

- (1) The revolt was not against the Russian people but against the Russian leaders and the terror. Also it was proved by the revolt that the Russians living in Hungary were friendly with the Hungarians and they were immediately relieved and removed. It is also clear that the regime will fall the minute the Soviet troops are withdrawn from Hungary. Furthermore, that there are generally no divisions between the people in Hungary either religious or otherwise, except the one division between Communists and non-Communists. This must be emphasized because the Czechs blared across the Danube with loudspeakers: "You are fascists ungrateful for the Soviet liberation". We were not for the re-establishment of the free 1944 regime, but would have insisted on neutrality, general well-being and a Government elected with secret election and many political parties, not just one. It also became clear that a large percentage of the youth which grew up since the Communist rule was the most opposed to the regime. It was not the older people - but 13 year old boys who were most dangerous for the Russians. The need for a change was felt by all and Petöfi Circle and other organizations contributed to this. A few days before Mefesz was founded in Szeged and all knew something will happen, but no one was aware of an armed revolt in the making. The revolt began when the 14 points were read into the radio.
- (2) The Radio speech of Iare Nagy in June 1953 that all can leave the Kolhoz started perhaps the original liberalization trend. Later he was replaced by Hegeđus and after a year and a half, in May 1956, people could go to meetings and openly complain about poor production

and poor quality of the products manufactured. The workers emphasized that this harmed Hungary as much as it harmed the workers and it was necessary to revise the norm system. People began to demand improvements in the food system and then people began to demand to have the freedom to join or quit the Kolkos. Student Youth became insistent in one thing, a separate League from DISZ.

They also desired to go to foreign countries. Some time later it was actually permitted for young people to go to Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania on trips. Later even the mine field toward Austria were removed and one could feel the relaxation in the terror and the hatred.

(2b) 4.) People did not trust this step, they considered it a practical political move. There was a general sense of relief and Stalin's pictures disappeared, but many did not trust this as a basic change.

(2c) The Joint Soviet Hungarian Corporations were returned to the Hungarian Government. I think it was after the neutralization of Austria that the Russians started to make concessions, among others to return these Soviet Corporations. How little they trusted Hungary seems obvious, because everyone knew that there were no Hungarian Air-force units in Western Hungary. Indeed, the Russians kept all military control in Western Hungary in their own hands. There were very few Hungarian troops along the Western border and certainly no units of key importance.

5.) Already the East-Berlin revolt commanded the sympathies of

the workers of Hungary, but the Posnan events were even more important and whatever the Soviets said about Western spies and no one believed them. Everyone knew of the very poor economic standards in Poland and now we had proof that Bolshevism was kept in power with terror not only in Hungary but also in the neighbouring countries.

7.) Rajk-trial was seen only as something grudgingly admitted on Russian pressure.

(2e) "The Writers' Association" with people like Tibor Deri, began to speak very sharply against the Stalinists and wrote openly of the terror. The papers as a result promised improvements and began admitting failures. In the Spring of 1956 they began admitting shortcomings and later they began demanding improvements. During this time also foreign tourists were permitted to visit Hungary for the first time in many years.

(2f) SZABAD NEP, the newspaper had certain anti-Stalin articles and other Communist papers had similar stories. For one thing they announced the freedom to join or quit the Kolchoses, but in the same place emphasized that all will not be permitted to leave. These were mainly paper reforms, but even so, slowly anti Russian feelings crept into the articles. Perhaps the most open was "MAGYAR NEMZET" which strongly criticized Rakosi and emphasized friendship with Tito. To some extent people liked the idea of friendship with Tito, but they were afraid at the same time of having to make economic concessions, a probable prerequisite to

to gain Tito's friendship. It was feared that the friendship would be expensive. There were no strong anti-Western attacks in the papers. Also there were new cultural exchanges with the West and within Hungary they started to emphasize old Hungarian works and folk motives, a trend even obvious in the last few movies made in Hungary. They finally admitted that other than Soviet culture can be and is good. The Government was pressed to some of these methods due to the secret unemployment which they tried to control with "rationalization." In practice this only hit non-Party members.

(2g) An article I read some time in August last year in the Győr-Sopron Megye Hírlap. This article discussed life in the Horthy era and the difference between the city and the village in old Hungary. It noted that in the villages there was unemployment then and life was worse but that workers did not live too poorly in the cities. The writer then pointed out that the individual could earn and work more and better on his own and that the friendship between worker and peasant can be improved if the poor food situation were relieved. He noted that greater productivity could be achieved through independence and the differences between farm and city could be reduced and eliminated.

(3) The poor living conditions, the terror, the low income level of the workers and the fact that with the 20th Congress people were made feel that the terror is being reduced.

(a) No one counted on this revolt. People like László Piro, the police chief of Budapest first prohibited the demonstrations over

the radio, but later changed his mind and permitted them again. All may have gone peacefully except for Gerö giving his talk on his return from Belgrade over the radio which gave the last push to the revolt. I think the revolt was not possible earlier, the time was not ripe yet. I have the feeling that the revolt was somehow connected with the Tito, Rajk, Gerö triangle and the many implications these relationships meant.

- (3b) Soviet control was greatly reduced in the past few years. For instance, political control of the military was handed over to the Hungarian leadership in most of the Hungarian military units. However, the Soviets kept this control in certain critical branches I think the Air-force, for instance. The fact that the AVH was to be unified with the Hungarian Police was another Soviet concession. As the control apparatus weakened, the rest began to collapse. Much of the AVO for example was on a very low mental level - these were well trained - well armed units on the Soviet pattern, but they were often unable to carry out orders intelligently. Also I think the role of Tito was obvious.
- (3c) To get rid of the AVO and the Russians, demands were heard that unless the Russians leave by December 31st, the army will fight against them. There was a real revolt in Györ against the leadership of the city.
- (3f) Baranai was the police chief of Györ and he escaped to Czechoslovakia. He sent the AVO to defend the prison against the mass of people and he also called in Soviet tanks. There were also people of other nationalities, some Slovaks and several Rumanians,

one of these Gyula Barta, the chief of the trade union in the waggon plant who was vehemently against the revolution. On the whole, these were the people who were guilty of their past crimes and they had no choice, so most of them fled.

(3g) Some people opposed armed clashes with the Russians, as they said, we should not blame them and should not fight them. Among the Communists of the city very many approved the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Hungary and a multiparty Government. Several leading Communists came over to the revolt and a great number of them were pro-revolt minded. Actually no one was neutral, people were either pro- or con. Those who were neutral were considered enemies. Generally people felt themselves in sympathy with and united behind the ideas of 1848.

(3h) "On your feet, Magyar!", the line from Petöfi was heard, also "we ate enough beans, the Russians should go!" The song "Louis Kossuth sent the message" was also one of the slogans. I think the Hungarian people were never so united as during the revolt. The only exception was that they did not trust the returnees from the West, who started trickling in from Vienna, during the first days of the revolt.

(3i) Yes, against the Communist terror.

(3k) Communists differed from the party-line.

(3l) These were quiet, though they sympathized with the revolt.

(3m) No anti Russian sentiment would have grown, but the Russians would have to choose between intervention or complete withdrawal giving us our freedom.

On the 23rd we heard the news from Budapest and people started shouting: "Let us go to help the Budapesters". Voices were heard to let the political prisoners out, but to keep the criminal prisoners in. This is when the AVO shot into the mass, killing one girl and two boys, who tried to get into the prison. We had a heavy truck which busted the gate of the prison and after throwing in some grenades, we captured 4 or 5 AVO men and we let out the political prisoners. From there we went to the Radio, but had no problems taking it over. We then demanded that the Russians leave town and by then a Transdambian Government was being formed with Attila Szigeti at its head. In the plants armed units were formed ready for a strike. On the 24th we left for Magyaróvár from where we had news that the AVO killed 84 people and some AVO men were subsequently trampled to death. We came back the same night. Meanwhile new Soviet troops gradually occupied Western Hungary, but they withdrew from the city of Győr and pitched camp in Györszentiván. Out there they were very hungry. On the 25th all of us wanted to go to Budapest, but we were dissuaded. At last on the same day we decided to leave Hungary. Next morning 20 of us boys left on their bikes and we went to Traitskirchen the same day.

(7) There were no different groups, just civilians, workers and those soldiers who came over. It must be made plain that this was a very clean revolution. There were no thefts or abuses of temporary disorder.

(4a) There was some opposition to those who came back from the West, there were no other difficulties, and these were not given any

power nor were they trusted.

- (8) Very scared and nervous, they said to be waiting for orders to be withdrawn from Hungary. They also said that they will not harm Hungarian children, for they knew these were not fascists. Many simply declared, if they will not be hurt, they won't hurt anyone either.
- (8d) The wagon plant built only Russian railroad cars and there were many Russian supervisors, but all of these left with the army.
- (8e) No, but many sympathized with the revolt.
- (9) What I saw and heard over foreign radios and also over the secret Hungarian Stations. There was of course the local Győr station. Some of the Western stations made several mistakes. For instance, there was no fighting at Győr Air-port, as announced. Radio Budapest lied steadily until it was taken over.
- (9a) There were handbills printed by the youth.
- (9b) Arrivals from Budapest and other travellers. These brought news of developments in various parts of the country.
- (9c) Yes, all of them, see above. Budapest radio told of order, of workers working and complete peace and quiet. It was lying permanently until taken over.
- (10) All top-officials disappeared and their roles were taken over by members of the workers and city councils, an entirely new slate of Government people. There were some holdovers from the old regime, but they were all pro-revolution.

- (10a) The DISZ- and other organizations of the party and the party itself.
- (10b) The top men escaped and if those who were guilty were caught, they were either beaten or jailed, or both. There were rumours that Baranki, the city's police chief was at last caught and trampled to death. The AVO's papers were burned and the building emptied, by the time we took over. We saw rubber lined chambers in there and we freed four Budapest students, who distributed handbills on the 23rd and were then jailed by the AVO.
- (10c) These were fully with the people, all of them wore the red-white and green arm band. Their leaders disappeared as a grey donkey in the fog.
- (10e) These were liquidated and workers-courts formed.
- (10f) The army was disarmed by their officers to prevent anti-Russian clashes. They were neutral, but actually they pulled with the Russians. I heard that the Russians helped the officers to disarm the troops; there was no fighting.
- (10g) They took over the buildings and equipment, but none of the ideals.
- (10k) The Nemzetörse^g or "National Guard" of the workers, also several political parties started to organize again. The smallholders, the Mefesz, the Christian Democratic Party, the Social Democrats, these all started organizing and started divisions.
- (10l) After the revolt, new workers councils were elected in the plant, and the UB, the management and the Trade Unions and the personnel department were kicked out. All personnel files were reviewed

and those suspicions were dismissed.

- (10m) A popularly elected government and for the time being Imre Nagy as Premier, but he too was a Communist, we should remember.
- (11) The country was welded together. It is beautiful that after 12 years of suppression the Hungarians were capable of such heroic deeds.
- (11a) I don't believe that the world realized that the Eastern people really wanted their freedom. The Poles by having a bloodless revolt, will sooner or later sink back into their earlier state, while in Hungary through the heroism of the people and the loss of so much blood the revolt is kept alive, and the people will keep hoping for a real solution and will not surrender. Hungary wanted a new type of a state in the world.
- (11b) Yes, if concessions had been made by the Russians and if the West through the UN would have used pressure on the Russians, and if there had been no traitors among the Hungarians especially in the military centres. But victory was possible only had the Russians left the country.
- (11c) The UN could have insisted on Russian withdrawal and if a neutral United Nations troop unit would have been sent to Hungary like in Suez.
- (11d) It could have happened elsewhere, but not in a Slavic nation. Pan Slavism wants to wipe out Hungarians from their midst for they have protected the West from Eastern attacks. Also we should keep in mind Hungarian "virtus".

- (11e) He was a National Communist and he remained one, but he wanted a Hungarian type solution. ("agyaros) that he tried everything to reach this goal, especially to get rid of the Russians.
- (11f) Pal Maleter and Bela Kivaly and the church. After all Hungary is a catholic state and the priesthood took steps to establish and maintain contact with the West, with the Vatican.
- (11g) 1.) workers
2.) youth
3.) soldiers
4.) peasants
5.) intelligentsia, this last group did not move much, but they would have taken over political control, for they are different. There were also some irresponsible elements, national minorities, Rumanians, etc.
- (12) On the 25th of October.
- (12a) We saw that the revolt will not survive but that the Russians will manoeuver around and stay. I felt if the Russians left Hungary, Bolshevism would have collapsed with it. The victory of the Hungarian revolt depended on the Russians.
- (12b) Friends got together and 80% of my buddies knew in advance that we will leave Hungary, especially the 20-30 years age group facing its military obligations.

- (1) I finished 8 classes of elementary school in Győr in 1950, and due to the bad economic conditions of that time and our disjointed family life I went to work in '50 to a mobile state kitchen serving lunch to construction gangs. While there, I saw the ever-worsening food situation, I stayed until 1951 and went to work in that year as a drill-press-operator in the waggon plant. I worked there 3 years in that job and then one more year as a chromium-plater. After 1955 I worked as a store assistant in the state delicatessen chain called CSINNEGE. During 1956 I worked for a wholesale FOOD DISTRIBUTOR called "FÜSZERT". This organization distributed food in the county. In the waggon plant I worked as a borer on export equipment. These were railroad cars made for Egypt and Czechoslovakia. I made a thousand forints, but I worked some Sundays. In fact it happened that I did not get a day off in the whole month. This was at the end of the year, when the quota was not yet filled. We got poor tools and poor materials and the norm system exhausted one physically and mentally. I made there 2.43 forints per hour. This was the basic wage paid if the 100% was fulfilled. If my work was below the norm, I got the percent of production in percent of pay. If our railroad cars were finished in the 10 day period allotted, we got premiums. We also made gun-bases for the army, but these were put together in some other plant. The premium became due 2 - 3 times a year if we could make it. It usually did not come through because we had poor materials, nor did we work very hard to get it. There was a change in the plant after 1952, when instead of Egyptian and Czech orders, we started manufacturing

Russian Pullman cars for the Russian gauge railroads. We got the same income but the norms were higher and we got more materials to work with. There were about 3000 men and the assembly plant worked in two shifts from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. and from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. This assembly plant also had its subdivisions, its carpentry, upholstery, etc. shops. The plant was re-named: "Wilhelm Pieck Works" in 1954. Before it was called: "Hungarian Waggon and Machine Factory." There were about a total of 16000 employees. We also manufactured steam-cranes, Diesel-engines, RABA trucks and military equipment like gun-bases. Generally the quality of production suffered due to the Stachanovite movement. We had many railroad cars brought back by the Czechs, after a year or so of use completely broken down and falling apart. Our production improved later when our supply system was improved. In the chrom-plating Section I got 1200 forints plus 10% danger premium. It was easier work, but the fumes were not very healthy. To come back to my first job, we worked on this moving kitchen, cooking for 2000 people with a crew of 20, I made very little money then, only about 360 forints per month, but I got good food, for which they deducted 1.50 F per day. There was not much food value in our meals. About 50 grams of meat per meal were used and we cooked with oil as only half of the fat used was allowed to NK standard Hungarian cooking fat. These artificial oils were dangerous and some people got sick.

Our meals were not expensive, they cost about 1.50 to 2.00 forints

for the worker and the plants paid an additional 3 forints per meal. The meal itself consisted of soup and a second course. In the winter the food often got cold and people got sick from it, for we had no insulated containers. My third job was with the CSEMEGE Store, the old Julius Meinl chain. This was a Russian owned company and it must have been very profitable. Most things could be had there at very high prices. High profits were made on meats and fats in Hungary and I think this was the last corporation returned by the Russians to the Hungarian State some time in early 1956. These stores had the monopoly on imports and political big-wigs could get all the rare food items there, with some leftovers left for nurseries and so on. At this point respondent offered to give the price structure of the store which remained generally the same with very minor variations ever since the 1949 price increase. At that time salaries were up 25%, prices 100%, so there were few changes since 1950 although the availability of food items varied from time to time.

Delicatessen Price List:

1 kg lemons 21 forints
oranges (never available) 35 forints
1 kg sugar 11.60 forints (reduced in 1954 to 10.60)
" coffee (if available) 360 forints,
" tea, Russian so-called, 600 forints
" rice 28 forints,
" butter 66 forints

1 kg lard 30 forints
(this went up in '49 from 16 to 30 forints)

" vegetable oil 26 forints

" Margarin^{Al} 28 forints

" white flour 4.60 forints

" rye flour 450 forints

half white bread 3 forints

brown bread 2 forints

rolls and bakery 40 fill~~ers~~
(reduced from 50 fill~~ers~~ in '54)

salami 70 forints

Kolász^{Al} 60 forints

cheaper ~~col~~ cuts 40 to 50 forints

cheese 48 to 50 forints

bacon 40 forints

veal (rarely available, for slaughter was not
permitted except in emergencies) 30 forints

beef 26 forints

pork chops 35 forints

cheaper pork cuts from 28 to 30 forints

eggs, in the summer, 150 to 250 forints

milk, of a watery kind, 5.60 forints

baby milk (on coupons only up to one year
of age 2 forints

candy 20 to 36 forints

chocolate covered candy 56 to 90 forints

bitter cooking chocolate 200 forints

milk chocolate (never available

Raisins (available on holiday only) 46 forints

Liquor prices:

96% pure alcohol 160 forints

(this was very popular, for it was stretched
three four-times over in home distilleries)

Domestic Rum 86 forints

egg liquor 140 forints

wine ranging from 10 to 70 forints per litre

A pair of chickens 80 forints

ducks etc. 40 forints per kg

Turkey, mutton 30 forints each.

Clothing:

top coats from 800 forints

a good man's suit, ready-made 12 to 1500 forints

a pair of shoes 200 forints and up, but I had some
made for myself for 500 forints

imported East German wool 450 forints to the metre
and by the time suit is made of it, will
cost 2500 forints)

Women's clothes range cheaper:

a simple dress costs from 300 forints up.

A leather coat 3000 forints

fur coats 3500 forints.

On the other hand entertainment is cheap, wherever propaganda
uses can be made of.

The movies are 2 1/2 forints on the average.

Theatres are not so cheap, ranging from 6 to 30 forints
per seat.

A dance party entry fee 2-3 forints

New apartments range from 3 to 400 forints
plus heating if this is included.

The 250 h.p. motor cycle PONOMIA costs 14.700 forints

Dollars sold from the official 11 forints
up to 33.5 forints.

Fuel: Poor quality briquettes 70 forints per cwt.

 Joke 80 forints

wood was not available unless one bought it together
with coal and one got 10% off the weight in wood.

Lignite was more easily available from 25 to 50 forints
per cwt.

There was not much change in this price pattern over the years, however, there were general "price reductions" in the Fall, when the new Peace Loan Drive got under way. At this time certain items fell in prices by a few pennies each, however, at the same time other things rose. French flour was brought in when Hungarian flour disappeared from the market. At the delicatessen store I made 800 forints a month and we also got an 80 forints premium and since it was easy to fill our norm on a relatively easy job, we always got this. During the year and a half that I worked there, I could eat a little better all the time, of course, there was never any shortage; also one could easier help one's relatives with supplies if one worked at the source.

(1b) I did not like the speed on the job, there was no rest on our job, the female cashier was a spy. On the other hand it was light and clean. It was much better than the factory job. In fact I could not have gotten it without family help and connections.

(1d) Health precautions were very poor in the chrom-plating plant. We

had out-moded machinery and people had many burns and infections. If one was involved in an accident, one was blamed for not paying more attention. Sometimes people got punished and did not get their full 75% salary compensation. All the machinery was old aside from a few new Czech-machines.

- (1e) I walked about 45 minutes, approx. 10 km a day to the Wilhelm Pieck Works. Later, to the stores, it took me only 30 minutes each way.
- (1f) In the Pieck Works we worked from 6 to 2.30. At 11 o'clock we had 20 minutes lunch time but since we stopped only at 2.20, we actually did not have lunch hour. We then took 10 minutes to wash up.
- (1g) Six or seven days, for I like the overtime. Although the Plant hesitated to pay overtime if the plant was not filled, or, even worse, if the machinery was refused and returned by the customer. In the end we needed a Ministry's permit to work overtime.
- (1i) January 1st, April 4th, May 1st and 2nd, if one made up to the 2nd at some other time, August 20th, November 7th and December 25th. Some people took off the afternoon of the 24th and they were warned by the Party officials, but I myself worked for I liked the money.
- (1j) Twelve days, raised by one day after every two years on the job. If one was sick, one got 75% of one's pay, but this depended on the goodwill of the doctor. One also paid 10% of the medicine bill.
- (1k) At CSEMEGE people were fired if they missed a day. In the Pieck Plant three latenesses meant the loss of the meal money for the month. We got paid twice in heavy industry, on the 27th and 12th, but smaller firms paid once a month. No one cared for or kept the Ten Minute Movement.
- (1m) Time-study men came around and if wages were raised, the norms were raised proportionally and tightened.

- (1n) There were contest offers; these contests lasted through the year from holiday to holiday and the same few Stakhanovites got the premiums. These got the easiest work pieces and easily made 3000 forints a month. There was a great deal of abuse in how this all was arranged.
- (1o) I was not a Union member so I was not eligible for Union benefits, because I did not pay my dues, but we got theatre tickets at the box office price only one did not have to wait in line.
- (4a) I worked mainly with older 'szakis'. This is a generally used nickname. Young people always worked with older people together for many young people together would not have gotten any work done. With these 'szakis' my group and the others held continued inter-contests.
- (4b) There were great differences. For one, the leadership was not from the educated elements but from Party leaders of the common people (Köznép). They generally terrorized their subordinates so one did not speak and kept out of trouble.
- (4e) I had not contacts but they carried politics into everywhere. For a long time they had signs out "we should avoid the bourgeois greetings" and one had to greet one's superior with "freedom!", so good friends always greet each other with a "good-day". Earlier all were comrades, but later this was limited to Party members. I think the change came only last year.
- (4e) There was great difference. Party member got the best jobs. There were about fifty workers in our group, four of them Communists. Not one of them was working. Conversely not one worker was a member of the Party. These were all old-time Communists. Also it was no longer easy to join the Party. Three of our Section leaders were Communists from the 1919 days on. Each of them admitted quietly that this was not the type of regime they hoped for.

- (4f) Entirely under the influence of the Party, it was useless. There were some fringe benefits like at vacation time one got 50% reduced rail tickets and got free baby clothes for the new baby. One could also get a hundred forints emergency aid.
- (4i) There were the DISZ Kaders, which only acted in the Works Contests. The Party Committee and the UB Court, which was the disciplinary Body.
- (4j) To a degree, if you gave in to the Communist pressure.
- (4k) Yes, these were made controllers, supervisors and got all kind of easier work.
- (4l) On the Russian cars especially they observed work in the factory and control the work process. Even if one had a good idea, things had to be done the way directed.
- (4m) If an idea was good, it was perhaps accepted if the man proposing it was favoured, but if he was not much in favour, he was out of luck. then his idea was rejected.
- (4n) Generally, non-Party men, who, however, came of very simple background and who attended seminars and other indoctrination.
- (4p) I could not notice any in my place in the Pieck Works but some people were influenced and scared into informing. These were mainly non-Party members, especially in the Plants which had Russian interests. At times these were ex-AVO-men who were kicked out from the police and they tried to protect themselves. One they did not know, but they were around. Also there were enough supervisors to start with. Every three workers had two supervisors. In the delicatessen store we knew it was the cashier who was the wife of an Army officer and kept watching not only the help but the customers.
- (5) I left the kitchen with approval. I got to the Chromium-Plant with the help of a friend. I went there in order to prepare my leaving the Plant. This was very difficult from the Pieck Works, but once

in the Chromium Plant, the doctor recommended me to leave, saying that I was not strong enough and the work was too unhealthy for me.

- (5b) I wanted to be a chauffeur but it was too difficult to get a job.
- (5c) No.
- (5d) Not the elder people, the responsibilities were too great and people were afraid of them.
- (5e) Buy a car and enjoy myself and start a family. This was very hard for living was made very difficult in Hungary.
- (5g) I would have sent them to school.
- (6) 1946 was a very good year for us, for us the best. Since then the situation has worsened until now.
- (6b) I could entertain in a modest way and buy very little clothing. I could not have gone away on a tour to a foreign land and it would have been useless to try to save for a motor-cycle. I never would have made it.
- (7a) In 1952 I made 1200 in the Pieck Works, in '55 I made 880 in the Delicatessen. I was about medium on the Income Scale in both jobs.
- (7d) Three out of four - my mother, my brother and myself - my little sister still went to school.
- (8a) 1200 forints.
- (8b) 1050 forints.
- (8c) No. NOTE: This reply is a lie. Respondent forgot this answer when he discussed his work in the sly Fixing motors. He apparently earned more money this way than on his job. (See end of Section

for further details).

- (8d) Peace Loan to about 20% of my salary, 250 to 350 Forints per year;
Childless Tax 4 1/2%; Sickness Insurance 2 1/2%;
I simply did not pay them. They also deducted about 20, 30 Forints
for benevolences etc.
- (8e) We could save for Christmas clothes and such things.
- (9a) 50 Forints a month for the apartment but to this came a garbage fee,
water fee and other expenses amounting to 100 Forints more. We lived
in a nationalized Apartment Building. We had one room, a kitchen and
a little storeroom. There were three toilets for eight families in
the building, but there was no bathroom. We had no radio. All of
us slept in one room. It was a neglected building with the floor
rotten, but they could not get any action. About 70% of our money
went on food.
- (9b) It was impossible to clothe very much.
- (9e) We bought fuel in the plant and paid 30.50 Forints for ten months. It
was automatically deducted.
- (9f) For holidays we spent about 100 Forints a month for wine.
- (9g) No expense.
- (9g)h) 150 Forints a month for the family.
- (9i) I don't know.
- (9j) NE'PSPORT cost me 1 Forint a week.
- (9k) None.
- (9l) There was the Penny-Train for weekend trips in the summer. I would
say a hundred Forints was spent on that.
- (9m) None.

- (10) The production declined, the quality and quantity of products was bad and not getting better.
- (10c) It was much better. The parents told me so, especially the food situation was better.
- (10d) It was good in '46, it was getting worse ever since then.
- (10e) This was planned but never filled.
- (10f) This was permitted and bakers, shoemakers and so on operated, but paid very high taxes.
- (10g) The situation worsened, prices increased, but these were covered price increases. Actually some reductions were made in pastry and so on, but clothes and lard were raised.
- (11) The livelihood was bad and the expenses were high.
- (11b) We demanded the freeing of the prisoners of War. Actually something had to happen, when the conomy hit the bottom.

NOTE:

About half of my friends together with me worked part-time at odd jobs; this was all on the sly, for this was illegal. This "Fusi" work brought in good money if one had special skills. Some went out in the fields to hoe for smallholders, getting 30 forints for half a day's work. Others, like myself, specialised in repair jobs from motor-cycles to watches and everything else. Some painted houses, others took fuel down to the basement. I mainly fixed motor-cycles, putting in new parts. I could not do major repair work and got the new parts from smugglers. This was due to the fact that mechanical goods were very difficult to obtain. Replacement parts were just as rare. One could not buy a motor-cycle for instance for the official price of 14.700 forints. For instance, if a peasant wanted to get one, he had to get a permit to buy it. He would not get his permit unless he fulfilled his delivery quotas and also, in addition, sold 10 cwt. of corn at the official price. This meant simply a loss of 3 to 4000 forints beside the price, for he had to buy the corn for market price openly at 450 or so forints and sell it at the official 60 forints per cwt. this was official policy not local corruption. Variations of this policy existed in all major purchases. To buy an old B.M.W. motor-cycle of the war or prewar vintage, one had to pay 20.000 forints. If one needed cement, one paid 400 forints per bag plus 150 or 200 under the table. Due to the apartment shortage building materials were at a very high premium and there was brisk business in old used bricks and other building materials. An old brick would sell for 30 fillers, but they were preferred to the new ones.

- (1) Finished eight years of Elementary School in 1950
- (1b) In '55 I went to an Evening School taking a commercial course,
- (1e) I wanted to learn Commerce.
- (2) No - I had to help to support my family.
- (2b) Yes - but we could not pay the expenses, though I did go to evening school.
- (4) To create a new spirit in the school - a new "Weltanschauung".
- (4b) The children were not hit by the regime, not now. This was a good trick for a child to gain their allegiance, but there was a cultural decline and the children did not give the respect due to the teacher and to the parents. The lack of their education and culture became clear in the escapees. They know no languages, speak only a little Russian. Most of the children, as a result of the family influence, were opposed to the Communist system, but the system did to some extent poison youth.
- (4d) There was less strictness and the children liked the excursions, theatres, films and Uttörö Music Bands.
- (4e) They were politically very alive. There was much politiking on Communism, little patriotism. This worried the parents.
- (4g) My little sister is a little bit unhewn, she knows less of the West and has a different outlook. She is very ignorant of the West and of the past, but she is very curious of the past and enjoys hearing of heroes and history.
- (4h) Besides disrespect, they did not teach the Hungarian spirit.

Chauvinism

There was no ~~frankness~~, there was less religious disagreement, also less religiousness.

- (4i) Depends in which generation. After 13, 15 years of age, it did not have very much effect.
- (4j) The older generation accepted the newer standards, but didn't like it. They made allowances for changes.
- (4k) They were aware of fathers' positions.
- (4l) The parents fought with the schools over religious education. Too much politics opposed the religion and there was no opportunity to teach it.
- (5) My father worked as a leather pattern/^{maker}during the war and after the war when his plant closed where he worked, he got a job as a helper in a Railway Car Plant. He made very little money and conditions got worse all the time. He is still there but works now as a storekeeper in the Plant, but my parents were separated in 1952. There were differences between them, especially of a moral nature.
- (5) We were in a good situation.
- (5g) We were four, a little sister came after the war, she is now eight, no boys are 21 and 19.
- (5h) See above.
- (5i) Yes, four of us.
- (5j) See above.
- (5k) It was a disadvantage. My father's middle class background kept him in low position. He was locked up for seven months in 1945.
- (11) See question 14.

- (12) We talked much politics in the last period. It always referred to difficulties of making a living. We felt this cannot go on much longer and it cannot get worse, something must happen.
- (13) I did what they said, my view was theirs. Of course, there were moral difficulties between my parents, but they wanted me to go to school, and I wanted too, but this was impossible. The economic difficulties caused much of the family troubles. In the end my parents separated.
- (13b) Parents wanted me to make friends with more educated people and I generally made friends as they wanted me to, with middle-class boys.
- (13c) No differences. They educated me to disregard national or racial differences.
- (14) They separated in '53 - note: it was '52 in Question (5) - and moral differences grew. These were combined with the difficulties of making a living. My father drank too much also.
- (14a) We had close relation between my mother, brother and sister, but there was much bickering between us and my mother's relatives. They lived better under the regime than we did and there was much difference between us and there were no close relations with our relatives.
- (14b) About 30 or 40% lived in circumstances like ours.
- (14c) I also worked after the job to make a little extra on the side. I also participated in sports, went to Sunday dances or else to a movie. There was not much free time and little entertainment.
- (14d) We went out for a swim or to the forest or went to a movie.
- (14f) Entertainments, Sports, Chess, Soccer, swimming, more travel and tours.
- (14g) If one worked in a Plant and was a DISZ member, one had to go to Meetings one or two times a week. These were compulsory that is if

one did not show up, it had bad results. One also had to do social labour, help during floods or help in Kolkhozes during harvesting. One was also encouraged to join a Flying Circle or a Parachutist or Radio Circle within the Freedom Fighters Association. This was a preliminary training group. I joined them last Spring as a Parachutist, went two- three times a week to the gymnasium where we worked from 6 to 10 p.m. We did not go to Camp as the other Circles did, for we had no tents. After six months' training on this basis I got the fullest physical examination and I even jumped twice.

- (15) Ties were weakened greatly, especially when both parents worked.
- (15a) Not everywhere.
- (15b) This increased, else their relations would be even worse. They took the kids to the Nursery on the way to work and they both washed dishes or laundered and in many families the parents work in different shifts so they never saw each other.
- (15c) Yes, they are. The parents could not concern themselves properly with education, thus their relation with the children has weakened. This is generally the case, but there are some exceptions. My little sister dressed herself alone, actually my family made close to 4000 forints, but spent most of it on food and could not even buy enough of that.
- (15e) Mass education in Nurseries and so on. Some parents in great financial need gave up their children for State Nurseries and these became Kaders. The larger families had to send their children to institutes, but in the smaller families the children got a different direction at home from that of the school.
- (16) Yes, they change. Politeness and moral standards decline. The moral

standards are very bad and many girls are mothers, a fact which is approved and encouraged by the State.

- (16a) Legally, a girl can marry from the age 16, a boy from 18. That's when they get Identification Cards and they count as adults. It is fashionable to marry at age 18, 19 and then a divorce after a year or so, but generally people marry girls aged 20, boys 23, 24. These young marriages ending in divorce were called atomic marriages, quick to get married and quick to get divorced. Also there were many illegitimate children. Countless numbers of illegitimate children were reported in 1945, when the Russians raped hundreds of thousand of women.
- (16b) Much depends on the attitude and weaknesses of the parents. Sometimes children are encouraged to get married "for we need the space". We at home slept 5 of us in three beds.
- (16e) This was prohibited.
- (16f) For the last two years they permitted abortions, but this was only since '54. Before, those found guilty were given strict punishment. On the whole, the Communists were stricter, but they realized this was no good and in the end they not only permitted but even encouraged promiscuity. Morals also grew worse because prostitution was prohibited.
- (16h) This is no longer a handicap.
- (16i) They are freer and morally less pure.
- (17) In the country about 75% of workers stole a little. In the Meat Packing Plant the lard was watered and the difference stolen. This was not limited to workers alone, the leadership participated in this as well.

- (17c) One often heard of bank embezzlements. Well-known was the "Reed Case". The Government bought bundles of reed for 30 fillers each and as it turned out later, these were cut from Government land and sold back to the State. Whatever was the case, Party members usually made out all right and got away easily.
- (17d) There were not many jobs and many useless youths were taken to the Mines or to Agriculture.
- (18) I met him in school in 1949, he lived nearby, he was a poorer boy and he also worked after work with me on the sly. We worked together and had almost similar views. We went out for entertainment together. By profession he was a locksmith, he worked in a machine tool factory, making military equipment. He too was a "Motor Johnny" and we participated in sports, swimming and tours together. While I worked at Csemege and at Fűszért, I could finagle the motor cycle for private trips. I even got a permit from a buddy or else I took it our and exchanged licence plates.
- (18d) We often talked of life in the West, of bad conditions at home. We even wanted to bomb a statue and the home of the Personnel Officer. We wanted to get the Russians out and learn more of the West.
- (18f) We still correspond, he is now in the Army, is married and it seems that they don't trust them. He does not even get ammunition to the weapons. They are getting two hours of political indoctrination a day. He is complaining of poor treatment.
- (18g) To be honest and he should have good behaviour, he should be a better man than the average to have close friendship with.
- (18i) Good humour, entertaining, diligent, interested in culture, morally pure.

- (18k) It would have ended our friendship, because our views would have differed. Had he accepted office, it would have meant that he approved. If he just joined the Party, one would be less frank with him.
- (19) Catholic. They kept their religion.
- (19b) I kept my faith.
- (20) It permitted religious practice on paper, but opposed it as reaction. If a Party member got married in Church, he could have gotten kicked out of the Party.
- (20a) All.
- (20b) To kill it in youth. There was no religion in schools and they slowly killed the religious feelings.
- (20c) [REDACTED] was the head of the "peace priests", but there were none in Győr. Some "Peace Priests" were only formally private, but the majority of the priests were good religious men. Only a small percentage was bought by the Communist Party.
- (20d) On paper yes, but people were watched and if something else was found, they were kicked out. A cousin of mine, who married in Church, was gradually wormed out of a good job because of this.
- (20e) Every Sunday, in the evenings.
- (20f) My friend, family and relatives frequently, buddies from the Freedom Fighters association very rarely. Many people went, partly because it was prohibited or discouraged, and partly because religious life means more love in the family. Also many left the Church, those in leading positions. Youth too is rare in Church, especially in this

true for the 8-10 year old.

- (20k) Of the young people, few make use of the Church, for the older there was not much change.
- (20 l) It had a great role. It did all to keep in the mind of the people Hungary's past and traditions and heroes.
- (20m) Since 1949 written parental consent was needed to permit Church School attendance. It was very disliked by the regime.
- (21) An intelligent serious boy should go to Gymnasium and learn languages, Western languages. He could become a Section Chief in an office, also a technical supervisor. If possible, he should study in the West.
- (21b) Foreign languages should be studied, also mechanical things, machine or textile technicum, perhaps a gymnasium.
- (22) On the bottom were the young workers, the older skilled worker kept apart from them and refused to transmit their skills and experiences afraid of being replaced, once the younger men become competent. Many of the older intelligentsia, the declassé elements, also fall in this group. The Kolkhosa Members had it better than the workers. Better off were the smallholders, also better than the MASZEK. On the top were the Party and Government officials.
- (22a) In the bottom.
- (22b) MASZEK - independent work.
- (22c) Almost as well as the top Communists, regardless of Party affiliations. Also in culture, propaganda weapons were made of artists, giving them excellent opportunities.

There was more "Urizálás", a term implying living it up, abusing privileges amount the top Communists, than there was in the old system. They had a much better and higher standard of living than the rest of the population. The rest of the population was one large group. Mental workers, who were strong in cultural life but had no resources and the peasants and the workers.

(23b) Yes, it does.

(23c) This new leadership is frequently made out of Russian citizens and Rumanians and other minorities.

(23d) It did. Party versus non-Party were the opposites.

(23e) There were no such great opposites before.

(23f) Now there is a medium solution, all can go ahead and all can fall down.

(23g) They prohibited various forms of greetings and approach but the old bourgeois greetings are still familiar and used in the street.

(24) The "Volksdeutsche" have suffered more, but the local slavic people or people of slavic descent pushed ahead and came to positions of leadership in most places. All the slovaks, Rumanians had better jobs than the Hungarians, but being more diligent, the Hungarians made more money, in the end.

(25) Those who had businesses before, turned against the regime. This was a large percent, but some stayed and supported the regime. Most in positions of leadership were Jews, directors, buyers in stores etc. but not specifically in political top jobs.

- (25b) Their role in the Government was strong, but these were a handful of real Communists.
- (25c) These all had stores, they all preferred the regime at first but later they saw the truth and they tried to flee to the West. They either succeeded in fleeing, or else got leading jobs in the trades.
- (25^d~~e~~) They were pro-revolution generally and they did not want the old system back, but no one else did for that matter.
- (25e/f) It changed. People were educated in the past to destroy them. Now youth is no longer anti-semitic.
- (25g) It declined since the war.
- (25h) They will play a leading role in Commerce and in the Government too. They have good connections and good business sense.

- (1) Of course, if one does not concern oneself with it, one can be fooled.
- (1a) Right after Sports.
- (2) Hitler's goals and victories were upsetting. In 1948 life was not very bad and there were more parties. As only one was left, this ended political freedoms. We accepted Tildy and Ferecz Nagy, but when Szakasits joined with the Communists, we were afraid of a one-party rule. Once Rajk was killed, we saw Stalinism coming. The resulting autocracy and terror under Rakosi's control was more than just Stalinism, in fact it was Rakosiism. It was even worse. Rakosi outbid his masters to get more credit for himself. He finally earned the hatred of the workers. Hedgesis was the same as the others and Imre Nagy was little different. He started a new policy, but he too succumbed to the Russians. His good policy ideas failed against the Russians. Gerö's rule was the same as Rakosi's, though there was some relaxation concerning Tito, but there were no changes in the standard of living.
- (2a) I preferred a Christian Democratic Party.
- (2b) No. For a time he belonged to the Christian Party.
- (2d) Its power was only due to the Red Army and it was clear this will be abused. I knew sooner or later they will grab complete power and was always in opposition to them.
- (2e) Soviet policy, as I heard of it and as I saw it.
- (2f) Choice two.
- (2g) 50% of Hungary feels this way. Perhaps they had mixed feelings at

first in '45 but all turned against them later. Those who remembered Hungary's conquest by the Soviet Army with some humane feelings, cannot be pro-Soviet or pro Communists.

- (2h) Russia's occupation and Rakosi's terror kept the people back in check. The opposition was not united enough before to force a new Government. The revolt was not possible.
- (2i) People were afraid of their past and they often were pushed out of their jobs. They were afraid of physical harm done to them.
- (3) The mass internment of people, the disregard of human rights and the low standard of living.
- (3a) (i); (vi); (xii).
- (3b) (iii); (viii); (x).
- (3c) (vii); (x); (xi).
- (3d) (ii); (iv); (xiv).
- (3e) (iii); (iv); (v).
- (3h) One could solve one's difficulties through the family at times or through religion, to try to revenge oneself somehow. Giving in to political pressure was no fun, but it meant the preference of material things.
- (4) Rakosi's Government was a personal rule. He asserted this power even against Russian Direction. All other Governments were fully under Russian influence.
- (4f) It was large, also the innumerable supervisory committee added to this.

- (4e) It was a show window for international use, but they were afraid of them. They proved their fear by the many false votes. They disregarded the popular will completely.
- (4h) Before '48 it was leftovers of the old regime. Since '49 things gradually changed and now they are pro-Communists.
- (4i) The majority of them are peasant boys who could easily be influenced and could shut their eyes to realities readily.
- (4j) The Communist Chiefs, the older Communists.
- (5) It was compulsory in schools and in plants .
- (5b) Yes, I belonged but I never attended. I only joined for economic reasons.
- (5e) There was a three months' campaign in the Plant, they even visited my mother, but I never got my membership book and I never paid any dues.
- (6) After '49 it was not easy to join, but before '48 all were accepted. Only the B-listed Western returnees were not taken, nor former intellectuals and leaders.
- (6a) Sport figures.
- (6b) From among the young people, but of these 80% only saw their economic interests as
- (6d) Yes, mainly for the economic benefits, My father too was member.
- (6f) Their ideas differed from reality once they saw the terror and the absolute rule and so they came to dislike it.

- (6h) No.
- (6p) No, only after I was 20.
- (6r) The Russian Communist Party.
- (7) The VASAS Sports Club of the Plant, where I participated in Soccer and Athletics. Actually I was not member of the Freedom Fighters Association, I only participated in the military training they gave, not of the Association, which was two different things.
- (8) About 20%.
- (9) Blindfolded youths didn't know of the West to begin with, but the discipline was the weakest in this organization.
- (10) The pattern of the C.P.U. was followed. All political observations were collected and they used peasant youth frequently as "carving men". These were torture boys and their activities were kept secret and it was difficult to get in that sort of a position.
- (10d) Some people were fooled, they were threatened and let out of the torture chambers, scared into spying. Some volunteered. It happened that people wanted to take revenge, personal or else between the different nationalities.
- (10e) Those staying in the Army and mainly volunteer Party Members.
- (10f) They were very uneducated, physically well developed, some percent of them was Slovak. They also had Russian officers. There must be about 40,000 blue AVO men.

- (10j) The police let the AVO handle the political terror. The police specialised in ordinary crimes and had influence only in the last period.
- (10k) The AVO has greater influence. The Party followed the AVO in a friendly relationship.
- (11) My father was in jail for seven months in 1945.
- (11a) None.
- (11b) One of our relations was in for 5 years. He was an ex-officer a Western returnee but he was not responsible for the crimes they blamed him with.
- (11d) The partisans of the old system and the leaders of other Parties before 1948; smallholders, social democrats, peasants.
- (11g) They had very poor food situation and many people starved, at least got sick. They also had night alerts to harass them.
- (13) Don't speak your thoughts and watch strangery.
- (13c) Yes, this is advantageous.
- (13d) Slovaks have an advantage.
- (13e) In a small way.
- (13f) Yes.
- (14) The real cleaning action was from 1949 to '51. This was the height of the terror. They killed people in the thousands.

- (15) It had the primary role, it carried the policy.
- (15e) It was strongest industrially and weakest perhaps in religious life.
- (15f) Any profitable company and the mines.
- (16) +We made our feelings clear with Party Members on the job.
- (16e) With few people outside of the family and with good friends.
- (16d) You could talk quite freely about the food situation, but political views or relations with Russians were very touchy ~~XXXXXXXX~~ topics.
- (17) There are opportunities if one has good friends, but this is mainly in the economic field, it is not advisable to start such a thing for political purposes - Strikes or demonstrations.
- (17d) If he has friends, it's possible, independently not very.
- (18) The Communist terror.
- (18b) The poor food situation of the whole country.
- (19) One could show it on the job, though it may have even worsened one's own position, but one could also complain and emphasise the poor quality of the products, the high prices and the iravailability of products.
- (19b) The workers, especially the youths and students. Students were especially aware, for they were given the high ideas but they saw the poor living conditions.
- (19e) The miners were friendly with the regime until '53. They had a good life until then.

- (19g) Very poor quality products were made in our Plants for export.
- (19h) There were many Work Camp soldiers semi-prisoners, they were drafted for work. It was certainly remarkable that in Western Hungary there were only Russian troops and they controlled that part of the country.
- (19 l) Déri and his friends felt their responsibility for the past and for the future. They were the arms of the revolution. They enforced pro-Soviet, anti-Western aims, roused the students to a great extent.

- (1) The Western Radios. The VOA, but the RFE not so much. It sounded stupider.
- (2) Almost every day. NE'PSPORT, GYÖR SOPRON MEGYEI HIRLAP and S ABAD IFJUSAG.
- (2b) Mainly the back pages of the County Newspaper. My main interest was in the Sports' news. Politics did not interest me.
- (2e) These covered Work Contest news and things of this sort.
- (2g) I did not see any, but one got a lot of foreign news from returning sports figures.
- (2j) I saw some RFE Handbills. These impressed the AVO's when their role was discussed in them.
- (3) I went three times a month. I saw French, Italian films and musical films. All these had politics in them, but the Hungarian films were horribly political.
- (3b) There was much political propaganda and there were occasional sport films, but even these had propaganda in them.
- (3e) Rarely, Operettas then.
- (4) Scientific books. I read about 150, 200 books per year; novels, histories, news, scientific books and all read criminal mysteries.
- (4b) Several titles of Jules Verne, also Dumas' Camille, Jack London, Mark Twain, also Grimms Brothers, Andersen, Swift's Gulliver and the political books of World War II, Hitler's biography etc. Of the Hungarians I read: Ysigmund Morice, Karoly Kisfaludy, Att'la Jozsef, Petöf and

Daniel Berzsenyi, also lighter novels like: Rendez-vous in Rome.

(4g) I got them from friends, who had older editions.

(5) Yes.

(5b) Yes, short-wave too.

NOTE: Contradiction with Section "W", Question (9) Probs.a)b).

(5d) Music, military music, sports' news.

(5e) One hour.

(5f) On job and a home.

(6) Yes.

(6d) I thought them 100% reliable until the revolt. After the revolt I did not trust RFE.

(7) Yes, tourists came, Frenchmen, and they often talked about the West.

(7b) Prices, standards of living in the West and the number of political parties. One also got word of crimes, for these were not printed in the papers, only political things were.

(7g) Conductors on trolleys, trains, busses. They told of price differences in various places. Also barbers were a good source of information.

(7h) The sports fields were very useful. There was always much politiking during matches, also in the family.

- (8) Outside of the weather or the ads, impossible things were written.
- (8a) Sports news.
- (8b) Lead Article.
- (8c) After '54 there were some little changes. They began to admit difficulties and mistakes.
- (8d) Always the opposite. I believed it more.
- (8f) Very rarely.
- (9) Yes, all wanted to own a Radio, especially with short-wave reception and everyone tried to fix up their rooms for good reception. Actually the cheap NEP-Radios, which could be had for 380 to 460 forints, received only a couple Hungarian stations, but for a flat 100 forint fee, a "Fix-it Johnny" would make it receive all foreign stations.
- (10a) Let us say, it meant the end of Fascism and I think it was a try-out to see its effect. It was a bit sad and world opinion refused to accept it due to the immense human loss, but it ended the war.
- (10b) The Russians wanted to push out the Americans from Korea and ultimately from Japan and Taiwan.
- (10c) The U.S. spread germs and poisons, but I also thought the Russians too retaliated and used something like it, not just the U.S. Of course, American chemistry is ahead of that of Russia. It was a little try-out for World War III and it ended with the victory of the U.S. due to its stronger Air Force.

- (10d) I thought to find a completely armed Germany out here and I am sorry to find so few of them for they need a strong army.
- (10e) Quite a few, these were clever and the Hungarian people liked the handbills. I believed them. I also believed that a balloon caused a plane crash.
- (10f) Mainly from foreign stations. They mention^{ed} them in the local radios in a few words as work of spies but I didn't believe this.
- (10g) It achieved Austria's neutrality but it did not mean much for Hungary.
- (10h) It was rumoured that they were all armed waiting to re-establish the old regime, but I believed the opposite and did not expect to see or get help from them.
- (10i) What was the West's role in the Spanish Civil War? The West helped in the putch of Franco.

- (1) The form of Government of the Communist regime, not only the form of the Hungarian Government in Hungary, but everywhere prohibit these leaders from acting and prohibit the Communist Parties.
- (1a) Would not return the large estates to their former owners, only up to 30 to 40 acres. There would be free trade of course with the whole world.
- (1b) The nationalization of plants and estates, large forests, mines. All these were less approved lately.
- (2) Yes, there should be a Social-Democratic, a Smallholder, A Christian-Democratic, a Peasant Party and a writers' Petöfi Party and a Republican Party. We should keep the republic and not re-establish the Kingdom. I would prohibit the Communist Party.
- (2a) Everyone should not be permitted to start a Party, for it would be an economic peril but all should have the right to enter whichever they wanted to.
- (3) There should be complete freedom of religion, of the Press, of speech and they should still continue to improve our Nationalities' policies.
- (3a) No limits.
- (3c) No - to some extent they should be regulated.
- (3d) Yes, they should be prohibited.
- (4) They should have the fullest right.

- (4a) That too.
- (4b) If the Governments politics are not adequate, then this is all right, but if a putch is being prepared, that should be squashed.
- (5) Free trade should be permitted, and export/import liberalized. Good money should be created and small stores should be returned to private hands.
- (6) Keep bigger ones in State hands and develop fully, but have Western trained engineers in charge.
- (6b) All with less than a hundred workers. This would only improve the quality of products and make the plants more efficient and reduce prices.
- (6c) I approve of private profit.
- (6e) Tobacco and spirits - yes.
- (6f) Small plants are not bad
- (7) No, I am not. I am thinking of quality which is higher in privately owned companies. In State factories there is very little selection and low quality. I would return them to former owners.
- (8) We must have good relations with foreign nations. Keep about half of our production at home and use our imports to mechanize the mines and agriculture.
- (8a) The idea itself is good, but the present one is only on paper.
- (8b) The Ministry should set maximum prices but management could lower them.

- (9) In ~~the~~ small trade_s and industry, but to a little extent Government has a say in everything.
- (10) Yes, of course, to respect ^{the} constitution and laws and civil rights.
- (10e) Yes, to guarantee freedoms, to provide social legislation for old-age, vacation, and to recognize returning emigrants as citizens.
- (11) It has improved.
- (11a) Workers in large plants, though the quality of medicines is very poor.
- (11b) To some extent. They must pay 15/20% of the fee.
- (11c) Private doctors are better for good treatment.
- (11e) State treatment reminds one of butchers. Apparently 15 to 20% of operations are fatal. There are many inexperienced young doctors and the older ones, though better, are more frequently in private practice.
- (12) Yes, he has this opportunity and though he has little money and concerts are expensive, movies are cheap. Of course there is much propaganda. There are few educational films. People go to movies to spend time, not to enjoy the movie.
- (12c) There isn't enough money and older people prefer nature to public places.
- (13) Not better, the quality of food is very low; see it on the younger generation, they are sickly, anemic, under-nourished and there is a high death rate of the young.
- (13a) Till '48 it was the same as during the war, it has been getting worse

ever since. Higher prices, lack of goods, poorer quality.

- (13b) By then coupons were abolished, but prices raised. It was harder to get things.
- (14) The quality is now poor, prices are high, it is hard to get nylon and things of this sort, only smuggled goods are available. It is worse than it was before the war. The workmanship is of a high quality though.
- (14a) Clothing was quite good till '48, has been getting worse ever since till '54. There was an improvement since '54.
- (15) Yes, it has increased. Railroad, ship-building, machine construction, but these are not results of the system, rather natural developments of time and the war.
- (15c) Good.
- (15d) They shouldn't have nationalized smaller industries and trades.
- (16) They should have freely elected trade union committees and they should elect the manager of the plant and prohibit Communist influence.
- (16a) Protect workers, their health, their family and vacation needs.
- (16b) No party should have influence over them, they should have self-determination.
- (16c) No, should not be.
- (16d) Managers elected by the workers in the State Plants.
- (16e) To the workers and to the State.

- (17) They should be dissolved and the property distributed except where they are voluntarily preferred.
- (17b) Distribute most of them among small peasants.
- (17c) See above (question 17).
- (17e) All should get back what they contributed to the Kolkhose and the rest should be distributed equally.
- (17f) 50 acres.
- (17h) Yes.
- (17i) Not the larger ones.
- (17l) The State should help with disinfection and such processes and the rental. farmers should have available the State ~~tractors~~ tractors for ~~employment~~. They also should have advantageous compensation for crop damages.
- (17m) They should lend out ^{the} equipment to the peasant but they should be operated by the State and kept in State control. They should return the equipment taken away from the peasant and only leave in State hands the equipment really owned by the State. Peasants should also receive compensation for machinery loaned or lost.
- (18) They should have parents' agreements for the re-introduction of religious education, but the nominational schools should be returned to the nominations.
- (18a) Not quite, they should be co-ordinated.
- (18c) Yes. Also and especially nuns working in hospitals.

- (18d) They should be given a voice, also in the State Schools.
- (18e) Yes, but it should not be compulsory in State Schools.
- (18f) Denominational.
- (19) Those guilty of anti-popular crimes should be punished with death or jail. Those only in for material benefits should be let go; ^{we must} but/prohibit the Party and its ideas anyway.
- (19b) They should be punished to Labour Camps. perhaps deport them. Big ones should be condemned to death.
- (19c) They should be judged and their past investigated.
- (19e) The leadership should be investigated but since all youth was forced in, they should suffer no harm.
- (19f) Guilty of major crimes, they should be put to death, else condemned to prison labour or deport. I would refuse them Hungarian citizenship.
- (19g) Inasmuch as they were guilty of political crimes, they should be ^{not let} punished, but I would/any continue in Government jobs. I would put them under observation.
- (19h) Give them preference but no leading positions. They should be judged differently from the others.
- (20) Our revolt was in the tradition of the 1848 revolt and it was based on the ideas of equality, fraternity and liberty.
- (21) Yes, characterized by honesty. They are also freedom-loving, patriotic and respectors of laws.

- (21a) Germans desire no longer to rule in Hungary. This feeling died out.
- (21b) They were always the same enemy.
- (21c) The Hungarians always sympathized with the U.S. and the Republican Party. Like there, there is no racial discrimination.
- (21e) The older aristocracy despises the lower classes. They consider themselves the ruling class still. This existing cleavage is less than it was in the past.
- (21f) They were stronger.
- (22) ^{Worthy-} the Karolyi Government and the ~~Naziy~~ Gömbös Government. This perhaps was the best one. ^{Imredy} ~~Imredy~~ Government was very good too, they started such social legislation. He was a good financial man.
- (22a) The Monarchy provided the Hapsburgs and the Austrians with positions of leadership. Hungary only played a secondary place. The Kossuth Government was fine.
- (22e)1. Was the best this century. It was a Hungarian type Government. All others were under foreign influence, either German or Austrian pressure.
- (22e)2. This was a Russian inspired patch, but it failed. The Hungarian people were willing, but the economic situation was very bad.
- (22f) There were large differences and this was felt by the people. There was a great difference between the ruling class and the workers.
- (22g) It defeated Communism, established good money, helped in the economic life but he was not a real Hungarian, though he meant well for Hungary. He also pushed Hungary into the war.

- (22h) He wanted to get us out of the war, his only good step.
- (22i) There was a great inflation and the State was fully exploited and plundered, but the diligent Hungarian people re-built the State to no credit of the Communists, for by 1948 great progress was made. Politically, mistakes were made due to Russian pressure.
- (23) Hungary was made a scapegoat of World War I. This was a great mistake and it resulted in the failure of Europe. No peace can be until the territories are returned. I think borders are important.
- (23b) Surprising how Hungarian culture has survived, though it suffered. As the Hungarians were deported, so I would deport the Slovaks and Rumanians from rightfully Hungarian lands.
- (23c) Yes, the Austrians want Sopron.
- (23d) Chauvinism was educated into the peoples. Now this is generally reduced in all of them, but concerning territorial rights, these are still of prime importance for Hungary, never will there be peace in Europe before this is not solved.
- (23e) Hungarians don't get along well with any of the neighbouring nationalities due to the territorial question. There is much opposition between them.
- (24) United Europe with one common language would be a solution, or there could be a Danubian Union with Austria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, but then we will have language difficulties again. Actually, we should leave out Austria, for soon they would try to get control again of the Union and this also would involve German interests

in the Central European Union. Third possibility is a neutral Hungary, recognized as such by all, with close-economic relations with all nations.

- (25) I would not hurt them, but would demand compensation and would demand them to recognize our neutrality. They demand leadership in Europe but this is impossible for they are like children.
- (25a) & c) The White Russians and Ukrainians are not Communists, but 80% of the real Russians are Red.
- (25e) It spoiled their reputation, they saw Fascists in everyone.
- (25h) There was no change.
- (26) The Marxist idea, as an idea, is fantastic. Of course it is fighting capitalism but it ~~is~~ ^{has been} proved that poverty is best fought with capitalism and not with Communism.
- (26a) I approve of the nationalisation of large estates, I oppose the rest.
- (26c) Lenin was an excellent politician, but also a terrorist and I do not accept his politics.
- (26d) Stalin was not a Marxist at all. His own views on the world were built on terror.
- (26e) Tito has his own views too. He can be influenced and swayed and he does not provide for the well-being of his people. He will fail sooner or later.
- (26f) The Hungarian Communists were Stalinists till '53. There were some changes and some anti-Stalinism developed. They stopped deportations

but they are not Marxists either

- (26g) Social democrats were influenced and bribed and served the Communists.
- (26h) One cannot be a democrat and a Communist at the same time.
- (26i) A democrat prefers a democratic republic, he is against Royalty. I thought Garibaldi was a Democrat and the French people are democratic. A democrat is also a good patriot.
- (26j) Under Károlyi and some time ago under Kossuth.
- (27) The idea of Marx and Engels stood for popular Communism. This would mean the observation of the people's demands in a republic.
- (27a) Imre Fagy and his friends, wanted to start a brand-new state, based on Marx and Engels, an entirely new idea, but they cannot improve the economy.
- (27c) Yes, he is a National Communist.
- (27d) Vito is not.
- (27e) No, the terms are exclusive.
- (28) See Question (27a).
- (28b) No, the other Parties would have broken his. Communism sooner or later was out.
- (29a) Not bad.
- (29b) Not good.
- (29c) It is not good to have different classes.
- (29d) It is a good name and I don't know what ideas it stands for. If it

for socialist ideas, it is good.

- (29e) Bad, fully opposed to it.
- (29f) Approve inasmuch as it permits private ownerships of plants and permits progress. It develops a nation, but you have to keep large plants in State ownership, else capitalism leads a country to war.
- (29g) Bad, creates differences between peoples. It would result in economic chaos or revolts.
- (29h) This is a slur-word - greasy peasant - no one is one, but I would not give much land to them and I would not let them exploit the workers, but tax them heavily.
- (29i) He was a bribed writer, he was a pro-Hungarian peasant writer, but he sold out.
- (29j) He was an anti-Communist, he had good ideas.
- (29l) He fought the Communists, therefore he has a good policy.
- (29m) Veteran Social Democrat, always meant well, a true Hungarian patriot.
- (29n) He is a true Hungarian. He is fighting for Hungary and for the Hungarian spirit.
- (30) Smallholders, second would be the Social Democrats, the workers.
- (31a) Less than their share.
- (31b) Less than their share.
- (31c) They are in best position, but they pay immense taxes and they do not ~~get~~ get properly rewarded.

- (31d) This class is non-existent, but is hardest hit amongst the peasants.
- (31e) Officials have a hard life, they get less than they deserve.
- (31e) If professionals are a little pro-Communist, it is easiest for them. They got what they deserve.
- (31g) They get first preference in everything, but they got as much as they deserved. The leaders got more.
- (31h) Less than they deserved, but the independents got what they deserved.
- (31i) Artisans also got what they deserved in spite of the heavy taxes.
- (32) Workers, peasants, intellectuals, had it better before. Communists had it worse than now.
- (32a) This caused the revolt
- (33a) Lately their interests coincide.
- (33b) Coincide.
- (33c) Coincide.
- (33d) They conflict.
- (33e) They conflicted, but coincided a little more lately.
- (33f) They coincided.
- (33g) There was some conflict.
- (33h) Conflict.
- (34) The U.S. does not have imperialistic politics, but it aids the small nations. She is not as ambitious as the MISKIRY U.S.S.R. Militarily she is weaker, but she must be strong politically. Industrially the

U.S. is dangerous for it could limit the development of other countries. Hungary would have to come to terms with the U.S. and deal with her on American terms.

(35) 98% against the regime, 2% for the regime.

(36) It is fine that the U.S. help the small States, but they let the Russians do as they please and the U.S. does not help the small States politically.

- (1) I was surprised at the question of what Hungary wanted in case of a victorious revolt. She wanted a neutral democratic Hungary.
- (1b) Yes, you do get serious material, you could collect more on the terror and on the standard of living.
- (1c) Nothing.
- (1d) The averages will help.
- (1e) About the Hungarian people during the revolt, about whom they opposed. They did not oppose to Russian people, but it was against Communism and its organizations they fought.
- (2) Yes.
- (3) America's youth should understand the Hungarian revolt and Hungary's aims. There will be great happiness if Hungary becomes neutral.

Characterization of Informant.

While very cooperative, informant did not appear to be very sincere. He contradicted himself on several occasions. It seems this lack of sincerity was due to two causes: one, to try to please the project presumed to be made up mainly of former middle and upper class Hungarian emigres of a rather conservative brand. This would explain some of the inconsistencies and contradictions. Another presumed cause for lack of sincerity is that interviewer suspects respondent had certain minor blemishes on his past record, coming from a disrupted and discredited family background. - Note: father was in jail in 1954 for seven months, (as a worker this may have had resulted from Arrow Cross or similar activities and later he was divorced because of moral weaknesses, as his son put it). Added to this background come the following facts: Respondent left on October 25th, just when the revolt promised to succeed. He then denied that he had any extra income, which he later assessed at a 1000 forints a month, derived from motor-cycle repairs. This seems a sizable side-income to earn and to forget about. Third: Respondent had 5 jobs in six years and left such at the Wilhelm Pieck Works from where quitting is admittedly most difficult, supposedly on medical advice. He noted that his new job as a sales clerk was gotten with family influence. The total family income, he said, is close to 4000 forints, not an inconsiderable sum. Finally, respondent's excellent memory should be noted which he used to quote prices. His contradictions seemed the more curious. A final possibility may have been that respondent simply stood under very strong influence of the PASING Group.