I could not describe it.
- (23d) There were barriers between the workers and the peasants. There was a certain ^{which is} strain difficult to describe. It is interesting but the non-Communist plant managers were able to maintain a much better relationship with the workers than the Communist ones. The non-Communist managers were better liked by the workers.
- (23e) I don't know. I don't know how it was in old times. I do not believe what I learned in the school. There was class difference even during Communism.
- (23g) Everybody trusted nobody but his good friends. People

are very impolite in Budapest. In Sopron the situation is better. Older people were still called ur. Unknown persons were addresses as comrade. The greeting kezet csokolom is still general, although the government did not like it. However, the government could not eradicate it.

- (24) The Germans recieved the same treatment as everybody else. They established a good cooperative. They live well. They talk German among themselves and the government permitted it.
- (25) I do not know very much about it. There was no difference between religion and religion. There were not too many Jewish people in Sopron. The old one had been taken away by the Nazis.
- (25c) I did not have any Jewish acquaintances.
- (25d) There were many Jews in the Iroszovetseg. They took their part in the Revolution. For example, Hay Gyula and Dery Tibor. One could not say anything about them. During the Revolution nobody was interested in the religion of the other fellow.
- (25e) At the university there was some anti-Semitism, but only a small one.
- (25f) I think there was less anti-Semitism than it had been in old times. There was a personal hatred against Rakosi and Gerö but that was not the ~~same~~ same thing as

anti-Semitism. During the Revolution there was no
anti-Semitism.

(25g)

I don't know.

(25h)

I have no ideas.

- (1) As it was general I was interested in politics. Everybody was interested in what was going on in the West. People were ~~saying~~ ^{talking} about politics. They were reading between the lines, they were listening to the radios.
- (1a) I would say that the matter of first importance was that of making a living. Politics ran second only.
- (2) The interest in politics started ~~among~~ among the youngsters in the 5th and 6th grade of gymnasium when they left behind adolescence.
- (2a) We knew that there were several political parties, however, we grew up in the one-Party system. We had no sympathy for any of the political parties. However, we knew what democracy meant.
- (2e) I had my opinion of the Communism right from the beginning. This opinion was based on those things I heard at home and I saw outside of the home.
- (2f) I was always against the regime.
- (2h) Because of the terror. There was no other way.
- (3) From an individual point of view my greatest grievance was the class struggle, that I was of non-proletarian origin.
- (3a) All the complaints are very important. Perhaps the 3 most important things were: the fear of arrest and terror, inadequate food, and the presence of Soviet troops.

- (3b) Interference with family life, because it could not achieve anything.
- (3c) For the intellectuals the inadequate opportunity to get ahead.
- (3d) For the peasantry overtaxation.
- (3e) For the workers overwork.
- (3j) I would not name any good things in the system.
- (4) The real power was in the hands of the cabinet ministers, in final analysis in the hands of the minister of interior who directed the police system and the AVO. We could add to this group those many Soviet citizens who were working in the ministries such as Batu ^{Istvan} ~~Kis~~ Kos peter, Gerö, Rakosi, Farkas Mihaly.
- (4f) There was an ^{awful} ~~xxxx~~ bureaucracy. In the state office for dwelling places called KIK ~~xxxx~~ it was impossible to get anything achieved. The final decisions were delayed for months and before getting a dwelling place, the authorities looked up the class origin ~~fax~~ of everybody. Our ~~xxxx~~ family had an apartment house with 6 apartments which was nationalized in 48 or 49. We stayed there and lived in one of the apartments and had to pay rent ~~xxx~~ to the state like the other tenants. We had to pay it to the KIK, however, the KIK did not care about the maintenance, upkeep and renovation of the building. When our apartment house was taken away, my father was fined because he was charged

with having unpaid taxes. So altogether not only the house was taken away but even our money we had at that time.

- (4h) The old civil service people and the new kaders. There were relatively many old civil service people in the government service.
- (5) Almost everybody was a member of the DISZ. It was important if somebody wanted to get into the ~~university~~ university.
- (5b) It was not compulsory but it was a must to join it.
- (5c) Somebody could avoid joining it if he procrastinated the official procedure and finally the DISZ secretary forgot about him.
- (5d) Yes.
- (5e) I was not accepted in the school as a DISZ member because I was of non-proletarian origin. After my baccalaureate I started to work and at that time I needed a membership card. With a DISZ membership card it was easier to find a job. It was a great advantage in the army if somebody was a member. He got better jobs there.
- (5g) I paid 2 forints a month. I had no offices or duties. I participated in the sport meetings of the IHK.
- (5h) I utilized the possibilities of sports even by the DISZ. It had no other significance for me. The important thing was that I should possess a membership card. I had no special opinion about the DISZ and I don't

think I spent any time there except the time spent on sport exercises.

- (6a) Those people became Party members who were recommended to the Party for example, by the DISZ. If somebody was a good DISZ secretary, he was recommended to become a Party member. Or, for example, a young engineer got a rather important position in a plant. He was recommended and it was good for him to join the Party. Such kind of people did not like the idea of becoming a Party member, however, they could not do anything else.
- (6c) Party members had many duties. For example, to pay membership fees, to participate in all the propaganda activities, to believe in the slogans and so on. On the other hand they had one great advantage: they could keep their higher jobs.
- (6d) Yes, I had an engineer acquaintance who got a job with a plant and from that time on was a member of the Party.
- (6e) People did not change because they joined the Party. They did not become Communists.
- (6f) This happened among the workers, among the old idealistic Communists who had joined the Party in 1919.
- (6h) No.
- (6p) No, because of my class origin.
- (6q) I was anyhow a branded man so it did not make any difference.
- (6r) In Sopron the Party was run by the County Party Committee and by the secretariate. They worked secretly,

we did not know anything. For example, the plant manager at the place where I worked was a member of the Party Committee. But everything went on secretly and nobody knew about it anything.

- (7) As a school boy I was a member of the Diakszovetseg. Then the DISZ was established out of the fusion of the Diakszovetseg and the SZIT. However, at that time I was dropped as a member. So for 4 years I was no member of the DISZ.
- (7a) The members of the DISZ were students.
- (7c) One of the written examination papers at the time of our baccalaureate had the ~~same~~ following title: What is the Purpose of the DISZ. I could repeat what I wrote at that time: to educate new members for the Party.
- (7d) See above.
- (7e) See above.
- (7g) People were neither hot nor cold about the DISZ. They did ~~not~~ what they were told to do.
- (7,1) The DISZ ended in complete failure.
- (7m) The trade unions were completely under the direction of the Party and did not do anything for the workers. The real duty of the trade unions would be the fight for higher wages for strikes and so on. Nothing like that was done. In the case of smaller complaints the trade union never tried to do anything. As far as I am concerned I never paid my trade union fees. I told

2 weeks after I had joined it that I wanted to leave it and I wanted to leave the factory.

- (8) Those Party members who in old times were swine herds, agricultural workers, and the like are now enthusiastic Communists. About 60% of the Party members joined the Party in order to get a job. The remaining percentage might be an enthusiastic Communist.
- (9) The members regarded the DISZ as a necessary evil. Nobody was interested in those aims of the DISZ which were announced by the Communists.
- (10) Two times I got in touch with the police too. At the first time we wanted to make a student prank. We sent out many invitations to people inviting them at a certain house at a certain time. There was no political aim involved whatsoever. However, the AVO took notice of it and 6 of us were taken into the AVO house. They charged us with plot with illegal meetings and so on. They said that we ~~wanted~~ wanted to organize an illegal political organization. We were kept ~~there~~ in the AVO house the whole night and freed only the next afternoon. During that time one hearing came after the other one. However, we were not beaten. It was our luck that one of us had a good friend at the regular police. Through his intervention we were freed. The AVO warned

us that we should not do anything like that, but there was no sequence to our prank. The second affair happened during one of our excursions. We went by chance near to the border. There were three of us at the excursion and the border guard AVO took us. They kept us for 9 hours. They did not beat us, however, their method was as follows: One sergeant came into the room and told us that we should sit down. Then he left and a few minutes later another sergeant came in and he said: "How do you dare to sit down, stand at the wall!" So we obeyed and he left. Then the first sergeant came back, was very ~~angry~~ angry and told us to sit down. This situation was repeated several times. During the same time they charged us that we wanted to escape from the country. Here again we were released after 9 hours with ^{warning} the ~~warn~~ that we should not go near to the border. So in the subsequent months we made only short excursions. These were my 2 affairs with the police. In Hungary, there is nobody who would not have gotten in touch with the police.

(10b) In Sopron there was a border guard AVO group which stood under the ministry of interior. The blue AVO consisted of 8 persons, none of them from the city. Nobody knew the 8 persons by name and they were hated.

(10e) The crew of the AVO was usually drafted and those people were no beasts. The voluntary AVO was the worst kind of men.

- (10g) No information.
- (10k) The Party had to thank to the AVO for its existence.
- (10,l) The regular police was all right. Many of them were from the local people.
- (11) My father was taken by the AVO in 1948 at the time of the nationalization. He was kept there for 3 days, then released. He did ^{not} tell us anything what has happened there. I don't know what happened there.
- (11d) All kinds of people got arrested. There was no distinction made.
- (11f) It was impossible to get in touch with people under arrest. When we were arrested our families could not do anything. They did not even know where we were.
- (11g) I don't know anything, except for certain rumors which I heard.
- (12) Not applicable.
- (13) He should keep his mouth shut.
- (13a) If somebody was arrested, he was charged with everything. One of the charges "clicked".
- (13b) It does not help. There was no stable position in politics.
- (13c) Yes, personal connections helped. Particularly connections to the police or to the AVO. This was our case too.
- (13d) Yes, if somebody had a good class background, the

charges were always ~~more~~ milder.

- (13e) It helped to have money.
- (13f) Yes.
- (13g) The Catholics and particularly the priests were persecuted most.
- (14) The terror was the strongest from 1950 to 52.
- (14b) The terror eased in 1953. Many prisoners were released.
- (14c) In August and September 1956 the terror was eased very much. People talked freely, the press wrote freely. There was no great danger of being arrested.
- (15) The Soviet Union exploited Hungary. There were many plants with a Russian manager. For example, this was the case in the lock ~~in Sopron~~ factory in Sopron.
- (15d) In the lock factory of Sopron I talked to a Russian engineer. He spoke a broken Hungarian and he spoke German pretty well. He had studied in Germany. He was the leader of the technical department, an older man, an expert. People had a good opinion of him as an expert. I don't know, whether he functioned as a spy.
- (15e) Russian influence was the strongest in the heavy industry. You could find the greatest number of Russian experts ~~in Sopron~~ there and Hungary had to export to the Russians.
- (16) One could talk only cautiously with one's own intimate friends.

- (16c) Everybody had his own friends.
- (16d) One could talk freely about cultural affairs.
- (17) There were chances to circumvent official ~~official~~ orders but it was dangerous. People in the leading positions did not know what to do and this situation gave many chances.
- (17d) For example, a lathe turret operator who was a Party member could change his job. He went into the Party school and then became a Party secretary.
- (17e) At the beginning you could get into the university through connections. For example, after the highschool somebody worked for a year with a plant and then the plant recommended him to the university. There were many plant managers who were helpful to the youngsters. Later on, the enrolment at the university was handled by the DISZ and by the Party. At that time no other connections were good.
- (18) The system was kept up by the lethargy of the people and by the terror.
- (19) Even if there was some opposition, the public never knew of it. The AVO appeared right away and liquidated all opposition even in the smallest cases.
- (19b) The intellectuals.
- (19c) The AVO people and the Party secretaries.

- (19d) Opposition increased. Nagy Imre gave a sound basis to any opposition.
- (19e) It increased. After the 20th Congress of the Party it was permitted to criticize Stalin. The press became free.
- (19f) In 56 there were organized opposition groups. For example, the Iroszovetseg and the Petöfi kor.
- (19,1) The intellectuals got fed up with the intellectual poverty and terror. An intelligent person cannot suffer the system for a long time.

- (1) I listened to the foreign radio stations. Particularly to Free Europe, to London and so on. Radio Free Europe was the most popular because it had the best reception. It had the strongest transmitters. However, people became very disillusioned with Radio Free Europe.
- (1a) The foreign radio stations.
- (1b) Nothing else. The press was lying all the time.
- (2) I read the Szabad Ifjusag which was the paper of the DISZ and was relatively interesting. My father had to subscribe to the Szabad Nep. I read there the sport pages. In the Szabad Ifjusag I read the political columns. One had to read something about politics because of the seminaries and so on.
- (2e) At my place of work there was a wall newspaper. It was not edited by anybody. You could always see articles there which were 6 months old. I think that was the general situation. Nobody liked to contribute to the wall newspaper. Somebody simply got an order from a Party secretary or so that he should write an article. Then it was posted and let to stand there for 6 months. The wall newspaper was not read by the workers. It had political, cultural and sport news. The political news consisted of clippings from the Szabad Nep. Even the cultural and sport columns consisted of clippings. The employees wrote only about topics related to the plant.
- (2g) Before 1948 I saw Life magazine and other foreign news-

papers. However, I did not see any foreign newspapers after 48. It was possible to buy the American and other foreign Communist newspapers, but nobody was interested in them.

- (2j) Not before the Revolution. I saw the balloon of Radio Free Europe. It caused a lot of trouble. If anybody picked up on the street such a leaflet, he was arrested for 2 years. That happened to my uncle. The Radio Free Europe people should think of such consequences in Hungary.
- (3) I used to go to movies pretty often, particularly to see French and Italian films.
- (3b) This was not a point. Politics was important even in the pictures. We disliked Russian and Hungarian films. The film I liked the most was a Swedish one and did not contain a grain of politics.
- (3c) The Russians made 3 films out of the plays of Shakespeare. They were very good.
- (3e) Yes, I went to the theatre. The Faluszinhaz and the Gordulö Opera visited Sopron. They played for example, Italian operas which I liked very much. In this respect the people's democracy was really good.
- (4) Yes, I liked books and read many of them. In 1956 the Olcso Konyvtar published many foreign writers at cheap prices, for example, Zola.

- (4e) My favorite writer was John Knittel whose books were republished in Hungary in 1956. I still read them in the old editions. I read "Gone with the Wind" in an old edition since this was not published by the Communists. This "Gone with the Wind" became the most popular book of those years because it was attacked by the Communists. After that everybody wanted to read it. Most of the other books were straight Party line propaganda. It was not worth while to buy a book from a present day Hungarian writer. However, the old writers were very much liked, particularly Moricz, Mikszath, Jokai and out of the poets Ady.
- (5) I listened to the domestic radio stations perhaps an hour a day on the average. I was interested in the sport news, in dance music, in the so-called technical program and in operas. We could get jazz only on the Voice of America. We had a radio set at home.
- (6d) Concerning Hungarian news we listened most often to Radio Free Europe. It said many unreliable news. It was really shocking what Radio Free Europe did. It incited to Revolution not directly but indirectly. I heard it several times, that the Radio Free Europe said that once ^{right} the time will come and then we will give you help. Out of the foreign stations I liked Vienna most because of its good musical program.

- (7) There were people who corresponded with foreign countries. Then again the athletes visited foreign countries and spoke pretty much about the life there. If somebody had acquaintances in the ministries he could learn many news through such a way.
- (8) The Hungarian newspapers were utterly unreliable.
- (8b) Nobody believed in their political columns. Their political news could be checked through the Western radio stations. Then again, we talked to students who had visited the Soviet Union and described the real Soviet paradise.
- (8e) No, there were 2 radio stations in Hungary, both lying the ~~same~~ same way.
- (8f) Yes I read it in 1956. It was good. The Hetfői Hírlap and the Művelt Nép was good too.
- (9) Everybody agreed that the system was no good. In other respect people were in a lethargy. The every-day living was most important and there was no time left to be well-informed.
- (10b) The Soviet Union started the war, but America wanted war too. The Soviet Union wanted to get control of uranium mines in Korea.
- (10c) It was a bluff. Merai Tibor wrote a book about it but nobody believed it. Now he is in the West and is re-writing his book.

(10f)

We learned about the Berlin riots in June 1953 through the foreign radio stations.

(10h)

The Free Europe mentioned the emigre activities, but they were not interesting.

- (1) Hungary needs a very great change. The colonial economy has to be abolished. The T SZ CS system has to go. The one-party system should end and the country should live without foreign interference.
- (1a) Nothing, except some cultural achievements.
- (2) The 2-party system is the best.
- (2a) People should be free to organize political parties, however, we should have two strong political parties. We should have democratic free elections.
- (3) Yes.
- (3c) Very much so.
- (3d) It should be permitted to criticize the state, however, if there was a Communist minority and that would try to sabotage, it should not be permitted.
- (4) Yes.
- (4b) Under those circumstances that existed in 1956.
- (5) We need experts in the ministries and in the leading positions. There should not be any 5-year plan. To a certain extent there should be a capitalist production.
- (6) The large plants should be nationalized but the small ones should be restored to their former owners. There should be a sound competition.

- (6b) Under a certain size, yes.
- (6c) Yes, free trade is good and useful.
- (6e) Yes, for example, tobacco and alcohol.
- (7) Nationalization should be kept according to the size of the factory.
- (8) State planning is always senseless. It should be abolished right away.
- (9) For example, religion is one field where the state should not interfere.
- (10) If the Revolution triumphed Hungary would have been a neutral country. In a neutral country there is no need for a large army and for heavy taxes.
- (10e) The state has to give complete freedom to the citizens, free elections and the right to strike.
- (11) All I know is that the medical care of the present time is very poor. We followed the Soviet example and did not learn from medical science in the West. We did not import medicine from the West.
- (12) I don't know how it was in old times. Nowadays people go pretty often to movies and theatres. It is cheap, all kinds of people can go there equally, however,

intellectuals go more often.

- (13) I do not know exactly how it was in old times. However, I know that the food supply was the worst in 1953 and 54. Since that time there has been some improvement. People have spent most of their money on food.
- (14b) It became worse.
- (15) I think it increased, at least, according to the Communists.
- (16) The workers' councils should stay. The trade unions should be free and should represent the interests of the workers. They should be free to organize a strike.
- (16d) For example, an old experienced engineer.
- (17) My opinion is the worst possible opinion.
- (17c) To ~~abolish~~ abolish them right away and to return to individual farming. We need only one or two state farms. The Hungarian ~~peasant~~ peasant is obstinate and land-hungry.
- (17h) The kulak should get back his land. If the Communists did not like somebody they called him a kulak.
- (17i) The former large estates must stay on the hands of the peasants. Restoration of the church estates would necessarily lead to feudalism.

- (17,1) No opinion.
- (17m) They should stay, but under the management of the village.
- (18) The church should not interfere with the affairs of the state, should not interfere with politics and should not represent any power.
- (18a) Yes.
- (18b) No.
- (18c) Yes, out of the tax money.
- (18d) The schools of the churches should be restored.
- (18e) Teaching of religion should be individual according to everybody's will.
- (18f) I would send my children to church schools,; my experiences in the state school were very bad.
- (19) Every Party member should have a chance to work, even the former Party leaders. However, they should not be tolerated in leading positions. If the former Party members are good workers and talented ~~xxxxx~~ people they should be promoted. The little Party member should stay where he is.
- (19e) Everybody was a Youth League member. Nothing can be done with them. They should be free. The Youth League secretaries should be judged the same way as the Party secretaries.
- (19f) The members of the AVH should be interned for a while and after that should get a freedom to work or they

- could be resettled in the Soviet Union.
- (19g) The average policeman should stay on his job. The leaders of the police should be judged the same way as the AVO people. I am talking on the ^{basis} ~~base~~ of my experiences in the Revolution. In those times we saw that the peasant boy became a policeman and wanted to do his duty but did not want to fight for the regime.
- (19h) 2 Kinds of people fought against the regime during the Revolution. One was the opportunist who wanted to use the Revolution for his own purposes. The other one was the sincere type who saw that the regime cannot be continued. Such sincere people should be ~~left~~ left where they are.
- (20) Hungary suffered very much as the defending bastion of the West. Even in the times of the Tartars and the Turks. In such a way Hungary contributed very much to the peaceful development of Western European Culture.
- (21) Yes, there is a Hungarian national character, however, I could not say an example of it.
- (21a) The customs of the Germans and the Hungarians differ very much.
- (21b) The Hungarian is an individualist. The Russian is not. This is a great difference.
- (21c) Yes, the Hungarian intelligentsia always belonged to the Western civilization. The Hungarian intelligentsia was always apart from the Slavic life.

- (21f) I don't know.
- (22) I do not have a clear picture on that point.
- (22f) There were very great economic inequalities in Hungary before 1945.
- (22i) I don't know very much about that ~~xxx~~ period.
- (23) Hungary has a right to get back all her territories she held before Trianon. Then the Rumanians should stay in their own folk costumes and they should not be assimilated to the Hungarians. However, they should be faithful to the Hungarian state.
- (23d) The Slavs tried to influence Hungary all the time. It is difficult indeed to get along with the Slavs, except the Polish people. There is a peaceful co-existence possible with the Austrians.
- (24) A ~~small~~ small state should be neutral. It should keep friendship with all the large nations, including the Soviet Union. But it should be based on a complete equality. A small state should trade with all the other states.
- (25) The Russians are not a bad people. They use their brain. They are forced to live under a Communist system. It is particularly so with the White Russians. During the Revolution we met Mongolians. It is difficult to call

them human beings.

- (25e) The feeling towards the Russians remained always the same. It ~~is~~ did not change.
- (26) Marxism is an idealistic theory which cannot be realized. As a theory it believes in a complete equality of people and is against hatred. As a bad point it wants to liquidate capitalism.
- (26g) We never knew what the Marxism was. The Stalinism is something else. For Example, Lukacs Gyorgy is a Marxist and he was a democrat and participated in the Revolution.
- (26h) Democracy means human rights and the abolition of ~~exist~~ class differences.
- (26i) I don't remember that time.
- (26j) Tito is an opportunist, ^apractical politician. He cannot be well described in such terms as Marxism or Democracy.
- (27) National Communism does not want to follow the Kremlin. However, Communism is Communism. One Communist is red, the other one is pink.
- (27e) Communism and patriotism cannot be reconciled. A good Communist must be a Moscovite.
- (28) The situation would have changed under Nagy Imre. He was not a Communist but a patriot. He would have put

aside the Communist principles and would have improved the economic conditions.

(28b) He would have remained at the head of the government.

(29a) Bad.

(29b) Bad.

(29c) Bad.

(29d) Bad.

(29e) Bad.

(29f) To a certain extent it is good.

(29g) Good.

(29h) There is no such thing as kulak.

(29i) Veres Peter, good.

(29j) Bad.

(29k) Bad.

(29,l) Bad.

(29m) Good.

(29n) Good.

(30) The Christian Democratic Party would win in a free election.

(30) It is difficult to say. The old leaders are uncertain in their future. Nagy Imre is the only leader.

(31a) Less.

(31b) Less.

(31c) Less.

- (31d) Less.
- (31e) Fair.
- (31f) Less.
- (31g) Less.
- (31h) Less.
- (31i) Less.
- (32) Merchants and tradesmen were better off.
- (33a) Interests coincide.
- (33b) The same.
- (33e) Their interests conflict. They have their own problems.
- (33f) Their interests coincide.
- (33g) The same.
- (33i) The same.
- (34) The Soviet Union is dangerous in every field. The United States would have brought many blessings, particularly in economic field.
- (35) Only those Hungarians would fight in case of a war who are in leading positions, such as the AVO people. Nobody else.
- (36) My opinion has not changed since I left Hungary.

- (1a) The conversation is useful in the form as it is.
 - (1c) To beware of the AVO people.
 - (1d) You will get honest answers.
 - (1e) I think the interview covered all the fields.
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- (2a) I intend to return to Hungary in the case when Communism is finally liquidated. This might be a question of several years. At the present time I would like to emigrate to America where the possibilities for studying are the best.
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- (3) No remarks.