

(Note: This respondent made several intimations that he had played an important part in the fights of the revolution. However, in spite of my questions he was unwilling to reveal those actual information. In my mind all those parts of the interview where he personally is involved should be evaluated with an extreme caution)

- (1) The most important thing we ought to know about Hungary is the mentality of the revolution, furthermore the previous form of life that had existed before the revolution.
- (2a) The revolution started with the demonstration of the Hungarian youth on October 23.
- (2b) All the events that happened since the death of Stalin contributed to the outbreak of the revolution. Any dictatorship is connected with the death of the dictator. The death of Stalin meant that the old system of Russia could not be maintained. A greater freedom was permitted ~~not only~~ in Hungary, a greater freedom meant an economic boom. This economic boom could be particularly seen in the sector of small trade. After the death of Stalin many Communists returned to the line of Lenin who in old time had permitted the free small trade. <sup>Nagy</sup> ~~Nagy~~ Imre was a real Communist, however, he saw the right conclusions that had to be ~~drawn~~ drawn after the ~~death~~ death of Stalin. Nagy was not a capitalist, however, he was willing to permit free trade. For example, I had a Jewish acquaintance

in Budapest who in old times had a small shop ~~running~~ producing mats. His shop was working quite alright, however, in 52 he had been arrested because of currency affairs. In 1953 he was set on free foot and soon after he got the permission to continue his old trade. Nagy Imre did many other things for the general welfare. For example, many salaries were raised particularly for people in white collar jobs. Before Nagy people in the white collar job got 800 forints a month, now much more.

(2c) Everybody felt that something is in the air. Very likely there were certain military plots in preparation. I understand that the present officers of the army were in connection with Western circles perhaps even with Yugoslavia and they planned a military plot for March 1957. They wanted to establish a more moderate military government in Hungary, ~~however~~ then the revolution came and their plans were swept away.

(2e) Nagy Gyula, Zelk Zoltán, Aczel ~~Károly~~ Temés, Juhász Ferenc were very talented writers. All of them were Communists and favorites of the system. The writers, too, saw at an early stage that the existing system is wrong. They made a criticism even in presence of Rakosi and Gerö. Their criticism became particularly audible after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party when a certain liberalization was permitted from Moscow. After that time even non-communist writers could publish some short items such as a poem. After 1954 the situation generally improved.

- (3) Everybody had his own reasons to be discontent or to participate in the revolution. For example, the old aristocrat or the former army officer who had been deported had quite different reasons than the worker ~~or~~ or the peasant who were constantly cheated by the Communist.
- (3b) In the Communist system everybody was watching the other fellow. It was something like a huge chain. Then at one point this huge chain was broken. The whole system of control failed. For example, the army failed and we had such people from the Army as Maleter and Toth.
- (3c) ~~The~~ The 15 points. They wanted that Hungary should be a neutral state free from every exploiting <sup>great</sup> ~~large~~ power. Hungary should be like Austria, the Russian oppression should be ended, Gerö should go. <sup>Nagy</sup> ~~Nagy~~ Imre should be the head of the government. They wanted that everybody should have the freedom to go abroad. They wanted that the people should not be selected according to the kader card.
- (3f) The Communists and those people who were favorites of the system were afraid of the revolution. They opposed it. Then there were many cautious people who did not want any bloodshed. Many people opposed some of the revolution-ary parties. All my <sup>friends</sup> ~~friends~~ participated in the revolution.
- (3g) In the first days almost everybody was neutral.
- (3h) Those slogans which come up in the 15 points. The revolutionaries took over many slogans of the War of Freedom of 1848. They used even old slogans from the Kuruc times. For example, the Latin slogan: Pro Libertate or again For the fatherland and independence or again For Freedom or again Out with the Russians or again Long Live

the American.

- (31) The revolution was pure and socialistic. The revolution wanted to drag before the courts only those people who were gangsters.
- (4) In September 1956 I left my old job. For about a month I worked as unskilled laborer. On October 22nd I crossed the Hungarian border to Czechoslovakia. I spent a day there in a village near to Hungary. This was not my first trip to Czechoslovakia and the trips were connected with certain smuggling activities. I returned to Budapest on October 23. I did not know what was the situation. At that time my main idea was to escape from the country and I wanted to get the money which would be necessary for such an undertaking. On the same day I met an old acquaintance who told me that he is organizing a group and he would like to have me in that group. Concerning the aims of the group he told me that in case of a war the members of the group should meet on a certain place and be ready for action. We had been talking about this ~~xxxx~~ plan <sup>a few days before.</sup> ~~before a few days.~~ Then I met him again on October 23rd. I met him on the street, however, ~~my~~ my impression was that he was followed by somebody and his behavior was strange. So instead of talking to him I told him that we should meet on October 27th again and we did not talk further. ~~Right away~~ Right away on October 23rd I had already a revolver. Sometime before the revolution I had been able to get a revolver through a military acquaintance of mine. With his aid I had been

permitted to visit a military depot. I had given him some money and he had looked away while I had snatched a revolver. Later on on October 23rd <sup>I heard</sup> that there will be a demonstration of the students on the same day. We were living near to the Parliament and to the other important government offices in the 5th district of Budapest. On the evening of the 23rd I was on the Parliament Square and saw the demonstration. After the demonstration, after the speech of Imre Nagy and Gerö we marched over to the Szikra printing press in the Honved utca. The mass demanded that they should print the 15 points, however, the foreman or the manager did not want to comply whereupon the mass crowded into the printing shop, took over the machines and started to run them in order to print the 15 points. I was standing on the street before the printing plant. In the meantime 2 policemen arrived on motorcycle and they brought the news that there was a fight going on at other Szikra plant <sup>Josef</sup> on the ~~Josef~~ Korut. The streets were full of people and I went for a walk. The streets were full of people, everybody was demonstrating and some people began to take up the street-car tracks. It was late at night when I got home. I spent the following day at home. I have heard news about severe fights on the street and I heard ~~that~~ <sup>martial</sup> the ~~martial~~ law declared, however, it was impossible to do anything. The streets were occupied by soldiers. We were living near to the Ministry of Defence. On the crossing of the streets I could see soldiers who were checking everybody

and let through only those ~~whom~~ people who had some good reason to be on the street. Women were permitted to pass. Some smart ~~people~~ young people too who could talk to the soldiers. For example, during the day a friend of mine, a university student, came to me and brought ~~different~~ <sup>various</sup> news. However, my father ~~wanted~~ <sup>said</sup> that I should not go out. My mother had been ill for some time and I helped to nurse her. On October 25th the Russian panzers appeared and took up stand on every street corner. On October 26th there was a severe street fight in the neighborhood. We could see ~~bodies~~ <sup>bodies</sup> lying on the street. I understand that an 18 years old girl named Jasz Maria organized a resistance group in the ~~neighborhood~~ <sup>neighborhood</sup>. The group was wiped out and she was killed. On October 27th I succeeded in leaving home. After this date I returned home for a visit only on October 31st. It was the last time when I saw my parents. This last visit will be mentioned later. On October 27th I obtained some papers through a friend of mine and volunteered as a nurse with the Red Cross. From this time on up to the end of the revolution I was working with the Red Cross. Our main duty was to establish contact between the different fighting groups. There were 1 million people fighting. They were fighting in their own way. One fellow shot out a Russian tank, then he went home, went to bed ~~in order~~ <sup>in order</sup> to sleep. We had to move constantly since the Russians were ~~persecuting~~ persecuting us. We moved out to Angyalfold. When the Russians appeared there we moved over to Ujpest.

When we appeared there the police opened fire. The local police captain ordered this fire. He was captured by the mass and killed. We delivered ammunition and weapons to the different fighting groups. The ammunition was delivered by a convoy led by a Red Cross truck which found out the free roads. The Red Cross truck was followed by 3 army trucks full of ammunition. The ammunition was covered by potatoes. Even with our Red Cross truck we delivered both medicine and ammunition. If such a group met resistance or Russians everybody fled into the neighboring homes <sup>where</sup> ~~were~~ he was accepted by the people. Most of the streets were narrow and the Russian tanks could move awkwardly and very slowly. There was no special organization necessary to these fights. One reasonable fellow could establish the necessary organization. Later on I was at the railway station of Rakospalota. In that group there were 250 people among them 20 officers of the army. The officers had their own intelligence. They were in contact with some central agency. ~~They~~ They knew where the Russian tanks will appear. They arranged the defence according to a certain plan. They knew where to stand up a panzer breaker and where the machine guns. When the Russian tanks appeared they were greeted with fire. If the Russian tanks went through, somebody sneaked to them and used a Molotov cocktail. The Russian crew of the tanks surrendered. I don't know what happened to them. The army officers of this group were in contact with the headquarters, with the Kilian Laktanya. They called up

the Kilian Laktanya through the regular telephone from any apartment which had a telephone. In such a way a regular direction of the revolution began to be established. For example, there was a revolutionary council in Ujpest which had its seat in the Konyves Kalman Gimnazium. I was there in the Gimnazium two times. I was there for the second time on November 5th. Later on the same day the Konyves Kalman Gimnazium was surrounded by 50 Russian tanks. They opened heavy artillery fire and shot the building. I had seen there in the Gimnazium two military commanders who were in charge of the operations. During those days there were many individual actions. Students met under one door and went out for their own actions. It was easy to obtain arms and ammunition. Everybody lived somewhere. Usually not at home. But he did not say his name or address. The fight was against everybody who resisted not only against the Russians. The Revolution was not against the Russians but against the Communist system. In ~~the~~ the meantime on October 30th the Russians seemingly evacuated Budapest. On October 31st Mindszenty spoke on the radio. That was the day when I went home to celebrate my birthday. On the Korut I saw the crowd crazy <sup>because</sup> from joy ~~that~~ the revolution had been victorious. Everybody hoped that America will interfere in case the Russians would attack again. The Free Europe Radio greeted the triumph of the revolution. I heard that the border was open. On October the 30th and 31st I was in Austria with the Red Cross truck. In this case we were delivering



medicine, indeed. The road was free to Vienna. We were halted only in Győr by the people of Szigethy. Otherwise the road was free and it took us 6 hours to reach Vienna. From there we returned right away. Between October 30th and November 3rd everybody put away the arms and tried to live peacefully. The main worry of the people was shopping to obtain food. Long queues were standing before the stores. In the meantime, of course, the liquidation of the AVO people was going on. For example, many AVO people were hiding in the cellars of the Katona Jozsef utca. They were smoked out from their hiding place. Many other AVO people were hiding in the basement of the Parliament building or on the Mikszath Kalman ter. The AVO people had many false documents and many of them were able to get away. What I saw out of the liquidation of the AVO people is as ~~fair~~ follows: On Marx Square in the same building where the Neon sign of Schmoll pasta was there was the apartment of an AVO officer. One day the crowd broke its way into the apartment, ruined the furniture and everything in the apartment. The AVO man was dragged out of his apartment and was hanged on a tree on the Lipot korut. If you walked along the Nagy korut you could see seven AVO people hanging from the trees. In the meantime the old women were inciting the crowd. Some people said that the AVO men should not be hurt. In case of the self-justice the AVO man was always asked whether he was a drafted AVO man. The drafted AVO men were young. They could be easily recognized and nobody hurt them. One AVO colonel

was hanged up on the Mikszath Kalman ter and the people put on on his chest all his false documents and  $\approx$  30000 forints that were found in his pockets. Between November 1st and 3rd when there was peace in Budapest we went down to Veszprem with a truck with leaflets. There were no street fights in Veszprem because in the woods of Almasfuzitö a strong Russian group took up stand, however, the general situation in Veszprem was very troubled. I know that there were many political fights among the revolutionaries there. The road to and from Veszprem was free. There were Russians on the road but they permitted a traffic. On November 4th in the morning at 6.30 a.m. the Russians appeared around the Parliament building. They did not shoot upon the people, however, they surrounded the whole Belvaros. The armed youth went out to the peripheries of the ~~sixty~~ cities. So did I and was there up to November 9th. I was in Ujpest where there was heavy resistance against the Russians. Hungarian soldiers and revolutionaries took up ~~masikam~~ position in order to defend Ujpest and Rakospalota. Rakospalota could not resist for a long time because the revolutionaries got drunk. In Ujpest the heaviest fight was going on around the railway bridge. later on there was no more organization in the fights, only individual actions. Then even Ujpest was evacuated by the revolutionaries. And they moved over to the other side of the Danube. The last places of resistance were in the mountains of Buda. For example, in the Castle of Kiscell and in the woods between

In the meantime on November 9th I left Budapest and on November 12th I arrived in Vienna.

- (6) I organized a group<sup>of</sup> about 30 to 60 people. I cannot give any reliable information. All I can tell is: that ~~they~~ they were young people and their families did not know about their undertaking. There were workers, soldiers, students among them. In many cases I did not know their names or any other particulars. (Interviewer's note: inspite of many questions the respondent was unwilling to say anything more.)
- (7) The Kilian Laktanya had the greatest authority. They were the leaders. Everybody was in contact with them.
- (7a) There were no conflicts ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ or disagreements in our group. Everybody wanted the same: a socialist Hungary. Although there were class differences among the revolutionaries.
- (7c) There were no special workers' groups, army units or student organizations. Everybody was in the same group.
- (7d) The same as above
- (8) During the fights we captured many Russians, because the Russians surrendered when their tank had been shot out. We tried to question the Russians and the Russians said that they were supposed to fight against the fascists, however, the Russian action must have been well organized. Every Russian officer had in his pocket a very exact mili-

tary map of Budapest and the surroundings of the capital.

(8b)

No information

(8c)

No information

(8e)

We should not say that the Russians defected during the revolution. The truth is that the <sup>Russians</sup> ~~Russians~~ were willing to sell their tank for a plate of soup. Many of them escaped to the West. It is true that many of them put up the Hungarian national emblem of the revolution. They put it up on their tanks or on their uniforms, however, that was only a device. The Russians did not want to fight. They are not so good soldiers as the public opinion in the West thinks ~~that~~ they are.

(9)

We tried to find out about the events through our local intelligence.

(9a)

The newspapers did not play any part. We <sup>learned</sup> ~~learned~~ everything before the events were printed in the newspapers.

(9b)

We <sup>learned</sup> ~~learned~~ by word-of-mouth about almost everything.

(9c)

We listened to all kinds of radios that could be received. We listened even to Moscow. We listened to America, to Vienna and so on. The main thing was the reception, every station would have been good to get the news.

(10)

Nobody went into his office during the revolution. The streetcars were not running. Nobody showed up in the ministries.

(10a)

The DISZ joined the revolution. The DISZ took up connection with the general headquarters at the Polytechnic

University in Budapest which was one of the main headquarters of the revolution.

- (10b) The Party was simply blown up. The members went home and many of them put out the red-white-green colors.
- (10g) No information
- (10h) No information
- (10j) All the mass organizations joined the revolution. We did not want <sup>to use</sup> any organization. They came to us. If a fellow was throwing a Molotov cocktail one could not ask whether he was a DISZ member.
- (10k) The revolutionary groups. They were organized as they could be in such a short time.
- (10l) No Information
- (10m) There was no clear program. We hoped for free elections in which several parties would participate. ~~Perhaps~~ Perhaps the small-holders party and the Social Democrats would have gotten the majority. Nobody objected against the Communists participating in a free elections. They would have seen how <sup>much</sup> the voters wanted them.
- (11a) Yes, it was a heroic deed, it was a fight for freedom.
- (11b) Yes, if the Russians do not interfere.
- (11c) Yes, perhaps even an armed intervention. Even <sup>Nagy</sup> ~~Nagy~~ Imre Had the same opinion.
- (11d) It was a matter of courage.
- (11e) A good man, although a Communist. He dared to oppose Stalin.
- (11f) Out of the Communists Szanto, and ~~Левинский~~ Losoncsy Geza

and Lukacs Gyorgy were important. There were many important people out of the army officers. For example, Maleter. The army officers would have become ministers in a free government.

(11g) Everybody participated in the revolution. It was impossible to know what was the background of somebody.

(11h) Yes.

(12) I wanted for a long time to escape from the country. My father opposed it, my mother was sick for a long time. Then after the Russians came in my decision became final and I did not go home but left the country.

- (1) From 1951 to 55 I was a student at the highschool at Barossutca. I got my baccalaureate in 1955. At that time I did not want to go to university! I did not have the necessary money and I had some other reasons not to go to university. In 1953 and 54 during the summertime I was working at different places. In 1955 after the baccalaureate I got a job with the <sup>geodesical</sup> ~~geodesical~~ ~~institute~~ institute of Budapest and there I worked up to the summer of 1956. Then many of the employees were liquidated and I left the place too.
- (2) I was assistant technician at the Geodetical Institute. I earned ~~1000~~ 1500 to 1600 forints a month. It was a good salary since an engineer there made about 2000 to 3000 forints a month. Our main job was to make the necessary measurements for ~~different~~ different kind of constructions. We worked in the different parts of the country. The job meant many travels which I like pretty much.
- (3) It was a nice job. I could spend a great amount of time in the open air. I could travel to the distant parts of the country. The people were nice. There was no great Communist Party pressure in the office. Nobody was a Communist. One could do what one wanted. Even the talk was rather free.
- (3d) The technical conditions of the place were good. We used the instruments manufactured by the Magyar Optikai Művek.

The instruments were good.

(3f)

I worked 8 hours a day.

(3g)

We worked 6 days a week. On Saturdays we finished at 12 o'clock, however, it was possible to put in 10 to 12 hours a day and in this case we were free on Saturdays. It depended on the engineer. Many engineers were good. It happened that we left our work Friday at 12 o'clock or ~~XXXX~~ early in the afternoon. Here the work was counted not on hourly basis but we get a certain job and it had to be finished in a certain time. For example, in a week. Pretty much depended on the engineer. If he made a good calculation we could work leisurely and take off one or ~~two~~ two days.

(3j)

There were paid vacations for those people who worked there for more than a year.

(3o)

The engineers there liked me very much. They ~~promised~~ <sup>promised</sup> me a letter of recommendation to the Polytechnical University. I did not want to go there so they gave me a letter of recommendation to any other university. In the summer of 1956 I applied for admission at the university of Budapest, however, my request was turned down, because of too many applicants. In the office I was a good worker. I was never sick and I always showed up. Concerning other benefits we got the ~~compulsory health insurance~~ compulsory health insurance the SZ T K. That was very good. For example, we could get eye-glasses for nothing.

(4)

The most important people in the office were <sup>the</sup> engineers. Those people were members of the old middle class who



- wanted acquire a place of work without any dangers. It happened that some of these engineers got only 800 or 900 forints a month, however, they tried to stick to the job because they liked it. They were quiet people. They did not talk about politics. The other employees were the technicians. All kinds of people. The technicians did not know very much about the work. We made many mistakes. It happened that in one year we had to go out to the same place three times because the measurements were not exact. Even the leading Communist of the office was quite alright.
- (4b) There was a friendly tone in the office, for example between the draftsmen and the engineers. One could feel that most of the people had a good education in their childhood.
- (4d7) The most important topic of conversation was connected with the foreign countries. Who got a gift parcel from America, what kind of life is there. In the last few months one could hear even political jokes there.
- (4f) It was not compulsory to join the trade union. I have never been a member. I told to the trustee that I have not got the money and that ~~ixwi~~ I shall become in one year a student or a soldier anyhow, so he did not bother me. The trade union at our office arranged for the summer vacation of the employees. I never got any place there. ~~at~~ Last summer I spent my vacation at the resort place of the Finance Ministry at Balaton. I got the ticket from a friend of mine who could not go there.
- (4i) Not applicable.

- (4,1) There were no political officials at the office but there were several Russian engineers working there. Those Russians spoke several languages including some Hungarian. They were supposed to educate the Hungarians. The Russians were in contact with the Russian legation at Budapest. I think they made reports on many people ~~in~~ and many things. Moreover, I think that 2 people made reports to the AVO. It is interesting that those 2 Hungarian spies had originally come from good classes, however, their behavior was very suspicious.
- (4n) The good kader was the fellow who could show up his membership card in the Party. The good kader was supposed to watch that no sabotage should take place.
- (4o) I don't know, I never tried to be a good kader.
- (4p) There was a lot of stupid secrecy concerning the maps. For example, the maps were given out only to reliable people who had to sign several papers. It happened that we could not start work because we could not receive the maps. There was always some trouble with those maps. For example, the maps could be never found with those people who signed for them.
- (5) There were no great possibilities for changing jobs. If somebody did not like his job he could hand in his resignation and after two weeks he could leave his place. However, he was supposed to give some good reason. Without a good reason he was punished because it was marked in his workbook and this was a very bad thing. Most people

were able to find out some good reason. For example, sickness was always accepted even in those cases when the SZ F K did not pay for sickness. In my case I was told that many employees will be liquidated whereupon I told to the boss that because of university studies and because of the draft into the army I want to leave. It was accepted and I could leave when I wanted.

- (5b) I did not make any clear plans. I would have become a lawyer because of the family connections, however, my main idea was to leave the country.
- (5e) To live freely and to talk freely about politics.
- (5g) I have plenty of time yet to make any plans for my children. My children should not live under a Communist system.
- (6) My father's position was somewhat worse ~~than~~ than the position of other middleclass people. His law office was not a very good business. There is quite a story about his law business. He was a Maszek lawyer up to 1955 then finally he decided to give it up. By that time it was impossible to be ~~xxx~~ a Maszek lawyer . For example, my father had to pay 12000 forints yearly as a tax. So in 1955 he got together with 18 other lawyers and they established a T SZ CS, a co-operative for lawyers. After that the situation was much better. By the way 14 out of the 18 lawyers left the country now after the revolution.
- (6b) For example, we could afford an opera because the tickets were rather cheap, 10 to 40 forints. The opera in

Budapest was cheaper than here in Munich. Then we played bridge, chess both father and me. We made excursions. The movie houses were cheap, the coffeehouses and espressos too. In a cheap dance ~~club~~<sup>hall</sup> a ticket cost 5 forints. There of course, the people were dancing Western dances, for example rumba.

- (6c) The family got somewhat more than many other families but it was not fair.
- (7) My salary changed pretty much from month to month. It depended how much I had to travel. I had 700 forints as basic salary, for the travels I got 300 to 400 forints a month and sometimes even more. On the average I made 800 to 1300 forints a month.
- (7c) This was a typical salary. Of course, there were the Stankanovites who made 3000 forints a month. But in a year their health was completely ruined. It is true that favorite artists and such kind of people made 20-30 thousand forints a year, but only the favorite ones. There were many artists very talented who had no good connections to the Party and made only 3000 to 4000 forints which is not enough for an artist.
- (7d) Our family lived alright, even if we did not eat too well we could afford always icecream. My grandfather was a capitalist. He had 2 cars, he owned several houses. In his former villa now state ministers are ~~xxx~~ living. Grandfather worked himself up from a low beginning. After 1942 he was general manager of a large business concern then he was dismissed by the Communists. In our

family my father was making money, I don't know exactly how much. Mother got a certain ~~sum~~ pension from the streetcar company of Budapest where she had been working before her illness.

- (8) Salaries stated above. Concerning deductions, I had to pay taxes, the bachelor tax and the health insurance. I think that about 15 to 20% was deducted. About ~~this amount~~ <sup>the same</sup> was the peaceloan or planloan which was deducted too. I did not subscribe to any peaceloan or anything else but I know it was deducted from the ~~others~~ other people.
- (9) Most of the people were struggling with debts. I know of many of such cases because of the law practice of my father. I heard of such cases that somebody did not pay his rent for a year or more. He had no money.
- (9a) Concerning the budget of our family we paid a monthly rent of 200 ~~mf~~ or 250 forints. We had a ~~two-room~~ <sup>two-room</sup> apartment. It was our own, not shared by anybody else.
- (9b) If somebody had an old apartment it was very good for him. It was impossible to have an ~~apartment~~ <sup>apartment</sup> as a tenant, everybody ~~was~~ was a subtenant. We were lucky ~~enough~~ enough since we got a very nice apartment as tenants. In old times we had had an even larger <sup>one</sup>. Then when the new apartment regulations came up we made an exchange of apartments. It was in 1947 or 48. Then we moved into our present place which was a modern apartment consisting of 2 rooms, hall, kitchen, an ante-room and ~~pantry~~ a pantry. It was a mo-

dern building with many equipments. Originally it had central heating but the central heating broke down I don't know when. We had no central heating and sometimes we had troubles with the heating. The apartment was not too cold in winter either. The 2 neighbors were always heating their apartments. We had an iron stove in one of the rooms but in many cases we could heat the apartment from the kitchen or from the bathroom using ~~the~~ the gas equipment there. Our dwelling conditions were better than those of many people. True, we spent very much on electricity and gas.

(9c) One had to be very thrifty concerning food. I was doing most of the purchases. Mother was the finance minister of the family. On an average day we spent 30 forints or more for food. We ate butter, jam, fruits and so on. In a whole month we needed 1000 to 1200~~0~~ forints for food only but there was a month when we made it out of 800 forints. In <sup>months</sup> those ~~cases~~ we had only one dish for dinner.

(9d) Father and mother had clothes from the old times which could be mended and cleaned and used again. Mother received a pension of 700 forints a month from her former office. She could have bought clothes for her but she was very thrifty. We ordered very few clothes <sup>or</sup> shoes. I think in one year we ordered 2 pair of shoes only or clothes I mean for all the members of the family. I don't know to how much they amounted.

(9e) Electricity and gas cost very much in our household. ~~széleskörűen~~ We used very much of it. We needed a telephone because of father. I think gas, electricity and telephone amounted

to 600 to 700 forints a month. In many cases we got some wood for nothing for heating. For a while I was working as a wood carrier in a small Maszek shop. In some other cases father was able to order 5 tons of wood which helped us over several months. When we had no wood we used the gas water-heater in the bathroom or the gas stove in the kitchen to heat the whole apartment. It was very expensive but even food was expensive too.

(9f) Father smoked 30 cigarettes a day which did not cost very much. I did not smoke. We did ~~not~~ not spend money on alcohol. If a client of father gave a present we drank it slowly but we did not buy any alcohol.

(9g) We did not spend on education.

(9h) We went into movies every week once or twice. We received free tickets into theatres pretty often. One of my relatives was a singer at the opera house. From him we could receive tickets even if it was very difficult to get it.

(i) Haircuts cost <sup>three</sup> ~~free~~ forints. I had a haircut once in every <sup>not</sup> 2 months. In the Communist system it was ~~not~~ necessary to be ~~well~~ well cut. Everybody shaved at home. If I had to go to a barber for example if I was on a travel I paid 1 forint 50 for a shave. ~~for it.~~ The razorblades came from America. My mother went to the hairdresser twice a month. I don't know how much it cost.

(9j) Father used to ~~buy~~ buy 3 to 4 newspapers every day which meant about 2 forints a day. We subscribed to the paper Beke es Szabadsag. It was necessary for everybody to subscribe to at least one Communist paper. Finally father

selected Beke es Szabadsag because he thought it was still ~~much~~ better ~~than~~ Szabadsag Nep.

(91) We did not spend on local transportation. Mother was working in old times with the streetcar company of Budapest. She and myself got free tickets for the streetcar. Father as a lawyer was working for the bus company in Budapest and he got free tickets too.

(9k) Medical care cost a very great amount of money. That was <sup>where</sup> the thing ~~where~~ we spent most of our money. Mother had been ill for several years and we had to pay all the bills. In 1955 when father established <sup>the</sup> law firm cooperative he could join the health insurance system. Then the situation improved greatly since we got many services from the health insurance. Altogether I don't know how much money we spent on medical care.

(91) Father travelled only when it was necessary because of his law practice. In this case he was ~~reimbursed~~ reimbursed.

(9m) Father had to pay many taxes because he was a free lawyer, a Maszek lawyer. His membership in the Chamber of Lawyers was about 500 forints a month.

(9o) There was no black market in the last few years, however, when somebody received a gift parcel from America he sold it among his acquaintances. We bought some items from our friends out of American parcels. Altogether we could put away a very small amount for the rainy days, however, the great majority of the people are living in constant debts. The peasantry has the greatest amount of



money.

- (10) Everybody was in a squeeze and there was no justice at all. A peasant with 10 yokes had a much better life than a factory worker although the Communists were always talking about the factory workers. It is true that the peasant in the co-operative was suppressed. He was working from dawn to night and could not make any money.
- (11) In 1956 there was a complete economic bankruptcy. It was the revolution which saved the country from the bankruptcy. In the Soviet Union there is no economic bankruptcy but in Hungary the situation was much worse. The Hungarian Communists should be ~~blamed~~ blamed for that.

- (1) I attended the highschool at the ~~Marx~~ Barossutca and received my baccalaureate there in 1950. The school emphasized mathematics and physics. ~~This~~ These were non-political subjects, almost anything else was political. For example, biology. We have not heard there at school anything about the Americans. The history text books were ~~very~~ <sup>ridiculous</sup> ~~rather~~ ~~laughable~~. In one year they taught that Tito is a hireling of the capitalist next year they taught that Tito acknowledged the principles of Stalin. The students were simply laughing at them. They did not care very much what was going on. They were reading under the benches just as a demonstration. At one occasion the whole class was demonstrating for chancellor Adenauer. The discipline was loose mainly because of the teachers. Most of the teacher taught some other subject than their own. For example our professor of ~~mathematics~~ mathematics was professor of history. The Latin teacher was supposed to teach physics and so on. Very few of the teachers were Communist however, most of them were afraid of their jobs and tried to stay <sup>on</sup> ~~of~~ the Party line.
- (1e) I was supposed to attend this school because of my dwelling place.
- (3) All subjects were political subjects. All of them taught about the Russians. The name of ~~Russia~~ Russia was enough to arise <sup>laughter</sup> ~~laugh~~ in the class.
- (3d) We had national defence training 2 hours a week. We had

it in the last 2 classes of the *gymnasium*.

(4b) Every student got an education in Communism, in nothing else but Communism. In spite of that the students grabbed the arms against the Communist.

(4c) The kids were just laughing whenever Communism was named.

(4f) Not applicable.

(4h) No, it did not change.

(4i) There was no difference concerning age.

(5) My father was a lawyer.

(5a) No.

(5b) It was a good job before Communism.

(5c) He had university graduation.

(5d) Yes, our family had servants up to 1945. We had the last one in the fall of 1945.

(5e) Yes, we had only a small cottage at the lake of Balaton. Grandfather had much more but everything was taken away in 1948.

(5f) We were much better off.

(5g) The parents and myself.

(5h) We were living together up to the revolution.

(5i) No.

(5k) It hurt me in the past few years.

(6) Not applicable.

(7) Our family life was peaceful. A few times I got a slap

from father because I came home late at night. From 8 a.m. to 1 and sometimes 2 p.m. I was in the school. Then I was supposed to be at home at 10 o'clock at night. For example there was sometimes some good program at night. On Sunday for example there, there was a water polo match which lasted till 11 p.m.. There were many highschool students who went around with girls at night. For example they went to the Margitsziget where they made love in the bushes. Then again many of them went for a glass of beer into the Bristol. It was possible to make friendship almost everywhere. It was possible to friendship ~~wherever~~ pick up girls on the street. It was so with all kinds of youngsters. For example, the factory workers were playing cards and drinking in the taverns. On Sundays everybody went out for an excursion into the Huvosvolgy or they went out to the beach. In winter for skating. The old people went into the movies.

(8) A Party secretary denounced his own parents to the police but no normal person did so. No children did so, no children under 20 years. Wife and husband had often quarrels but it was a family quarrel, they did not go to the police. The family was one political mass. There was no misunderstanding or deception within the family.

(9) Everybody had many chums. I had really good friends. We fought together and were willing to sacrifice our lives for the other one. I knew both of them for 10 years or more. I met them through our parents. Even our

parents ~~knew~~ knew each other. Then we did almost everything together.

(9c) Politics had nothing to do with friendship. We had the same political principles.

(10) In 1950 the authorities put a great pressure upon almost everybody how to rear the children. It was not permitted to make a church wedding. The parents were forced to send their children into the day-care-homes of the state.

(11) Yes, all my friends did get pretty well along.

(12) I never talked much about politics. My idea was that the terror must be overturned by arms and not by talk. If I would have wanted to I could have talked to them about political matters.

(14) After 1949 there has not been much power left to the parents. Many of the youngsters went to work to some other place or joined the Party. The Communism was unsuccessful in destroying the family. It did not even loosen it but there were many changes. The parents still told us at what time we should home. The youth spend most of his time with sports and athletics. Sports were supported by the State. It was very easy to make a success if somebody was good in sports. The few people who wanted to take their studies earnestly were busy in studying. Everybody else did what he wanted to.

- (14b) That was pretty typical.
- (14c) As stated above.
- (14g) Yes.
- (15) Yes, the family ties loosened but not because of the Communist propaganda. This was only the result of the economic circumstances. Everybody was busy. Parents had no time for their family affairs. People felt that family is the most important organization. It is a block but they simply had no time to deal with it sufficiently.
- (15e) In our family there have not been any changes.
- (16) In Hungary it has never been as it is in the Soviet Union where every girl goes away with every boy and they do it on the street corner. <sup>In</sup> Hungary there were certain rules kept. If for example there was a mutual sympathy and there was a long friendship so in many cases it ended up in marriage. The long friendship was more important for the youth than a short adventure. Of course, they got married very early without any good reason. There were many ~~is~~ divorces.
- (16a) People get married at an earlier age. For example, a boy was drafted into the army. He could not get hold of a girl in any other way, consequently he promised marriage ~~xxx~~ to a girl. Then it often happened that the fellow was in the army and the girl began to go out with another boy. There were many complications and divorces.
- (16b) The <sup>courtship</sup> ~~courtship~~ went rather fast. There was one dance, one

or two walks at night, you took the girl into a movie after that a kiss and marriage. The parents often wanted to oppose the marriage but they could not. The parents of a girl did not want that she should become a mother without a marriage. Nowadays one can get married without the permission of the parents. If the youngsters got married they went for a honeymoon into the Grand Hotel on the Margitsziget. They spent there a week, sometimes 10 days then they returned into the apartment of the father ~~or~~ or mother and from that time on shared it with the old family. That was a very sad situation.

(16c) It was a very bad thing but that was typical. ~~It was~~ instituted  
This whole custom was ~~instituted~~ by the lower social classes. Of course, in the peasantry the marriages still were different. The peasantry kept the good old customs. They married among themselves and a peasant with 10 yokes did not permit to marry his daughter with another peasant who had only 5 yokes. In the whole affair the Communism is the main culprit.

(16d) For example, homosexuality was regarded as a sin in Hungary. Here in Germany every girl wants money. The morals in Hungary were not so bad. They are still better than in many other countries. Communism or Capitalism does not make a great difference in this respect. It depends on morality and morality changes from country to country.

(16e) Prostitution was prohibited, however, there were Maszek houses of pleasure. Most young people knew the addresses and prices of such houses. If somebody did not know them

he had to ask his friend and got all the necessary information.

- (16f) The Communists kept telling that one should be polite towards girls, however, they permitted ~~and~~ the sexual freedom of the youth. They wanted that the attention of the youth should be occupied with some other things than politics. The sexual situation was just an opium for the youth like so many other things invented by Communism.
- (16h) There are many illegitimate children and they are protected by the laws. The father had to pay if his <sup>fatherhood</sup> ~~fatherhood~~ could be proven. I know of many cases of this type because of the law practice of my father. It happened that the girl was dismissed from her job because she had an illegitimate child.
- (16i) Women do what they want now.
- (17) Everybody steals what he can.
- (17c) There is much bribery. The chairman of the farmers cooperative steals a few tons of wheat and the worker in the shoefactory steals a piece of leather.
- (17d) The hooligans were the Russians or the young Communists who had good connections to the Party.
- (18) The real friendships were established in the early years of school. Its much better to have old friends. I met all my <sup>friends</sup> ~~friends~~ through my parents.
- (18c) Answered above.
- (18d) We have never been interested in politics. We have not



discussed it.

- (18g) One should have something in common with friends and something different. Without common things friendship is impossible without differences you cannot talk with them. It is important to have debates with them, it is important that the friend should not be a Communist.
- (18i) As stated above.
- (18k) It depends on the circumstances. It is possible that somebody is a Communist and he is a friend of mine. None of my friends was a Communist.
- (19) In 1950 and 51 the priests were persecuted. Then again from 1954 to 56 there was a pressure on the churches. But I myself, I did not experience anything personally. People just ~~went~~ went to the churches mainly out of demonstration. My opinion is that men should pray to God and not to priests. One should make a difference between church and priest. I am a Catholic and I used to go to the church every Sunday.
- (20a) The Protestants got more favors from the government because they surrendered.
- (20b) The Communists did a very poor job in this respect. They made many enemies. Nobody wanted that the priests should get back the great estates but now just because of the Communism everybody took up the side with the ~~the~~ churches.
- (20c) I have not met any of them.
- (20f) Yes, in the villages nobody cared about who went to ~~the~~

church and who did not. In Budapest there were many middle-class people who did not dare to go into the churches. The middleclass people were afraid of being seen in a church. They were afraid because of their job.

(20h) I gave to God what belonged to him. I regularly went to the church. One hour every Sunday belongs to the God. It is necessary to believe in something.

(20i) The youth unless they ~~were~~ <sup>overslept usually</sup> went to the ~~church~~ church. If they did not oversleep the time they went to the socker games. The ~~youths~~ <sup>youths</sup> were neither anti-church ~~people~~ <sup>people</sup> nor believers. They were just in the middle.

(20k) Religion means more or less the same to young people <sup>as</sup> ~~than~~ it meant to their parents. My acquaintances either went or did not go to the church.

(20,l) No, it did not play. Many priests were stupid. There was a time when the priests were in a great poverty. They had no contact with the laymen only with a very few laymen. They did not ~~was~~ play any important part in political opposition.

(21) Under ordinary circumstances I would like to become a lawyer. It is not a good occupation to be lawyer. The cases are small the clients do not pay and the trials are just show trials. Party connections are important for the lawyer too. However, I wanted to select the occupation of the lawyer because of my family connections. So I guess I would have recommended the same to my friend ~~it~~ too.

(21b) Somebody should select an occupation where he has family connections or he should select an occupation which is favored by the Communists. For example, it is very good

to be an actor.

- (22) There were no social classes in Hungary. I would say Hungary could be divided in 2 classes but no social classes. One of the classes is the Red aristocracy the other class is the suffering half of the country. Who is the Red aristocracy? The great scientist, the great Party member as long as he does not lose the favor of the Party, the Party organizers, the members of the AVO, the artist who got a special distinction and so on. Who is the suffering half of the country? Everybody who is not in the Communist clique, for example here is the case of the old Communist the Communist of 1919. They were simply liquidated. Rajk was the best Communist. He was Hanged. Peter Gabor was the most faithful servant of the Party. He was liquidated. It was not so easy to belong to the Red aristocracy.
- (22a) The youth was youth. He did not belong to any of those classes.
- (22c) Athletes fared ~~wix~~ well. They belonged to the Red aristocracy. They got ~~wrxk~~ drunk and spoke against the Communist system. Nothing happened to them.
- (23) The Communists claimed that there were no social classes. In practice there are. I want to name four of them: the working class, the propaganda class such as the athletes, or the artists, the policemen, and the high ~~aristocracy~~ aristocracy of the Communists.

(23a) One could see that there were ~~differe~~ differences between people and people.

(23b) It was a significant change ~~but~~ but it had not been good before the war either.

(23d) There are no great class barriers in Hungary. The old aristocrats and capitalists are no more in Hungary but in the Western countries. In Hungary as it is now there are no great barriers.

(23e) During the revolution everybody was equal. Before the revolution people wanted to be equal. The Communism did not permit them.

(23g) Many old things are still alive. People use the address of ur and kezetsokolom. I know of many cases ~~where~~ where the lady Party secretary was addressed as Madam and she was greeted with kezetsokolom. She liked it very much. You could get a much better treatment by addressing her in such a way.

(24) In 1951 many Jews were arrested as ~~reactionary~~ <sup>reactionary</sup> ~~reactionary~~ elements, as Social Democrats or as American spies. The Jews in America wanted to help them but Gerö and Rakosi did not ~~permit~~ permit any outside help. During the revolution there was no anti-Semitism. I fought together with a Jewish friend of mine. He hated Communism. ~~The~~ The Jewry was very bitter. There is perhaps an anti-semitism in Moscow. In <sup>Communism</sup> the leading class of ~~Communism~~ there were many Jews. At the beginning of the system many Jews were Communists. We can understand that. After 45 the Jews turned against

Communism. The Communists succeeded in turning the Jews against them. Where there is a real Socialism there cannot be any Jewish problem. I had many Jewish friends who lived in the greatest poverty. First they were deported to Mauthausen and a few years later they were arrested by the AVO.

(25c) I had many Jewish acquaintances. In the school and at many other places you could meet them easily.

(25g) There was less anti-semitism than before the war.

(25h) No opinion.

(1) I have not been interested in politics. I was more interested in sports. But in Budapest everybody talked about politics and told political jokes. The people of Budapest had always caricatured the existing political system. We had many jokes about Rakosi, Gerö, Stalin, Eisenhower, about everybody. <sup>People</sup> ~~Everyone~~ were well informed and knew what they should believe in the newspapers. Many students in the highschools were interested in politics and told pretty much to the teachers. It happened that a student told his sincere opinion to the teachers. First nothing happened but 3 months later he was kicked out of the school under another pretext.

(1c) No participation in political actions.

(2) My guess was that free elections would be the best. I was never a member of any political party. I would never join any of them. The students in the highschool knew that there had been a small-holder party and so on but they did not know anything else about them. The Communist for example told us that the West was united. ~~It was~~ I was very much surprised when coming to Germany to see that there <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ several political parties here ~~where~~ <sup>were</sup> not at all united among them.

(2e) My attitude towards Communism has never changed. I never liked them. When the Communists came in I was a very young boy. I did not know very much about them. However, pretty soon I learnt ~~what~~ who they were. I learnt

it from my family and from my friends.

(2f) Never been interested in politics. I have never been too well informed about politics. For example, we were prejudiced concerning the West. We had a too high opinion of the West. When I came out it was a great disappointment for me. Austria was a great disappointment for me. Germany an even greater one. At home, everybody had told me that Germany is a little America. There must be a very great difference.

(2g) The youth felt the same way.

(2h) We had to obey the authorities. Everybody was watched.

(3a) The greatest grievance was the presence of Soviet troops. Then the second was the violation of national dignity and traditions. The grievance of the youth was the inadequate opportunity to get ahead. The youth could not achieve anything, nothing in an honest way. The greatest grievance of the workers was the inadequate housing. The greatest grievance of the peasants was the interference with religious life. The greatest grievance of the Communist Party members was fear of arrest and terror.

(3b) The least important grievance was the boredom and drabness of everyday life. Everybody can shape his life and everybody can find his own amusement.

(3f) You could feel those grievances every day, constantly.

(3g) It was not necessary to talk about them. Just a nod of the head and everybody understood it.

(3h) It was impossible to do anything about it.

- (3i) I would not say little annoyance but there was a great annoyance, the red tape everywhere.
- (3j) The Communist Party promised everything to everybody but none of those promises have been realized. There were some people who got something out of the Party. For example the athletes.
- (4) The real power was in the hands of those AVO people who had double citizenship, Russian and Hungarian citizenship. There were 5000 to 6000 of them. Each of them had several aliases. One day they turned up under one name the next day under another name. I have no other information about them.
- (4f) There was an awful bureaucracy. There is a bureaucracy in Germany too, a million of papers and documents are necessary to every step, however, you can get things arranged. In the Communist bureaucracy it was impossible to get anything arranged. For example, the planning office issued a ~~plan~~ certain plan. It was sent down to the office of public constructions. From there it was ~~sent~~ sent down to the local ~~planning~~ planning office. The plan was sent from one place to the other. In the meantime it got lost or arrived late to the place where it was destined to. Everything was kept as a secret before the engineers. The engineers did not <sup>know</sup> anything about the details, consequently they turned out a very poor job. It was a great waste of the money of the State. In our office we were measuring a certain terrain for a long time and ~~it~~ did not



know why. Finally it turned out that our job was wrong. In a radio factory it took several months to measure a radio. Finally it turned out that the radio was no good and production could not be started.

- (4h) The old Party members and the experts went into government service. They were half and half. Half of the government ~~people~~ people were Party members the other half were experts.
- (4i) Anybody could become professional army officer. The high-school kids were recruited every year. They were promised everything if they joined the army, however, everybody refused it.
- (5) I was a member of the DISZ for 6 years but I only paid the stamps. In the gymnasium it was compulsory to join it. I mean anybody who had common sense joined it. There was no immediate punishment for those who did not join it but it came later. The DISZ was the greatest blunder of the Communists. The leaders opposed the Party. The membership fee was on the basis of voluntary subscription. I paid 1 forint a month but it was possible to pay 5 forints. Most of the kids paid the same as I did. The son of a Party member, for example, subscribed to 5 forints a month.
- (5a) There were no drawbacks in being a member of the DISZ. There were no advantages connected with membership. It was an advantage if somebody got a function, an office in the DISZ. In this case he could participate in the different meetings, & the meetings of the Party. He could easily make acquaintances with different important

people. It was easy to get an office in the DISZ. There were never enough candidates for them. It was more difficult to get an office in the national DISZ headquarters. None of the officials of the DISZ was ~~an~~ a reliable Party member. There was a case: a girl secretary of the DISZ disappeared. We learnt only a few months later that the AVO people had shot her on the Yugoslav~~e~~ border when she ~~had~~ wanted to cross the border.

- (5c) If somebody did not want to join he could do so.
- (5f) Only those over 15 years could join the DISZ! In the gym-  
<sup>the</sup>  
 nasium ~~wh~~ people joined it in the first class. They could stay there in the DISZ up to 30 years. There was a DISZ group in the army for all those who were under 30 years. Everybody was ~~an~~ a member of it, everybody voluntarily. It was difficult to get accepted by a university unless somebody was a DISZ member.
- (5g) In the last ~~ix~~ class of the gymnasium we did not attend any longer the meetings of the DISZ. In the school its main aim was to establish contacts between students and teachers. Something like that one would have been necessary. The discipline was very loose. The DISZ fought against the loose discipline. If there were 30 fellows in the class it was almost impossible for the teacher to teach. The fellows were playing chess, reading under the bench or anything like that. Only the Hungarian language classes were liked. In our school the DISZ had no special rooms. The meetings were held in the main auditorium of the building. The meeting was usually ~~opened~~ opened by the

director of the gymnasium. He greeted the DISZ and the members. After him a few teachers spoke up. They criticized the students, they spoke about the non-existence of discipline, they spoke about the laziness of the students. Then the students were supposed to take the ~~firm~~ floor. First they were awkward but if one broke the ice and spoke up then many others followed him. Sometimes it came to quite an exchange of words between teachers and students. For example, we had a great athlete in the school, a hockey player who missed his classes several times. He missed at least 80 classes. In one case he stood up and spoke at a DISZ meeting criticizing the teachers whereupon the director of the institute stood up and asked him: "Are you a hockey player or a hookey player?" There was a great laughter and all the <sup>students</sup> ~~students~~ applauded the director. The DISZ gave free tickets to the different swimming pools or to the socker games. Then again the DISZ organized special musical nights with the participation of opera singers or other famous artists. ~~Some~~ Those musical ~~night~~ nights were usually arranged in the auditorium of one of the schools. One could get free tickets through the DISZ. Only those people got the free tickets who were well acquainted with the DISZ people. Those musical nights had a very good program and the students wanted to attend them, however, the auditorium had only a thousand people and four and five thousand people wanted to attend it. The friends of the DISZ secretaries always got the tickets. Not everybody was a member of the DISZ.

First I ~~would~~ would say out of the 400 students of our gymnasium there were only 30 or 40 students who did not join the DISZ! In 1956 the situation was quite different. Then only about half of the students were members of the DISZ because of the decrease of the terror.

- (6) I know about the youth in this respect. If somebody did a good job in the DISZ the DISZ recommended him for becoming a member of the Party. I know of 2 fellows from my school who joined in such a way the Party. One of them wanted to become a soldier. The other one was later kicked out of the Party. The Communist Party did not want to get new members out of the youth. The ~~workers~~<sup>workers</sup> of the ministry joined the Party not the students. The students were not reliable. The Party did not want to carry out recruiting among them.
- (6e) I don't think anybody changed just because he joined the Communist Party. He was a Party member because of some reason.
- (6f) The Communists had their own grievances too.
- (6h) No.
- (6p) It depended on one's kader card. It depended on one's parents. If nobody knew anything against him the young man could join the Party. But it was not a clever choice. It meant a lot of work. Very few youngsters wanted to join the Party.
- (6r) We don't know who run the Party up to 56. Perhaps Rakosi or ~~Stalin~~ Gerö.
- (6s) The youngsters despised every Party leader without any ex-

ceptions. Nagy Imre was the only exception. We did not ~~know~~ know very much about the Party leaders. We did not know who was the Minister of Interior. This was so mainly because of the newspapers. The newspapers did not publish such news. They did not publish any pictures. If somebody became a cabinet minister the newspapers wrote perhaps three lines about it. In actual life in many cases the chief of a section in the ministry had a much greater power than the minister himself.

- (7) The youth did not like to join any organization unless it was necessary. If some body wanted to become a soldier, wanted to deal with radio or wanted to become a pilot he ~~went~~ went to the different courses of the Szabadságharcos Szovetseg. For example, many young people liked very much the courses for the parachutist, many girls joined it. They got a good education there. The Szabadságharcos Szovekég had a military character. It gave a military education and did not deal very much with ideological questions. The fellows liked those courses arranged by the Szabadságharcos Szovekég. They participated in them for several ~~several~~ years and learnt very much there. For example, many of them became good sharp shooters, something they could use pretty well ~~in~~<sup>in</sup> the revolution.

- (7a) I was never a member of any of the mass organizations. Sometimes I attended the courses of the Szabadságharcos Szovekég. Once I was thinking of taking the Parachutist course but I gave up this plan. I went quite a few times

to the shooting place in order to get practice.

(7f) The applicants who wanted to join the Szabadsagharcos Szövetseg were checked by army officers. The army officers held the different leading positions. They were the instructors. They were not interested in Communist principles. They wanted to give a good military education.

(7g) First there was a great opposition against them. Later on this opposition subsided. For example, the parents first protested against the DISZ. Later on they told the kids that it is necessary under the present circumstances to join it or it is not ~~important~~ important whether somebody is a member or not. I was very much against the Szabadsagharcos Szövetseg because I thought they wanted to educate an army against the Hungarian ~~people~~ people. But I was mistaken. During the revolution I could see it.

(8) It does not make any difference whether somebody is a believer ~~or~~ or non-believer as long as he is a Communist.

(9) Everybody was a member of the DISZ. It was not surprising that the members of the DISZ participated in the revolution. It could not have been surprising for Moscow, only for the West.

(10) It happened pretty often that the parents of the students or one of the students was ~~grabbed~~ grabbed by the police. The students were usually beaten up and set free after a short time. The other students were talking about that. We know of such affairs. Everybody knew when the janitor or the

party secretary was grabbed by the police. But we did not know why. Something like this was pretty common between 49 and 52. There <sup>are</sup> ~~a~~ very few people in Budapest who had not been at the AVO. I was there only once. It happened on the ~~Yugoslav~~ Yugoslav border when I was captured measuring the land. I had my documents with me but the blue police could not read and they thought I was a spy. They kept me for 2 hours. In the meantime they ~~phoned~~ Phoned to Budapest and they let me go after 2 hours. I missed my train and had many troubles. Needless to say I was just working there. I did not want to go over to ~~Yugoslavia~~ Yugoslavia. The stupid blue police wanted to prove that I came by foot from Budapest although I had my railway ticket in my pocket. In 55 one of the fellows of our office went officially <sup>to</sup> ~~of~~ the country but somehow the other people forgot about it. When he did not show up in the office everybody became quite excited that he had been arrested by the police. This was <sup>a</sup> ~~xx~~ typical case.

(10e) No information.

(10j) No information

(10k) No information

(11) Everybody was arrested as I was. But that was nothing. It lasted just a few hours and nothing happened to us. Nobody was beaten up. It was a little bit better for the youth. The police was interested in the older people who had had any political role in the old times. For example, the old Social Democrats. They were arrested very often.

The old count was not interesting for the police. The old count could not do anything but the Social Democrat was a dangerous person. Then again the policemen and the officers. The police did not make any distinctions among social classes or religion. I had a Jewish friend who was a great Social Democrat. He was liquidated by the AVO. The AVO did an ugly job. For example, somebody was hanged because his name was mistaken ~~for~~ for somebody else's.

(11d) See above

(11g) No, just what I heard.

(13) A smart fellow could <sup>have</sup> ~~have~~ avoided of being arrested. Many people lived under aliases, particularly the Horthy people. The old army officers, many of them have been living under aliases ~~since~~ since 1945. It was possible. One of them was arrested just a short time ago after he had been a group leader in the revolution.

(13c) Money and personal connections were of great help. They were not omnipotent but could arrange very much.

(13e) Yes, for example, for 5000 to 10000 forints it was possible to cross the border with the aid of the AVO.

(13f) Yes

(13g) No.

(14) Yes, there were fluctuations. 1950, 51, 52 was the worst. After 1953 the terror decreased.

(15) No immediate information.



- (16) It was impossible to speak frankly. One could not trust anybody.
- (16c) In the gymnasium it was better. It was not dangerous there. We could tell some political jokes too. But even there we were <sup>cautious</sup> ~~wary~~. The kid simply learnt that ~~if~~ it's necessary to watch out. A kid of 14 years already knew what was going on that his parents were taken away by the AVO. If somebody drank too much in the tavern and said something he was taken by the AVG people.
- (16d) You could be candid with friends, silent if you did not know the other fellow.
- (17) Everybody tried to ~~circumvent~~ circumvent everything. The peasant was oppressed as much as ~~just~~ possible. He tried to sabotage the levies. The greatest cheating was done by the truckdrivers of the Kozert . They got paid after the kilometers they run the truck. They simply made out a report about kilometers. They put down overtime they never ~~work~~ worked. They made 3000 forints a month. Everybody ~~Everything~~ tried to do everything he could.
- (17a) One could not protect one's own interest. Everything depended on the circumstances.
- (17d) In the last years he could resign.
- (17e) The ~~university~~ student could not do anything, however, he could apply next year, and next year again. There were fellows who applied 3 and 4 times. Finally they were accepted.

- (18) People were kept together by terror. People were not organized. The opposition was entirely unorganized up to October 1956.
- (19) There were small instances of resistance. The Western newspapers wrote about them but we did not know anything. I think there was some military organization going on but I do not know exactly.
- (19b) All groups.
- (19c) The Communists.
- (19e) No Change.
- (19i) Students were dissatisfied.
- (19,1) The Petöfi kor and the Mefesz were originally Communist organizations but they changed slowly. In 55 nobody dreamed of a revolution. During the revolution we did not know that there was a revolution. On October 27th I knew that there were fights going on in Budapest but I did not believe it. The Petöfi kor and Mefesz was made up of Communists but those Communists saw the failures of the system so they slowly changed.
- (19m) The intellectuals sided perhaps with Nagy Imre. He was an intellectual too.

- (1) We got our information from the foreign radio stations. We ~~listen~~<sup>listened</sup> to the German stations, to BBC, to Voice of America. Then there were many rumors circulating. For example, about the death of ~~Magyar Nemzet~~<sup>Bajor Gizi</sup>. We heard many rumors. Some people said that she was killed by the AVO people. In 2 days everybody knew of her death.
- (1a) The foreign radios.
- (2a) I usually read the Magyar Nemzet. After 56 many people read the Szabad Nep because at that time ~~he~~<sup>it</sup> was writing freely. For the youth the most important were the sportpapers. After 54 the sportpapers hardly dealt with politics only with sport. I collected them. There was a great change in the tone of the Szabad Nep. In old times it called Eisenhower ~~as~~ a scoundrel. Now it called him president.
- (2e) In our school there was a wall newspaper. For a while I was an editor of it. Then one of the professors wanted to force me to write an article about Tito as the "dog on the leash". I refused to do so and then another fellow became the editor, however, even after that I took part in editing the newspaper. Our newspaper was quite a good one. For example, we carried many reports from other schools, short reports. I had a column there with the title of "We don't know that". That column carried items of general ~~interest~~ interest. For example, who invented that and so on. Then I wrote a few humoristic pieces. I did not write anything about the Americans.

Every week we turned out a new issue. Every class of the school had its own wall newspaper. In our class we had quite a few good writers, sons of famous Hungarian writers. The wall newspaper was edited by the students. The teachers gave instructions concerning the wall ~~newspapers~~ <sup>newspapers</sup> but did not interfere very much. They did not censure however they read every item after it was posted. We asked <sup>for</sup> an article from each of the teachers. They wrote their articles about <sup>problems</sup> questions of the school, where the study circles should be formed, where we ~~should~~ <sup>should</sup> strengthen studying and so on. The paper had many drawings. For example, the caricatures of the teachers. The teachers liked it. Many of them kept the caricatures afterwards. We did not post any ~~newspaper clippings~~ newspaper clippings on our wall paper. We did not want to have anything to do with the newspapers. They were Communist. It was an interesting <sup>a lot</sup> job to do the wall paper. It cost quite ~~a lot~~ of money but the class paid the money. I drew up its frame. It was a large frame, a 120 by 80 cm with a glass and with the emblem of the school. When we graduated in 1955 I took this frame home. Then the law-co-operative of my father took it over. They still use it for their own wall newspaper. The <sup>students</sup> teachers were enthusiastic about the wall newspaper. For example, the sport columnist who gave us sport news ~~from~~ from Hungary and from foreign countries even from Western countries.

(2g)

Yes, the foreign Communist newspapers could be bought on the streetcorners. We could not by any Western news-

papers but all the kids used to go to the American information service on the Szabadsag ter. It was always full of students particularly when a film was <sup>showed</sup> showing. We saw there Walt Disney and many travelogues. If the youngsters wanted a Western paper they went to the information service. Sometimes they brought them out, sometimes they stole it. I had a friend who had a Maszek apartment and there I could see many Western films. I don't know where from but he could always get hold of Western films and he had his own projector. Then he invited some of his friends and we could see many films.

(2j)

No.

(3)

In 1948 I made a vow never again to see a Soviet film, however, later on I saw three of them. Once in 1952, then later on I saw Romeo and Juliet. It was one of the greatest films of the world. In June 1956 I saw a third Soviet film.

(3a)

The films I liked.

(3c)

Yes, I saw many foreign films particularly French ones. Up to 1949 our family went to see all the American films. Then they were prohibited. Later on some English films came to Hungary and German films too. The French films are the best.

(3e)

Yes, we went very often to theatres and operas. We saw the plays of Shakespeare, then of course the popular operettas. I remember one Hungarian operetta entitled "Boci-boci tarka". It had a very stupid plot. It was about a

Kulak and a ~~gg~~ good Communist peasant. The good peasant wanted that the Kulak should give his cow to the farmers' co-operative. It was very stupid. Everybody was laughing while the actors were talking on the scene. But the music was really good. I still can ~~see~~<sup>hear</sup> one of them. I saw the Pomadekiraly and many other operettas. I saw the play of Hay Gyula. It is not so good as any of the plays of Herczeg or Molnar. The Play of Molnar entitled "Paluccai fiuk" was played. Then again the play of Moricz Zsigmond with the title "Legyjo Mindhalalig". Then we had many operettas by Huszka and many other old operettas. Those are excellent. One could get tickets through the trade unions. We got them through friends or relatives. One relative of mine was an opera singer. For example, the Walkyrie standing all the time. The Hungarian opera house was once very good. Now it is ruined. ~~Olak~~<sup>Olah</sup> Gusztav was an excellent expert. Most of the singers left Hungary. We went to many places. In Hungary it had been always easy to find good entertainment.

- (4) I read books only irregularly because of my eyes. I have eye troubles. I tried to read difficult books. For example, Kant and Fichte. I did not read many cheap novels because of my eyes. I still read and like Jokai.
- (4e) My favorite writer is Arany Janos, then the Hungarian and foreign classics. I could name Shelley, Byron, Thackeray all of whom I read in Hungarian translation. Among the Hungarians I liked Juhász Ferenc's, poet Illés Gyula,

Jozsef  
 Ady and ~~Jozsef~~ Attila. I do not agree with Jozsef Attila but he was a great poet. I read Goethe and Voltaire. In the highschool I gave a lecture about Voltaire. His name was not mentioned in our textbook so we made it up through my lecture.

- (4g) It was easy to obtain books. Grandfather had a large library. But bit by bit he sold it. In the libraries you could find all those books which were not on the index. For example, May Karoly was on the index and many old Russian writers. On the other hand many Russian writers were compulsory readings in the school. We did not like them.
- (5) Most of the time we were without a radio. Father bought 2 of them ~~but~~ perhaps three of them but they got broken or something happened. So I listened to the radio at the places of acquaintances. I liked the sport news, the toto, music, particularly Hungarian musics such as <sup>Kodaly</sup> ~~Korduly~~. I liked the operettas. I did not regard Franz Liszt as a Hungarian but Erkel was a great artist. The folk tunes of Korduly were not popular except his opera "Hary Janos". People preferred the Italian operas. The youth liked music very much even classical music. Many of my school mates went into the Protestant churches in order to hear Bach. For a while I took up Protestant religion too in order to hear music. There has been a very great interest about music. We talked about it, we listened to it, we tried to get records. If somebody had a good collection of re-

ords he was very proud of it.

- (6) People listened to the Voice of America, to BBC, to Vienna and Milano particularly for the music, and all the stations in Austria.
- (6) I was mostly interested in Music. Concerning news the  
a BBC was the most important. It was impartial. The Voice of America was the second. Radio Free Europe could be received pretty easily. People listened to it but did not believe it. We spent about the same time with foreign radios as with the Hungarian stations.
- (6d) I think the Free Europe radio has not got good news concerning Hungary. We learnt everything before they told us. They made many mistakes. I think they are not well informed about Hungary.
- (7) The ~~walks~~ word-of-mouth information functioned rather well. We learnt about everything 2 days before Radio Free Europe announced it. Everybody talked about news and gossip and you could put them together like a jigsaw.
- (7f) Everywhere. For example, in the classroom.
- (8) Nothing, one could find only lies in the newspaper.
- (8d) With the help of common sense.
- (8e) All the newspapers were just the same. There were no secret radios.
- (8f) No, but my friends knew it. I had no time to read it.



- (9) People tried to be well informed that's why they listened to the foreign radios particularly older people.
- (10e) Yes, we knew of the Free Europe balloons. A friend of mine told of it. He saw one of the leaflets.
- (10h) Yes, we knew about the emigre activities abroad. The Hungarian people hoped that they will help us. I did not know any names. I don't know their names even now. I am not interested in them. They could have done some thing during the revolution. Perhaps they did what they could. Now I think they are not important. In the old country we thought they are more important than they are.

- (1) Only one system is possible in Hungary: the Socialist. Nobody wants the Habsburgs. A neutral Hungary is necessary with economic connections with the whole world particularly with the Western world. It should be as it is put down in the 14 points.
- (1a) It is impossible to return the estates. It is impossible that one man should have 100000 yokes and the other one nothing. But some money should be paid to those ~~fu~~ from whom everything had been taken away. Everybody should find a job according to his abilities. The ~~manager~~ <sup>manager</sup> should be able to become a shoemaker and the shoemaker should be able to become a manager. Industry should be left in the hands of the state but we need capital investment from the West. Small trade and small industry should be in private hands.
- (2) Yes, a Social Democrat cannot be forced to become a Christian Democrat. A ~~coalition~~ <sup>coalition</sup> government would be the best.
- (2a) Every political party should have ~~an~~ a possibility to organize itself. Both the fascists and the Communists. The people ~~w~~ should decide what they want. The people has learnt very much during the last 15 years. Everybody should have the ~~right~~ <sup>leave</sup> right to ~~live~~ Hungary whenever he wishes to. It is very difficult to organize a political Party in Hungary. In Hungary everybody is working according to his own taste. In Germany the whole country is following Adenauer. The Hungarian will never follow a leader or a hero. Concerning ~~religion~~ religion there should be complete freedom

too. This is the only way to maintain the internal peace of the country.

- (3) Certain limits are necessary, particularly the extremities should be limited, I mean extreme Communists or extreme fascist. They are no good. Such kind of people are bitter and they want to plot against a neutral Hungary, however, the limitation should be minimal.
- (3a) Nobody should be punished because he denounces the government. The Communists ~~should~~ should be punished but denunciations of the Government should be permitted.
- (3d) It depends. It should be permitted to criticize the army.
- (4) Naturally.
- (4a) Even in that case.
- (4b) An armed uprising against the government is justified if the human interests are insulted through terror. In case of another uprising the armies of the United Nations should interfere.
- (5) We need experts. The trade agreements with the Soviets should be stopped. We need trade with the West. We need loans. Hungary should not be an industrial state but an agricultural state. The Western countries can manufacture much better motor cycles. On the other ~~side~~ the Gamma factory should be permitted to export. Hungary should export fruits.
- (6) It is right. Steel and coal should be nationalized provi-

ded the state does not exploit the people. America is the greatest country and there is no nationalization there. Perhaps in Europe the situation is different.

- (6b) The small factories and shops should be restored to their former owners.
- (6c) It makes no sense ~~that~~ that the profit should wander into the pockets of the shareholders. It is not right if one man makes 10 millions and the other one nothing. The right democracy means that everybody should have a minimum welfare.
- (6e) The monopolies are here to increase the income of the state. They are right if they do not mean an absolute monopoly. For example, the tobacco monopoly meant a lot of cheating. Alcohol should be a monopoly of the state and the state should ~~not~~ sell alcohol for a high price only. They should not make any prohibition because it's no good. But it is no good either if all the people can get drunk.
- (6g) Küzert should stay in the hands of the state but he should compete with the private undertakings.
- (7) The size of the factory should be important. The large factories should be nationalized.
- (8) Government planning is necessary. If planning is done by private firms the result is competition and unemployment. There is a great danger in that.
- (9) The state should not interfere with religion. On the

other hand the Vatican should not collide with the state either. The state should acknowledge the Catholic, the Protestant and the Jewish holidays.

- (10) Certainly, for example general military service. Everybody is supposed to fight but the army should be human. There should not be any loopholes whereby the <sup>rich</sup> ~~xxxx~~ people are not drafted in the army. There should be several kinds of taxes. After each house, land and shop everybody should pay taxes. But the taxes should be normal, ~~xxxxxx~~ should not exploit the people.
- (10e) The duty of the government is to insure the freedom of the intercourse, to regulate the labor conditions. It is the duty of the state to inform the people about everything. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Newspapers and radios should be in the hands of the state.
- (11) <sup>Heart</sup> For example, ~~xxxx~~ illnesses could not be cured in Hungary, because it was not permitted to import medicine. Hungarian medicine is rather poor. We needed the foreign export. It was not permitted by the Communists.
- (11b) The Communists had luxury <sup>sanatoria</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ and hospitals. They were quite special cases. They could not be compared with those crowded hospitals which were for the common people.
- (11e) The doctors of the health insurance system were overburdened. They were good doctors and tried to do a good job but it was impossible. The patient was lying at home with fever for days and the doctor did not come to see him.

The technical part of the cure was good but the red tape was bad. In the factories there were more accidents than in ~~the~~ old times.

- (12) The tickets were cheaper than ever before, however, the worker had no opportunity to attend movies and so on because he had no time. It was a question of time.
- (12b) Yes, the people tried to take advantage of it. That was the only amusement.
- (12e) Yes.
- (13) People eat poorly. Hungary always had food. Food was not problem but money was a problem. The prices were too high. As far as our family is concerned our Sunday dinner in 56 was still good. Chicken and bouillon soup and desert and fruits. There were many people who went into a restaurant on Sundays.
- (13 a,b) Not applicable.
- (13c) The Communists had special stores where they could buy for 6 forints the oranges which cost the ordinary people 14 ~~forints~~ forints. Only the AVO people and the Communist Party members could enter those stores. They were special branches of the Közert. One of them was in the <sup>Barossutca</sup> ~~Barossutca~~ near to our school. The AVO people had a good life. They got everything including wine. Some of the plant cafeterias were good. The average person in 56 took his breakfast in a milk store called tejcsarda.
- In Budapest in 1956 people ate better than I am eating

now.

- (14) Clothing was awful. In old time the Hungarian tailor had been an excellent artisan. Nowadays a ready-made suit cost 3000 forints.
- (14c) Everybody had 1 or 2 good suits which he took on on Sundays. The people in Budapest looked dressed pretty much like the Germans in Munich. It is true, that in the last few years a luxury came up. For example, people showed up in the opera house in formal dresses or at least in dark suits. There were ~~different balls~~ <sup>different balls</sup> in the Gellert Hotel where only people in formal dresses were admitted. At the small dancing places one could show up in any kind of clothing, T-shirts or in rubber shoes. By the way, the balls were prohibited by the Communists. Then they were again permitted in 54. At that time the middle class life began again. The same thing happened to the bridge. It was prohibited, then again permitted. Nowadays there are open bridge tournaments.
- (15) The Communists tried to increase Hungary's industrial production. This was the reason which led to ~~the~~ the bankruptcy of the Rakosi system.
- (16) In a socialist state any worker who has the necessary abilities should have the possibility of becoming the leader of a factory. The majority of the factories should be in the hands of the state, however, the workers should get their share out of the profit that they should have a certain reason why to work. This could be

achieved only in a United Europe. Hungary alone could not do it.

(16d) The expert should manage the factory disregarding his origin. There should be a workers' council in every factory but without any oppression working honestly.

(16e) The factories should be responsible to one of the ministries. One ministry should be responsible for each sector of the industry. The ministry should be without any red tape. Actually the government should exist of <sup>three</sup> ~~five~~ kinds of ministers. The chief minister, some with medium ~~rank~~ ranks and small ministers. For example, a chief minister should be in charge of the whole economic affairs. Then again a medium minister in charge of the industrial affairs, then a smaller kind of minister in charge of one line and so on. Each ministry should have its own ~~own~~ planning department and each of them should be equipped with ~~the~~ good experts.

(17) The collective farms or the co-operative farms are good as they exist in Holland or in ~~Switzerland~~ Switzerland. It means that the people take their share honestly out of the profits.

(17b) The state farm worked with an <sup>awful</sup> ~~awful~~ deficit.

(17c) The collective farms should be liquidated right away. The Peasant should be the owner of the land.

(17e) The land should be distributed to the peasants. It should be distributed to those who really work ~~work~~ on it.

(17f) There should be a limit on landholding. Perhaps 50 yokes,



perhaps less.

- (17g) No, certain kind of farms must be kept in ~~farm~~<sup>state</sup> ownership for example the stockfarms. The forestry should be in state ownership too.
- (17h) Every small-holder should get back his own land including the kulak, however, there should be a maximum. The maximum should be that amount of land that can be cultivated by one family. For example, 20 yokes.
- (17i) No, not even the land of my grandfather should be returned.
- (17,l) Yes, the state should help agriculture.
- (17m) They should stay in the hand of the state but they should be open to use for everybody.
- (17q) Yes, as it was done in Switzerland and many other countries.
- (18) The churches should enjoy complete freedom. They should get back some of their schools. They should get back a part of their land but no large ~~estates~~ estates. The church should not interfere with the affairs of the state.
- (18b) All the churches should be equal ~~and~~ having equal rights.
- (18c) No.
- (18f) It depends which one of the schools is better. If the church school is better I would send my son there. If the State school is better I would select that one.
- (19) Nothing, people should not be regarded as Party members or non-Party members. Everybody should get an individual judgement according to his person. For example, ~~their~~<sup>there</sup>

should be a court which makes the judgements impartially and honestly.

- (19b) The same refers to the leaders, to the petty officials to rank and file members.
- (19e) The same
- (19f) The AVH people would deserve to be hanged but it cannot be done. Even there an honest individual judgement is necessary according to their merits or sins.
- (19g) The same refers to the police.
- (19h) Those groups did not take action against the Party. But those people who were misled should be pardoned. Every citizen should get the same treatment from the courts.
- (20) The most important contribution of Hungary to the world history was the appearance of the Huns since the Huns were Hungarians too and kept Europe in fright. Then again the ~~xxxxxx~~ occupation of the present country of the Hungarians opened a new area ~~ix~~ in History. Then again the conversion of the Hungarians to Christianity. Then again the fights with the Turks. The fight of freedom of 1848 moved the whole Europe. Then again the dissolution of the AustroHungarian monarchy which opened the gate for the present Soviet system. The revolution of 1956. Hungary contributed very much to Western civilization. Hungary was the the ~~defence~~<sup>defending</sup> bastion of the West. Then there are the Hungarian scientists who discovered ~~xx~~ so much. The radio phonograph was discovered by a Hungarian. Hungarian scientists made a great success in foreign

countries. They could not get a real acknowledgement in their own country but they got it in the foreign countries. Then again the contribution of the Hungarian writers. The name of Jokai or Petöfi is known by the whole world.

- (21) Yes, for example in folk costumes, in music or in the Hungarian <sup>way</sup> ~~xxx~~ of cooking. The paprika is even used by the Slovians. The Hungarian athletes are known all over the world. Then again the Hungarian painters or the Balaton.
- (21e) Yes, there are racial differences within the Hungarian peasantry. Then again the aristocrat or the gentry has a characteristic behavior. For example, at the card table. Balman Mikszath described it accurately. Something like this was in Hungary only. The intellectuals were really educated in our country.
- (21f) Yes.
- (22) In the time of Francis Josef the government was much better than in the time of Horthy or in the time of the Communists. Szell Balman was good. The statue of Baron Gabor is still standing before the Eastern railway station even the Communists acknowledge him.
- (22b) The poor people have been always oppressed in Hungary.
- (22c) Yes.
- (22d) It was bad.

- (22f) There was a very great social inequality in Hungary before 1945.
- (23) The political boundaries have a tremendous importance. Hungary lost 2/3 of her territories. The Banat was Hungarian. The Rumanians are common pigs. Half of Erdely is Hungarian. The Czechs have made a good development. We could tolerate them. Even the Russians and the Austrians took away some territories from Hungary. What should be done about it? To reoccupy that with a strong army. Of course, Croatia should be independent. We should not get back all the territories of 1914 but much more than we have now. That is to the Hungarian national interest. In 20 years this will be realized.
- (23d) Yes, the neighboring countries hate us and ~~now~~ they have always hated us. The Hungarians have always carried out a very poor policy. I think the Yugoslavs hate us the most. The Austrians and the Ukrainians and the Polish like the Hungarians the most.
- (24) A small state should behave accordingly. It should avoid of showing up. The European Federation would be good that ~~would~~ would insure that we should get back all the Hungarian territories we want to. Everybody knows that this was injustice, however, so far the political interest kept those territories from Hungary.
- (24d) Russia should be a part of the European Federation but Ukraina should achieve her independence. The Russian is not bad as a man.

- (25) The Russians are like children. For example, they use those diminutives. They love children at the same time for one piece of gold or a bottle of Vodka they are willing to murder. They lie constantly and they are shrewd. After all the Russian is a Slav.
- (25c) Many of them are Communists but not all of them. Most of the Russians are fighting for their national greatness. That is what they are doing since ~~Екатерина~~ Catherine the great. The Communists exploit the situation.
- (26) Marx was a shrewd fellow. He put together all the theories of the world and wrote together his own theory. In old time it was a useful theory in the hands of the workers. ~~It~~ Nowadays its obsolete. The Russians actually ~~used~~ corrupted it. They do not keep the theory of Marxism. Communism is utopia. It cannot be realized. After all there were Communists even before Marx.
- (26g) Yes, it is possible in the West. It is impossible in the East because the AVO does not permit it.
- (26h) What a people wants. The old Greeks had democracy.
- (26i) Never. Perhaps in the time of the old Community ~~and~~ landholding.
- (26j) Tito is a Marxist, but he is not a democrat.
- (27) Tito is a Communist like many others but he is independent from the great power. His theory is not much better than ~~or~~ real Communism.
- (27a) There were national Communists in Hungary. I don't know what part they had in the revolution.

- (27c) Gomulka is somebody between, Tito and Nagy Imre. It might be good to know what he is doing.
- (27e) During the revolution it was possible to compromise Communism and Hungarian patriotism. For example, Nagy Imre did so. He slowly sided with the people.
- (28b) It would have depended on the election of the people. He surely could have stayed on as a minister of the cabinet, perhaps even as prime minister.
- (29a) Good
- (29b) No good
- (29c) No good
- (29d) No good
- (29e) No good
- (29f) No opinion
- (29g) No opinion. Everybody should get money according to his knowledge and work.
- (29h) No good
- (29i) Good
- (29j) I don't know him
- (29k) Good
- (29,l) No good
- (29m) Good
- (29n) Good
- (30) The small-holders party.
- (30a) Varga Bela, the Social Democrat, Nagy Imre and Bethly Anna.

- (31a) Worse
- (31b) Adequate
- (31c) Less
- (31d) Less
- (31e) Adequate
- (31f) More
- (31g) More
- (31h) Less
- (31i) Less
- 
- (32) The changes that came since 48 were bad. None of the groups could benefit of them.
- 
- (33a) Coincide
- (33b) Coincide
- (33c) Coincide
- (33f) Coincide
- (33g) There is no more old aristocracy.
- (33i) At the present coincide. There are no more individual conflicts.
- 
- (34) No, there is a great difference. The Russians are led by world  
a ~~work~~-imperialism. The USA has a world mission which is supported by Dulles but this is good. Our only hope is that the United States can save the world.
- 
- (35) Nobody. Not even the AVO people since they would not dare to do so.

(36) My opinions did not change since I left Hungary.



- (1a) The Americans know anyhow everything that is going on in Hungary. There are Hungarians who send them information, however, this conversation is for professors.
- (1e) About propaganda and sports.
- (2a) I don't know. I do not intend to go back ~~just~~ in the near future.
- (3) I don't know exactly what are your aims. I cannot give any information.