

- (1) The Revolution was a spontaneous movement, and not an organized thing, but its causes go back as far as 1945 and especially to 1948 - the year of the turning point - and after. After the July speech of Imre Nagy in 1953, the atmosphere in Hungary became freer and more relaxed. This was followed by a return to the policy of the strong hand. And after the death of Stalin, a freer atmosphere developed in every people's democracy. Then the regime began officially listing the mistakes of the past year; the masses had known for a long time what and where the mistakes were. The Polish events were among the most important immediate causes of the Revolution. The ^{Circle} Petöfi Debates and the Writers' Association revolt also contributed.

I know more about what happened at the university than anywhere else. In the weeks before the Revolution, there was meeting after meeting at the universities, which demanded the introduction of a freer atmosphere, as well as University autonomy. On October 23rd, a sympathy demonstration was organized at the Bem statue. No one expected the results of the demonstration. ^{The} Most important thing is, that regardless of class or occupation, everyone participated in the demonstration. The leading role, however, was taken by the university youth. Essentially the Revolution began on the 23rd of October ^{at the} ~~after the~~ demon-

stration at the Bem statue. In particular, it began in the evening of the 23rd with the events at the radio station.

- (2b) 1. Low wages and the norm system. 2. The detrimental nature of the country's economic and other treaties, and the fact that they were kept secret. 3. Imre Nagy and his speech of July 1953. 4. The death of Stalin and the 20th Party Congress, which criticized him. 5. The Polish events - Poznan. 6. Berlin. 7. Oppression in Hungary. 8. Regarding university youth: the compulsory teaching of Marxism, the Russian language, political economy, and military courses. Another grievance was the lack of university autonomy.

(2c) Imre Nagy's speech in 1953 and the death of Stalin.

(2e), f, g. The writers began to debate things, and the result of these debates was, that the rest of the country began to express its opinions more freely. Essentially it was this, which led to the Revolution.

~~(2e)~~ Irodalmi Ujság was the only publication which had a changed atmosphere before 1956. The rest of the papers reacted only to such an extent, that they either tried to criticize or approve the changed tone of Irodalmi Ujság. For example, both Szabad Nép and Szabad Ifjúság criticized as well as approved. Szabad Nép published many articles

which debated both the events of the Petöfi Circle and the articles of Irodalmi Ujság.

~~These debates were reported in newspapers or criticized~~

The whole debate began in the Writers' Association in May 1956. At the beginning, most of the papers did not sympathize with these debates. I don't know who they were, But I know that in August 1956 some of the members of the Writers' Association lost their positions. Then the public began to be interested in the Writers' Association debates. The regime could not suppress this, nor could it suppress the debates which took place in the Petöfi Circle. The interest in the Petöfi Circle debates was so high that the audience arrived two or three hours before the beginning of the meetings. In official circles however, they disapproved of these debates still; an evidence of this is the fact, that the time and place of the Petöfi Circle meetings were only rarely published in the papers. At these meetings, people of various occupations could hold speeches. The atmosphere at the meetings was so tense and so fascinating that they often lasted 4 or 5 hours, or longer.

There is something I still don't understand. I know that László Nagy was often asked to talk at meetings, not only in the Petöfi Circle, but at the meeting of the ^{Polytechnic} ~~Technical~~ institute.

~~institute~~, (műszaki egyetem). It is not known why he

never accepted these invitations; he was probably forbidden to do so by the higher echelons of the Party. The Petöfi Circle meetings dealt mostly with agricultural and industrial subjects. A few weeks before the Revolution Petöfi ~~was~~^{Circle} debated some vital political questions. The most important among them, that the Russian troops should leave Hungary. At one of the debates, the subject of which was the agricultural problem of Hungary, the necessity of ending the compulsory delivery system was discussed. When one of the speakers demanded this, somebody countered him by saying that this could not be done at present, because the country would lose many millions of forints income. Then the opposition answered that if all Soviet troops left Hungary, the country would have more money left, even if compulsory deliveries were ended. It was at this meeting that they demanded that the top leaders, who were at the Soviet Union at this time, be ~~held~~^{called to} ~~account.~~^{account.} I don't know whether it was sent or not, but it was decided at this time that the workers of Csepel whose parliamentary deputy he was, should send a telegram to Rakosi, to this ~~effect~~^{effect}.

At the same meeting Tildy stated that he has spent a lot of time thinking about the country's agriculture. He added, that he has had quite a lot of time for it - (he had been imprisoned). He mentioned his talk with an

old peasant who told him "we are lost, our village has become a socialist village". This debate took place at the end of September or beginning of October; it was the debate discussing Hungary as a garden state.

How detrimental to the country's economy her industrial treaties and agreements were, was proved by the talk of an assistant professor, who stated that it would be more profitable for the country if, instead of importing Chinese iron ore, we would import iron in one kilogram packages, wrapped in silver foil and silk ribbon.

He also asked, why the iron smelters had to be brought to Dunapentele since the country had very little iron ore and what there was of it, was not near there.

He also asked why the regime built a ^{cellulose} factory ^{in Dunapentele} since the needed straw was not available there, but had to be brought from a distance of many hundreds of kilometers.

Another one of the important demands, voiced at the Petöfi Circle, was in connection with the country's uranium ore, demanding that Hungary's economic treaties be made public.

Probe about respondent's reactions to P.C. meeting.

The atmosphere at this meeting was extremely exciting and already anti-Communist or rather anti-Soviet. I heard opinions here, which were not heard during the last 10 years. My feeling was "at last!" I felt that in the future industry and agriculture will really be organized

according to the principles outlined at these meetings and that they will put experts and not Party people in the leading positions. I felt, that finally there would be a healthier economic trend in Hungary. Personally, I was most interested in the discussion of agriculture and I saw that they also placed a chief emphasis on agriculture, because they truly believed that Hungary cannot exist without a healthy agriculture. A great upswing in agricultural production would have been the result of the adoption of the suggestions outlined ~~to~~ at this meeting. The conflict between independent farmers and the collective farms was illuminated when, at the same meeting, an independent landholder asked why the collective farms were given contract advantages, when a private farmer, with the same investment, would get much better results. He asked why the collective farms' products were paid better than the independent farmers', although the collective farm products are often much poorer in quality. He asked why the independent farmer was not given more of an opportunity, why the state did not help him acquire agricultural machinery, since he could produce more with this help than the collective farm.

There were many articles and stories in Irodalmi Ujság which impressed me, but I can't remember any of the titles.

I read it every week and saved each issue, but I don't seem to remember anything in particular now. Irodalmi Ujság was tremendously popular. Before the Revolution, on Sunday night, when the latest issue of the paper appeared on the streets, there were long lines before the news stands in Budapest, waiting for the paper. This was a small Revolution in itself. For each issue, people paid 2 or 3 forints, although the price was only one. In front of the offices of Irodalmi Ujság, the street was full of people, and the police was unable to keep order. The police took out their rubber truncheons, but did not dare to use them because they were surrounded by a big crowd. The police was forced to withdraw by car. I was ^{present at this demonstration.} ~~there, that is how I know about this.~~

This last issue contained news about the disturbances in Poland, the fact that tanks were sent to Poland from Moscow and that several Soviet leaders appeared personally in Warsaw. I think the article also mentioned that the Soviet leaders arrived at Warsaw airport secretly, but that in spite of this, there were hundreds of anti-Soviet demonstrators at the airport. It also mentioned that there were no *clashes*, because the regime was willing to make concessions.

(3)

First of all, one of the major factors was the dissatisfaction

of university youth and the difficulties young people had, to get jobs after they left the university in addition to the low beginning salaries. Secondly, the situation in agriculture: the forced collectivizations and the compulsory delivery system, in addition to the terribly high taxes. The peasants were also outraged by the advantages given to collective farms, in spite of the fact that the majority of them had a deficit. Third, the situation in industry: the high norms, low wages and the fact that the workers had no interest in reaching the high production targets, set by the regime. To this were added the forced industrialization, the fact that economic treaties were kept secret and the people's knowledge that large quantities of industrial and agricultural goods were transported to the Soviet Union from Hungary without adequate payment. Fourthly, one of the major reasons was, that they lied to the people. The regime's newspapers claimed that the industrial and agricultural production was ~~growing~~ ^{increasing}, together with the standard of living. Actually, the opposite was taking place. Fifthly, the lack of opportunity to express one's opinion, to speak freely.

(36)

In general, the control organs were hated by everyone and the controllers were mostly people who received high salaries, and belonged to the Party. Very few of them

had any technical knowledge and they did their jobs for material advantages, and not out of conviction. Everyone knew, who these people were, although often they were high AVH officers. They were technical supervisors or department managers in factories, Party secretaries in agriculture or at the universities. In most cases, the role of these people was to search for a hostile atmosphere and to find those who caused it. At the same time, the members of these control organs knew that what they did was wrong. They did it without conviction and they realized that their fellow workers hated them. During the period before the Revolution, the controls relaxed somewhat, the supervision was less strict, or to be exact the instructions regarding supervision were strict, but it was impossible to execute the instructions. It is easy to understand that everything fell apart during the Revolution, when one realizes that only about 3 or 4 per cent of the Party members were Communists out of conviction.

This is a difficult question. At the university they tried to supervise the students through DISZ in which membership was automatic and compulsory. But the officers, the supervisors of DISZ were generally of a lower intelligence; their intellectual standard did not correspond to that of the university. This fact and the fact that

they insisted ^{on} ~~the~~ aping the various Soviet organizations, kept the young people away from the youth organizations and made them hostile to it. NEFESZ, which was organized just before the Revolution, broke away completely from DISZ. The only identity between the two was in membership. DISZ was Communist in spirit and the leadership consisted essentially of Party members; their work consisted of trying to find out the political attitude of the members, and ~~these~~ scholarships were distributed on the basis of this information. During the Revolution, such supervision failed completely, because there was a lack of support and sympathy for it.

As for the army, its members consisted chiefly of worker and farmer youth. There were few politically minded people among them. Even the officers were not all reliable Party people. The mood of the army mirrored that of the people of the country. The regime was aware of the necessity of keeping the Army loyal. As a result they sent people, whom they considered potentially dangerous or political dissatisfied, to labor service battalions instead of into the army. Thus people, who had close relatives abroad, had ever attempted to cross the border illegally, or who were unreliable because of their origin were not allowed to join the army. In spite of this, however, they did not succeed in making the army an

organization, which was loyal to the regime.

As for the Party members, the majority of them were not communists by conviction, but were forced to join the Party because of their material conditions. And a great many of the Party members participated in the Revolution on the side of the people. The AVH, on the other hand, collapsed so quickly, because throughout the country the people turned against them first of all, since its members were paid agents of the Soviet Union, who worked only for the Soviet Union. Therefore, people felt that the first task of the Revolution was to annihilate them. Partly it was fear which made these organizations collapse; I know of cases where Army officers and even AVH men declared their loyalty to the Revolution, either out of conviction, or more possibly because they were afraid. This sort of action contributed to the collapse of these organizations during the Revolution.

(3e)

The ^{sole} aim of the October 23rd demonstration was to show the sympathy of the Hungarian people for Poland and to demonstrate that they approved of the Polish events and ~~the~~ demands of the Polish people.

(3f)

It was above all the AVH, which opposed the Revolution. At the radio station it was the AVH which started the attack on the demonstrators. At the ~~the~~ same time, of course, a number of Party leaders also opposed the

Revolution; they were the ones who went to Party headquarters in a variety of towns and offered armed resistance to the Revolutionaries. There were no others who resisted the Revolution.

(3g) In the first two days the army showed evidences of neutrality but this was due only to the fact that there was no order for them to fight on the side of the revolution. In Budapest there were many army police units, as well as Russian army units, which simply stood in the streets without participating in the fights on either side. These were the only neutrals; ~~that~~ ^{the} people were all on the side of the Revolution.

(3h) Ruskis go home! The AVGs are ~~murderers!~~ ^{murderers!} release the students! This referred to the students who were arrested at the radio station. Who is ~~with us!~~ ^{Magyar} is with us! Gerö is a murderer! There was also: The government should resign! and: We want Imre Nagy!

(3i) Yes, the Revolution was decidedly anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. At the same time, however, at the beginning there was a demand for ^a certain transitional period; thus there was a demand for Imre Nagy in the government. However, this does not mean that Imre Nagy would have remained ^a in a leading position for a longer period, if the Revolution ~~would~~ had been victorious. In my opinion, Imre Nagy would have remained in power only until free elections were held, and not longer.

The Revolution was anti-Communist, but it demanded a coalition government, in which the Communists would have been given the opportunity to participate in the political life of the country.

(3k)

In my opinion very few real Communists participated in the Revolution. But those who participated, ~~and~~ saw that the Hungarian people had healthy and justified demands, which must be granted even in a Communist state. Those who participated did so, because of all that has been done to Hungary in the years before the Revolution through the political, economic, and agricultural policy of the regime.

(4)

On the 23rd of October I participated in the demonstration in Budapest. I went to the radio station from the parliament together with some other university students, when I heard the news that at the radio people had been attacked. When the armed fighting began, I got ^{on} one of those trucks, which went to the Csepel armament factory, to get arms for the revolutionaries. This was a completely spontaneous decision, to go to Csepel for arms. The atmosphere was so heated that everyone wanted to resist and the masses had no arms to do so. We were not the first group, which went to the factory to take arms and ammunition to Budapest from Csepel. After we returned to Budapest, we heard

that the ambulances allegedly removing the wounded from the radio station, were actually delivering arms to AVH headquarters. So we formed groups and stood on the roads leading to the radio station, intercepting and examining the ambulances for arms. There was no leader. Everything was completely spontaneous. Later on we checked all passing cars for hidden arms. We arrested three AVO officers in a Pobeda. They protested and showed false identification *papers.* After searching the car, we found several guns. Then they admitted that they were AVO officers, that they wanted only to be left in peace, and asked us not to hurt them. A group of 4 led them to the radio station; I don't know any more about their ~~same~~ *fate.*

On the 24th I joined a group of demonstrators, which demonstrated before the Yugoslav embassy.; on the way there, we cut the Soviet emblem out of any flags we saw and took off the Soviet stars, when we came across them. The demonstrators placed the Hungarian flag on the base of the Stalin statue. The demonstration started out with about a hundred or two hundred participants, *it swelled* ~~were~~ ^{to} 15,000 to 20,000 people at the end. At the Yugoslav embassy the chief slogan was; Tito help! The demonstrators sent a delegation into the embassy, ~~which demanded~~ ^{demanding} that the Yugoslavs tell the UN about the Hungarian events. The delegation was told that the Yugoslavs could not

take any steps, but that the UN and the West had already been informed. The delegation was also told that ^{the} Yugoslavs were in agreement with the Hungarian people. After that, I joined another group of demonstrators on the Boulevard (körút) and sang the national anthem with them. When we passed a Soviet bookshop on the Boulevard, we took the books from the shop and burnt them on the streets. Then we heard some shots, and the demonstrators scattered in all directions. I went to Frater Street to the radio station and participated in the fighting there. On October 25th, I participated in the demonstration at the parliament building. The demonstrators were shot at from the roof of the Ministry of Agriculture and there were several wounded and dead. The doctors and nurses coming to aid the wounded, were also shot at, although they wore white coats and carried Red Cross flags. Two of them died. During the next days, until the 28th, I helped out on a Red Cross ambulance, collecting the wounded, and delivering medicines and bandages. At the hospitals there were signs, asking people to contribute blood. Before these hospitals, there were crowds of people, waiting to give blood; there were so many volunteers, that the hospitals were unable to store the blood. On the 29th, when the Revolution looked victorious, I started out on foot from Budapest, towards my home, in

the county of Vas. On the way, the cement roads had slogans written on them, saying Ruski go home. By then Budapest was completely surrounded by Soviet can^{ns} and tanks. At the edge of Székes^v Fehérvár, the police and army asked for identification; there were four of us students, travelling together. For some reason they arrested us, and a police lieutenant took us to Székes-Fehérvár by car. On the way he asked what has happened in Budapest, and when we told him he said that he was on our side, and he did not take us to police headquarters, but drove us to the other end of town and suggested that we leave town as soon as possible. I finally arrived in my village, a village of 30,000 inhabitants, where everything was still quiet (respondent preferred not to give the name of ~~that~~ ^{the} village). The village is 20 kilometers from Szombathely, right next to the Austrian border. In the village they knew that there was a revolution in Budapest, and that it started from the October 23rd demonstration. They had collected food for Budapest and took it up by cars. My brother, who had gone up to Budapest to deliver the carloads of food, had already returned and told the villagers about the events in Budapest. He said that there were many dead, that the Russians had surrounded Budapest, that everyone believed that the Russians would leave; by then the radio announced that the negotiations

for the departure of the Russians would start soon and that Imre Nagy has formed a government. Imre Nagy was especially liked and trusted in our village, because of the events of 1953. The people in the village were receiving news about the Revolution over the radio and from those who were returning to the village from their places of work from various parts of the country.

Question: Why did you decide to go home?

Answer: We, a number of students and I, decided to return to our village because there was no food in Budapest and because the Revolution looked victorious. ~~Quite~~
~~wise~~ Many workers and students returned to their families ^{ies}
in the provinces,
as happens in such situations.

In the village, we students organized a demonstration, at which there were more participants than at any meeting or demonstration since 1945. There were about 2,000 people present. At the demand of the crowd the crucifixes, which had been removed from the schools, were now replaced. The demonstrators passed through the village and to the Austrian border, where there were many Austrians waiting for them; the Austrians gave the demonstrators various Red Cross gifts, among them two cases of medicines, which we took to Szombathely. In the evening, the village elected a temporary revolutionary committee; at the meeting the few Communists - about one or two of them - were almost

assaulted. There was a 6 member secret nominating committee, which nominated 40 candidates, and anyone could add new names to the list. All the inhabitants could vote and there was ^a ~~one~~ voice vote. The nominating committee consisted of two students, one artisan, two peasants, and one ^{store} ~~shop~~ manager. They were not elected, they just got together, their names had to be secret to prevent anyone from putting pressure on them. The Revolutionary Council had thirty members, of these there were five officers, such as the president, the secretary, etc. The five officers were chosen by secret voting. The president of the Revolutionary Committee was a young and energetic peasant, an independent farmer - we had no collective farms in the village - who did not participate in any government or official activities after 1945. He was courageous, respected, trusted and clever. He was chosen for his qualities of leadership. That the people were not yet very courageous was demonstrated by the fact that a well known Communist was elected into the Revolutionary Committee; He received only 20 votes and the rest of the people ^{abstained} ~~did not~~ because they were afraid to vote against him. 200 people participated in the meeting, which elected the Revolutionary Committee. I did not vote, partly because I was one of the organizers of the whole thing, and partly because I came home only during the summers and did

not really consider myself entitled to a vote in the village. After the meeting, I was attacked because a Communist, whom everyone hated, had been elected a member of the committee. Of course, I had nothing to do with this. I was not responsible for it; I was only one of the organizers. The students organized the meetings, because the village trusted them completely. The students were trusted to such an extent, that the village would have followed them to the West after the entry of the Russians. As it is, 500 inhabitants escaped to the West, when the Revolution was defeated.

The village contributed food to be sent to Budapest. Once, Szombathely requested milk for Budapest; this was announced throughout the village, and 960 liters were collected, without payment. ~~At the same time,~~ ^{the} when they used to collect milk to fulfill compulsory delivery quota, they were able to get together only 200 - 250 liters.

What contact did you have with the outside world?

We often talked to Szombathely over the phone and found out what course the Revolution took there. In Szombathely the Revolution was without victims until ~~the~~ November ~~the~~ 4th, since there were very few Hungarian soldiers there. At the same time there were a large number of Soviet soldiers in the town. The Russian soldiers were not aggressive because many of them had their families with them and

they were afraid
that their families would be hurt. The AVO barracks in Ssonbathely was occupied by a group of demonstrators, after the members of the AVO disappeared. On the 30th, after the day of the demonstration, about 250 people of the village went to Austria, not to escape, but to visit friends and to see those who were taking care of their lands in Austria. Almost all the families in the village owned land in Austria. After the regime forbade that the villagers cross~~ed~~ the border to work on their lands, in 1949, the Austrians cultivated these properties, but acknowledged that they were in Hungarian ownership. Now, when people crossed the border to see their lands again, they found no resistance; the Hungarian border guards had disappeared.

Otherwise life was uneventful during these days; people lived, they were happy, everyone talked politics, and ^{was} ~~was~~ hoping that the Russians would leave the country. Everyone listened to the radio, to the Hungarian and foreign broadcasts. Everyone was discussing the future of Hungary, glad that the Communists had finally fallen from power and that Imre Nagy would take over the government. People hoped that they would now be able to go to Austria regularly to work on their lands. They thought that compulsory delivery would be abolished, but were rather sceptical regarding the Russians, doubting that

they would leave the country voluntarily. There was no talk about establishing any parties; people were merely happy that the Communist Party was finally out and they hoped that the time would come when the Communists would have to answer for all they did. Everyone trusted Imre Nagy. This was because they remembered 1953. In the fall of 1952, a collective farm was established in the village, but it lasted only 6 months, until the July speech of Imre Nagy. (The membership of the collective farm consisted of 6 families, ~~who were~~ forced to become members by AVH agents from Szombathely, who threatened to deport them otherwise. These families had been owners of larger farms of 25 holds or so. The authorities hoped, that through them they would be able to ^{get} ~~bring~~ others to enter the collective farm).

Of course, people talked vaguely of various political possibilities. Most of the people in the village had supported the Small Holders and Barankovics Christian Democrats. They still trusted these parties, but there was no very specific discussion of them.

On November 5th, 3 Russian tanks entered the village at 5 AM. They entered the green AVH barracks by driving through the door in their tanks; they did not even bother to get out of the tanks. The soldiers, who were in the barracks, scattered. A few AVO officers entered with

with the Russians. But they were in the village for only a few hours; they all left after that. I believe it was because of some sort of an agreement with Austria, that there were to be no Russians within a certain number of kilometers from the Austrian border. We had collected about 30 hand^g grenades and a few machine guns, and decided, that if the Russians hurt anyone, we would return^{it} in kind. However, we did not want to attack them, since in this case the whole village would be destroyed. The green A'Os, who were not on the side of the regime, went to the inhabitants of the village and were fed by them. Nothing much happened in our village after this.

I ~~hadn't~~^{didn't} slept at home for 4 days because my father was extremely nervous and worried about me. AVOs came from Szombathely once or twice and ~~asked~~ asked the Party secretary what had happened in the village during these days, and who ~~the~~ the organizers were. The Party secretary told us all about it and did not tell the AVH anything, denying the demonstration, while I was at home. Then began the ~~exodus~~, and 500 ~~people~~^{village} left the country.

- (6) There were no organized groups until after November 4th, and I left Budapest on the 29th of October. At that time, there were only small spontaneous groups, ~~who~~^{which} got together and seemed to know without any leadership, what there was

to do.

(7)

I don't know from personal experience, only from what I have heard and read. The most famous revolutionary group is the one which fought at the Maria Theresa barracks on Üllői Avenue. The biggest attacks took place here. The other well known one is the Corvin Place group, which held out the longest; the Soviet troops from Transdanubia entered Budapest through here. At Maria Theresa barracks, there were various meetings, among them the meeting which established a national guard. The reputation of the Corvin Place group is so great, because ~~the~~ the majority of the young people, the young Freedom Fighters, were members of this group. The group at Dunapentele is also well known; here the revolutionaries stated that if the Russians entered, they would blow up all the factories here.

(7a)

I know of no conflict among the revolutionary groups.

(8)

When the Soviet tanks first entered Budapest, they were completely passive in many spots. I would say, that they ~~approved~~ ^{approved} completely ~~with~~ ^{of} the revolutionary spirit. I, myself, saw that the soldiers in some of these Russian tanks talked to the revolutionaries and placed Hungarian flags on their tanks. More rarely, they turned against the revolutionaries, but I saw evidences that the ordinary Russian soldiers felt

with the revolutionaries. On one occasion I witnessed a Russian officer order an attack on the ~~insurgents~~^{insurgents}. The tanks were surrounded by crowds of Hungarians who talked to the Russian soldiers and shouted to them in Russian, asking them not to shoot. The Russian soldiers refused to shoot, even when the Russian officer was attacked by the crowd and shot to death. The Russian soldiers watched this and did not shoot at the crowd. After the 4th of November, the Russian units almost always attacked the Hungarians and did not join them any longer. But even then the Russian soldiers sometimes left their tanks and declared that they would not fight against the Hungarians any longer.

(8e)

On October 27th, I witnessed such an act on Rákóczy Avenue. Here three armored cars with about seventeen Russian soldiers placed Hungarian flags on their cars.

(9abc)

Until I got home, I found out about the news from the newspapers, leaflets, word of mouth, and personal experiences. After I got home, chiefly from the radio. There were many leaflets in Budapest, and some of the newspapers published extras; I know that Szabad Nép and Szabad Ifjúság had extras, sometimes twice a day. When Imre Nagy became the premier, motor cyclists distributed

leaflets, containing the news. I don't know who printed these leaflets; many were distributed without a title, containing news about changes in the government and about the events of the Revolution. There were no other newspapers at this time;

I received news by word of mouth about the events of the fighting, and such things as the fact that the Stalin statue has been pulled down.

I listened to the radio chiefly after I got home to my village. We listened to Győr, Szombathely, Pécs, and the Kossuth radio in Budapest. Of the foreign broadcast we listened to R.F.E. unfortunately, and to BBC. We listened to BBC rarely partly because we had no patience to sit by the radio and because we did not sympathize with the British and French at that time, due to the events in Egypt, which influenced the outcome of the Hungarian Revolution.

- (10) The Party organizations did not function at all. They disintegrated HXXK completely within the first 2 days of the Revolution. If the people found functionaries, staying at Party headquarters, these were arrested. In ~~the~~^{my} village a teacher was the Party secretary; he was not a convinced Communist and accepted this position only because someone had to, and it was better if the person who

did it was on our side. He stayed in the village throughout the Revolution, he did not interfere with anything, and was not hurt. The head of the local delivery office was also just an office worker, who did what he was told and was not a convinced Communist. Nothing happened to him during the Revolution.

The government did not collapse to such an extent; there were constant talks and negotiations in the parliament building. Then, around November 3rd, Imre Nagy ^{formed} ~~formed~~ his government. One heard a great deal about the re-organization of various parties. The ministries did not work at all. The Ministry of Interior disintegrated completely, so that the government consisted only of the leaders, who were at the parliament building. The ministries did not participate.

(10a) The following institutions collapsed: the Party, the AVH, ~~the~~ DISZ, the People's Front Committee, the Factory Party Organizations; ~~and~~ generally the political institutions i.e. the Communist organs, fell apart completely. The only organizations which remained in fact were the Writers' Association and MEFESZ.

(10b) See question above.

(10d) In many cases AVH agents turned up far away from the part of the country where they lived. But in other districts the AVH continued to function. When we had ~~the~~ ^{the} organized

demonstration in our village on the 29th or 30th of October - it was a Sunday - somebody brought out in one of the speeches that in Budapest the AVH had shot at the people before the radio station. Then an AVH man from Szombathely turned up and declared that a car should be sent to bring back the families which had been deported from the village. (The people deported in 1951 were allowed to return to their homes in 1953 except in the border districts). This AVH agent from Szombathely, ~~WKE~~ was not known in our village; he appeared to agree with the aims of the Revolution. I think he did this in order ^{to} ~~to~~ save his own skin and he probably hoped, or perhaps even knew, that after the Soviet attack they, the AVH, will again come to the top. The AVH agents were generally hated, but even among them there were some who were on the side of the revolutionaries. This same AVH agent returned to the village after November 4th, on one of the Russian tanks. The green AVO behaved quite differently. We had a green AVO barracks in our village. The commander was a green AVO lieutenant, who was a Communist on paper but actually he was nothing of ~~was~~ ^{the} sort. He was quite popular with the people and behaved very decently. During the Revolution he allowed us to remove some arms from the barracks but stipulated that we do it in his absence, so that he should not know

(10 h.)

anything about it. The local councils did not function at all during the Revolution. In our village the council did not know what to do because it received no instructions from Budapest.

(10j)

None. The rebels used only those organizations which were formed and established during the Revolution.

Question: And the Writers' Association?

Yes, the writers' association was used by the rebels. It was the only old organization to be thus used.

Question: Did the existence of the old organizations facilitate the formation of the new?

To a point the existence of the old organizations was helpful to us. During the week before the Revolution every university announced a meeting, a DISZ meeting, the alleged program of which was ~~to~~ to elect the "new leadership" of DISZ. But by the time the meeting assembled, the program was not the election of new leaders, but the formation of a new youth organization, *Mezeasz*, following the example of the Szeged university students. At most universities the students had to use the DISZ meetings as an excuse for assembling at all. Thus the existence of DISZ was helpful. There was an impulse, a moral reaction, to establish an organization which was directly opposed and in every way contrary to DISZ.

- (10k) Mefesz, the Revolutionary Councils, the Workers' Councils, the Factory Revolutionary Councils, the Social Democratic Party, the Small Holders, the Christian Democratic Party, the Boy Scout organization. The latter is significant because in a few days, more than 10,000 boys asked for admission.
- (10l) Before the Revolution only Party organizations existed in the factories. The Workers' Councils were established in opposition to these Party organs, and were elected by the workers of the factories. In most cases these Workers' Councils were established merely as temporary organizations, until the situation should be consolidated. But all power was in their hands in the factory, including the calling of a strike, the decision to continue or end a strike, to join in the strike held by other factories, and to decide to what extent they should accept the decisions of the government.
- (10m) A multi-Party system with free elections.
- (11) Unfortunately I think about the Revolution very often. This is due to the fact that so many of us came out and we discuss it very often. Abroad we see the passivity of the West towards the Hungarian Revolution; there was a great deal of sympathy, but nothing else. I also think, that if the Revolution had been victorious, Hungary would have developed a system, which would have been different

from the Eastern, but also different from the Western systems. Here abroad, there is a much/^{higher} standard of living, but there are also many mistakes in the societies, which could be corrected.

(11a)

If we look at the political ^effect, the Revolution was useful because the Western world was made to realize that its policies had been mistaken. In the West the general opinion had been, that the people of the Peoples' Democracies had accepted their fate. Although the Western world claimed that its aim was to liberate the Peoples' Democracies, this was only an empty word and they made no serious effort to carry out this claim. At the same time, the Western leaders started to believe that they could negotiate with the Soviet Union on the diplomatic level and that the Soviet Union could be expected to keep its word. The political result of the Revolution was that it proved to the West that this was not so. It proved that the Soviet Union could not be depended on to keep its word. Of course, if we consider what the demands of the Hungarian Revolution were, then the Revolution was harmful because these demands have not been fulfilled. Furthermore the ^{long} ~~long~~ strikes in Hungary have caused severe material damage to the country from which the country can't recover without outside help. On the other hand, some of the demands of the Revolution had been granted, for instance, there are no compulsory deliveries today and I don't believe that they will be

reintroduced in the future.

(11b) The Revolution was victorious, at least morally. Of course, it could not have been successful without outside help, because a country of 10 million cannot defeat a country of 200 million, except morally. The Revolution could have been successful, if the West had acted unitedly, either through the UN, or directly against the Soviet Union.

(11c) Yes, we did expect help from the West. First of all, through ~~the diplomatic~~ ^{diplomatic} channels, and if this was not successful, we expected armed help. Above all, we expected the US army to help us. We had reason to hope this, because in the last few years the Western Radios, especially RFE, claimed that the West would immediately send help to any of the Peoples' Democracies, if they showed any signs of stirring.

At the same time, I felt that the UN would deal with the Hungarian question but I realized soon enough that there was no great interest in it, and since the Egyptian events interfered we could get no results. Hungary could have been saved in the last days of the Revolution, if the UN had guaranteed her independence. In this case the Soviet Union would not have dared to interfere.

(11e) Imre Nagy is a Communist by conviction, but his role in 1953 and his agrarian policy ~~was~~ ^{is} so correctly thought out and constructive that a large number of people in the country supported it. In spite of this, however, in spite of the

fact that the majority ^{was} on his side, he would not have been maintained as a leader of the country after the transitional period. He, as a Communist, would undoubtedly have lost in the free elections, which would have followed this transition. In spite of this fact, he would have been the best possible leader during this transitional period, since there would not have been the opportunity to bring about a radical change during the Revolution, a radical change which would have placed a non-Communist prime minister in power.

(11f) Pál Maléter, Béla Kiraly and Mindszenty.

(11g) I youth, II workers, III intellectuals, IV soldiers, V peasants, VI those who got out of prison, VII irresponsible elements; those who were let out of prison but were common criminals and not political prisoners.

(12) I decided to leave Hungary on November 12th, and left on the 13th of November.

(12a) I realized that the Revolution was lost and that the old days would return; 10 years of the Peoples' Democracy was enough for me. An other consideration was my participation in the Revolution, for which I would have been punished. My brother and I left Hungary together.

- (1) I was a university student. I was studying to be a veterinarian.
- (2) None.
- (5b) I chose my future profession freely. First of all, because I lived in a village until the age of 12 and therefore was interested in animals. Secondly, I wanted to be a veterinarian because I saw it as a free profession, which was not bound to office hours, or any special time or place. I also thought it free because it did not depend on the instructions of higher authorities.
- (5e) I would want to have a secure occupation, which would enable me to live peacefully in so far ^{as} this is possible in the 20th century. I want a peaceful family life and I want to spend as much ^{time} as possible with my family. I would like to travel, but not because I desire adventure but in order to study my profession and because I love nature.
- (5g) I don't know yet; I don't know how I would have lived in Hungary. Veterinarians make a very good living in Hungary, although they were nationalized in 1953. They receive a fixed salary and also have outside earnings. By Western standards they don't do so well, however; they have to make their rounds on a motorcycle, instead of a car.

- (6) I myself lived very well, but the disadvantages of this were strongly felt by my parents. ^{The reason for} The fact that I was so well off, was that my four older sisters and brothers helped to get me educated. My parents were not too well off due to the high taxes and the compulsory deliveries. As a result my father's nerves were completely ruined. An additional problem, which my family had, was the fact that since 1949 they were not allowed to use the land they owned in Austria.
- (6a) If you take 1945 as a base year, conditions improved gradually until 1948. From 1948 till 1953 ~~was~~ ^{they} deteriorated, while after 1953, after the new Imre Nagy policy was introduced, the situation improved somewhat. Beginning with ~~the~~ Spring 1954 until the Revolution, everything was very bad again and we had ^{only} the most basic necessities.
- (7) Since we had a farm, it is very difficult to determine just how much we earned yearly. We had 11 holds of land; 10 of arable land, and 1 hold of pasture. During the last few years we had no real income; we had just enough to cover the delivery quota and our own necessities. Any income we had from the land went for taxes. We paid 6,500 forints yearly on 11 holds. We grew the following quantities of produce yearly: 25 quintals of wheat, 6 quintals of rye, 4 quintals of oats, 4 quintals of barley, and a certain quantity of potatoes, which we did not weigh

and which were used to cover the needs of the family.

From 1948 to 1953 our delivery quota was as follows:

12 quintals wheat, 4 of rye, 2 of oats, and 3 of barley, in addition to a certain quantity of potatoes. We also had to deliver 90 kilograms of ^{live} pork yearly, as well as 15 kilograms of poultry, 1,200 liters of milk and 8 kilograms of lard after the secondslaughtered pig.

After 1953, we had to deliver 8 quintals of wheat, 4 quintals of rye, 2 quintals of oats, one quintal barley and 13 quintals of potatoes. We also had to deliver 10 kilograms of poultry, 800 liters of milk and 60 kilograms of ^{live} pork. This quota remained the same until the Revolution.

Our money income came from the following sources:

my brother used to transport goods with our two horses and carriage. He could earn about 70 to 100 forints a day with this. Of course, this was only an occasional business. Until 1951 we sold ~~timber~~^{timber} from our forest in Austria. We also sold livestock and produce, earning 3000 to 4000 forints yearly. One of my sisters and one of my brothers had jobs in Szombathely. My brother was a truckdriver at the state trucking firm (Tefu) in Szombathely, earning 1400 forints a month, for which he had to work 12 hours daily. My sister, who lived at home worked as a dressmaker at home from 1953 to 1955

earning 500 forints per month. Otherwise she worked at home on the land.

(8) I had a scholarship of 320 forints per month, while I attended the university. From home I received 120 or 130 forints monthly. I have no idea what the family's money income was.

(9a) Our family owned its own house. I paid 50 forints at the dormitory, where I lived.

(9b) Dwelling conditions in general were very poor in Budapest. Often a family with two or 3 children lived in a one room apartment or in a shop.

The students' dormitories: When I was a first year student, for the first half year, there were 16 in my dormitory room and during the second half year, there were 8 of us. During the second year I lived in a room of 8 students, we had double decker beds. During the third and fourth years we were four in a room. The lavatories were generally very small; there was a lavatory which could admit two people at a time for every 15~~0~~ students. A dormitory, housing 150 students had two baths and 5 showers. We could only use these once a week, because there was no hot water at any other time. Even during the winter we had hot water^{only} on bath days. Because of the large number

of people in each bedroom, there were study halls, holding 50 or 60 people. In these, there were big tables, at which 7 or 8 students could study^d. Each dormitory housed students of a certain field of study. Between 1950 and 1954, one had to get permission to stay out at night, but afterwards we could stay out until 11 PM. We had no keys and therefore we had to pay gate money when we came in at night.

My parents' house had two rooms, a kitchen, a patry, etc. We had a well, and we had had electricity since 1943.

(9c) We produced all our own food except sugar, salt, and similar products, on which we spent 150 ~~AAA~~ to 200 forints monthly. I paid 230 forints monthly for 3 meals a day at the students' canteen.

(9d) Each member of my family, including myself, bought a new suit approximately every two or three years. Each of us bought a new pair of shoes yearly, paying 300 to 400 forints for a pair of men's shoes. We paid from 900 to 1400 forints for a man's suit. I don't know how much the women spent on clothes.

(9e) Until 1953, my family had its own fuel from our forests in Austria. After that, we got cheap fuel ~~XX~~ through my brother, who transported it. We paid approximately 25 forints monthly for electricity, and for fuel 250 forings monthly in the winter and 100 forints in the summer, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~.

- (9f) The family spent 150 - 180 forints monthly for tobacco, of which my own smoking came to 60 - 70 forints. Until 1949 my family did not spend any money on alcohol, since we had our own vine yards in Austria. After this, we bought grapes in the fall and pressed our own wine, About 100 to 150 liters. We also prepared 10 to 15 liters of blackberry brandy secretly, at home.
- (9g) At the university there was no tuition fee; ~~and~~ I received about 150 forints monthly from home for my expenses.
- (9h) I spent approximately 500 forints yearly for my own entertainment. In my family one of my brothers spent 500 to 600 forints yearly for entertainment. One of my sisters spent approximately 200 forints and the rest of the family spent a minimum^{al} amount.
- (9i) Own expenses: 120 forints yearly. Family expenses: 300 - 400 forints yearly.
- (9j) Own expenses: Approximately 300 forints yearly. Family expenses: 30 forints a year for subscription to Szabad Föld.
- (9k) Own expenses: I had no need for medicines and paid approximately 30 per cent of my ~~expenses~~^{dental} expenses, which came to about 70 forints yearly. Family expenses: 100 ± 200 forints per year.
- (9l) Own expenses: Approximately 150 forints yearly. I was entitled to 4 tickets ~~with~~^{at} a 30 per cent reduction to travel home. Family expenses: 120 forints yearly; my

family travelled little, chiefly to Szombathely and back by bus.

(9m) My family paid approximately 5500 to 6000 ^{forints} taxes per year; this included land tax, income tax, compulsory ice and frost insurance and horse tax.

(10) Until 1948, until the forced collectivization and nationalization drives, there was a definite upswing in Hungarian economic life. This was a very favourable period for agriculture, because of the free market and the moderate taxes. ~~Since~~ In 1948, however, the deterioration of Hungarian agriculture started due to the introduction of collectivization, compulsory deliveries and the suppression of independent farmers. As a result of all this, the peasants lost their desire to produce more, and they started to produce only enough to assure for themselves a very modest standard of living. In 1953, there was a slight improvement until the spring of 1954. In 1953 the majority of collective farms was dissolved and independent farmers were given much more freedom. But after the spring of 1954 conditions deteriorated again and agricultural production was at its lowest level.

In industry, there was also considerable improvement until 1948. In 1948 the regime started its exaggerated industrialization drive, which emphasized heavy industry at the expense of light industry and which was not suitable for Hungary.

A greater emphasis on light industry would have been essential in order to raise the standard of living. In 1953 there was an improvement in industry too after the Imre Nagy speech, but this also lasted only a few months. After this, heavy industry was stressed again. The greatest hindrances to the free development of Hungary's agriculture and industry were the unfavorable economic treaties and the fact that the majority of Hungarian products ~~was~~ was sold to the Soviet Union for extremely low prices.

(10c) I know about this only from books, since I was only 8 years old in 1941. According to my parents, the situation before 1941 was much better, at least in agriculture. Then the Small Holders, small middle peasants, were much better off than today.

(10d) See question 10 above.

(10f) Until 1948, small artisans and tradesmen had a very important role in the economic life of the country. Between 1948 and 1953 they were completely pushed back as a result of high income taxes. In 1953, after the speech of Imre Nagy, private sector trades permits were again available. Within a year, their taxes were raised because during that ~~period~~ period they managed to forge ahead to such an extent that they were much better off than state-employed or non-private sector individuals.

(10g) In the last year before the Revolt, things were materially better. People did not receive higher wages, but in most

occupations they were allowed to earn some extra money with outside work. However, this material ~~was~~ was not significant.

- (11) I think the low standard of living, the poor material conditions, were the chief causes of the revolt. If everyone had earned 3000 forints monthly, there would not have been a revolution. What on earth for? Next to the lack of civil liberties, this was the chief reason. If material conditions had been good, there would not have been a revolution.

(1)
a-c

I attended 5 years of elementary schools and 8 years of gymnasium, from which I graduated in June 1953. I attended gymnasium in Szombathely; it was a parochial school until 1948, when it was nationalized. I attended the veterinarian college in Budapest from 1953 to 1956.

(1e)

No particular reason. It was the college which would train me in my choice of profession.

(2and e) Yes, I could get as much schooling as I wanted to. It was to my advantage that I was of peasant origin. It was far better than to be of intelligentsia origin.

Didn't it matter that your family were independent farmers, and not collective farm members?

No, nobody held this against me, although I know of cases where people suffered because their parents were independent farmers.

What did this depend on?

Once, one got to the university, ~~XXX~~ it did not matter at all. However, admission ^{to} the university depended to a great extent on the opinion and approval of the gymnasium teacher, who was your class chief. In general, it was a disadvantage if ones parents had 20 to 25 holds of land, or ^{even} if they had only 10 holds after 1948, but ~~had~~ ^{owned} had a more considerable amount before the war, such as 25, 50 or 100 holds.

were paid by the Party. In addition to this, in 1955, they established a separate independent DISZ Secretary, who was not a University student but a paid employee.

(4b)

In 1945, Communism was an un-known ideology in our country, at least it was unknown by youth. The Communists achieved only relative success in teaching ~~it~~^{it} to the youth; we learned about its origins and principles from books and saw in real life that it consisted of lies and essential contradictions. Thus, they failed to achieve their aims with it or rather they achieved its opposite: getting youth to hate Communism. The Communists had to realise that their aim of ~~the~~ educating youth has failed. This was evidenced by ~~that~~ the fact ^{that} DISZ was a failure because the young ~~people~~ were completely passive towards it. There was only scattered attendance ~~at~~^{at} DISZ meetings and this only because attendance was compulsory. In the factories they got the young workers to attend ~~these~~^{DISZ} only by connecting the meetings with tea-afternoons or free supper.

(5)

My father was and is a smallholder; he owns 11 holds of land.

(5f)

This is a stupid question; we were better off than the poorer people and worse off than the richer. Actually, we were somewhat better off than the average in our village

(5g)

Seven. ~~They~~^{There} were 5 children, two girls and three boys and

- our two parents. I am the youngest in the family.
- (5h) My parents are still on their farm, one brother and one sister went to America after the Revolution and another brother and another sister are both married and live in our village with their families.
- (5i) In 1956 the following people lived on our farm: my parents, one of my brothers with his wife and one child, and one of my sisters.
- (5k) My social origin was to my advantage. The fact that there were five children in our family was also helpful, because it got me an increased university scholarship.
- (6) No.
- (11) We had the best possible relations with our parents. There was never any important break or disagreement between us. The relationship between ~~my~~^{my} brothers and sisters was also excellent.
- (12) Yes, I did discuss politics with my parents. In the village the older people were still, well, I would not exactly say conservative, but they were loyal to the old customs and traditions. For instance, many did not like movie-going. So, as a result, while ~~at~~^{at} the university I was considered a reactionary, at the same

time my parents thought that ~~the~~ Communist education had affected me somewhat. They felt this way because I accepted modern and new customs and trends and criticized some of the old ones. This extended to my views on ~~the~~ theater, movies, entertainment and dancing, as well as politics. However, both my parents and I agreed that the existing economic and political conditions in Hungary were unbearable. My parents were embittered and dissatisfied with the regime. Their letters revealed to me that the situation in agriculture was much worse than I ~~had~~^{had} thought it was in the city. In Budapest I heard of agricultural conditions only from the newspapers. But my parents wrote to me about the actual situation, which was far worse. I always saw the desperation in their letters and felt that they were constantly waiting^{for a possible}/turn for the better. This turn for the better was hopeless, but yet they were always waiting, expecting some help from the West.

- (13) I have never had any trouble with my parents over my education. They approved of my choice of profession.
- (13c) See question above.
- (13f) Generally the village was old fashioned, and in fact reactionary, regarding the choosing of a marriage partner. My parents agreed with this general village

view that in choosing a husband or wife, one should always consider the financial situation of the person. After 1945, but especially 1950, this outlook was completely rejected, especially by the younger generation. In 90 per cent of the cases one chose one's marriage partner independent of his or her material conditions. I believe that this is the correct way. My parents, of course, disagreed about this, saying that true love was not always enough for a happy family life.

(13d) I attended church regularly and practiced my religion, partly because of the strict religious education I had received at home. I never had any conflict with my parents about religion. My parents' letters undoubtedly were an important factor in keeping ~~me~~ religious in an environment where only about 20 per cent of the youth, or even a smaller percentage, was truly religious.

(14) The regime made no changes in our family life; it continued in the same channels. We were all quite grown up by the time the Communists came ~~in~~^{to} power; I was the smallest in the family, my sisters and brothers were older. Our family life was untouched by the regime, because the financial condition of the family did not depend so much on pressure from the regime, and at the same time the Communist education was ineffective, as far as we were concerned.

(14b) I think my family life was quite typical; the state could

affect a family's life chiefly where the head of the family was a government employee. Financially, such a family was dependent entirely on the state and there were often financial difficulties, since the state did not usually provide enough to enable the family to live decently. In such cases the mother had to go to work, and this lead to a neglect of the children. In such a case, the children were dependent on the school for their education. The parents could give them very little time, and as a result the ties between parents and children were loosened. In the school the education was based entirely on the Communist textbooks; the teachers had very little opportunity to influence family life, and to ^{the extent that they could do so,} ~~supplement what was missing~~ it had to be entirely according to Communist principles. ^{This sort of} ~~thing~~ thing was very frequent. ~~of this was very frequent.~~

In many cases a newly married couple did not want children in the first few years of marriage, because they both had to work, and because they could not afford children.

(14c) I had very little leisure time. While I was in gymnasium, I used to read books; of course only old books. . . newspapers, but only until 1948; until then, there was something in them to read. Later on, I just read the sports news in the newspapers. I went to the theater rarely because I did not have enough money but I attended the movies more often. I had a circle of 6 or 7 friends with whom I sometimes went on hikes. I also attended

- a great many sport events, and of course one ~~went~~ courting.
- (14g) I usually had very little free time, because of the very full university schedule. There were no other pressures, except for DISZ and I always refrained from doing any work for it.
- (15) I can think of examples of both cases, but generally in those families in which the children were already fairly grown up by 1945, and ~~if~~ the family had been quite close, and there was a spirit of comradeship, then the family ties became even stronger after 1945, due to the necessity of helping each other. Thus the understanding and comradeship between the family members increased. But in those cases where both parents had to go to work, and where the children were still small, there was very often ^a loosening of family ties, especially when, as was fairly frequent, the various members of the family were forced to work in different parts of the country. As a result the members of the family could meet only rarely and this naturally contributed to the loosening of family ties. The parents often did not have the time to rear their own children, and as a result conflicts and difficulties developed between parents and children. These conflicts and differences increased when the child later on, left the parental house to go to work. If the children continued their education, instead of becoming independent, and therefore needed

financial help from home, then the family ties were of course, more likely to be maintained.

(15d) This is equally typical of town and country, but it affected the life of the village more radically, because a large proportion of the men from the villages were forced to go to work in the city, mostly in factories, and therefore the greatest dislocations occurred in the families of country people.

(15e) Parental influence lessened in the last few years, and the children did not receive the suitable and necessary instruction in school. The education, the children did receive, or could have received was completely directed towards building the "new type of man" according to the Soviet pattern. The Communists were successful to the extent that they contributed to the disintegration of family life and loosened the ties between parents and children. But they were unsuccessful in forming the "new man". An evidence of this is the fact that young people did not participate in the regime's youth organisations and essentially showed resistance to them.

The regime's ideal, the "new man", this mythical being, is a creature without religion, and without family ties. He is a man who is constantly at the disposal of the regime and who follows the orders of the state in every way. The state can pull him on a string and direct his life. He must adore the regime, ^{in spite of the fact} ~~although he is~~ that

it is actually bad and does not provide him with a good living; he is supposed to consider all forms of government bad and think of the Communist state as the only good form of Government. He should be convinced, that although today he does not live the way he would like to, his children will enjoy the fruits of his labors and no matter how ridiculous the slogan sounds, he must believe that "the future belongs to youth." He must always test the efficacy of the regime by the promises of the future. This was the education students received in collegiums and student homes, where the regime tried to wipe out the individual as a thinking being, who wants to live according to his own ^{judgment} ~~^~~, and attempted to mould youth into an uniform pattern. This was naturally unsuccessful, and resulted in a feeling of disgust, which the young people felt for the regime and its educational system.

- (16) The Communists agreed, that there was no difference between men and women when it came to working or getting jobs. Thus a woman could ~~do~~ ^{do} the same work as a man and receive the same wages. The result of this situation was that there was no special deference shown to women even outside their places of work. Hence a woman was not regarded as a woman; the woman was no longer ~~the~~ ^{the} person in the family who was a safeguard of the family

bonds, who made a home for her children and for her husband, and who had the larger share of responsibility for the education of the children. A woman was regarded as a fellow worker and not as a parent, a mother, and a homemaker. Women no longer played their traditional role in ~~the~~ society, but received new duties. Women were also treated with less courtesy and less politeness than in the past.

(16b)

Marriage was not taken as seriously as in the past. Marriage was no longer considered a lifetime bond, but the young people felt that if it did not work out, they always could get a divorce. In the past a divorce ~~or~~ or illegitimacy was looked upon with contempt. Today, both in town and country, there is a more casual attitude ^{towards} ~~both~~ both. Divorce is no longer a tragedy. Of course, the village was more strict about these things than the town.

At college woman colleagues were respected but we did make a difference between them. If a girl was considered immoral our attitude was different towards her, and we would talk to her about everything as we would to a boy. This was not frequent, but it did occur. Where there were few women, as in the veterinarian college, they were more respected than in other schools. Some of the girls in college belonged to smaller circles

of friends; we sometimes went dancing together in a large group. If it was apparent that someone was courting a girl, the other boys would not ask her for a date. If anyone was courting a girl, they went together regularly to movies, theaters and dances. The girls were quite strictly brought up. If one took out a girl, who lived at home, one could not stay out very long, partly because the parents would not stand for it, and partly our own dormitories had strict regulations. The girls' dormitories were also very strict; the girls were not allowed to take boys up to their rooms. I only know of one girl who was allowed to stay out any time of the day or night. But this was a very rare case. I think at college, morals were no looser than in the past. The situation was probably much worse among the workers; today there are many young girls and boys who get away from home and go to work in factories. There is a very low moral standard among these. Even in our village the courtship customs were somewhat relaxed. Boys and girls were ~~able~~ able to get together more often than before. It ^{is} easier for them to get to know each other, and they keep later hours. This change came chiefly from the fact that the boys often went to work in other towns, they got away from home more often, to places where they lived a freer life and when they returned home, they insisted on continuing to live this way.

- (16e) Yes, there was a great deal of prostitution, especially in town. The fact that the houses of prostitution were illegal, contributed to this, because prostitution was forced out into the streets. Often financial difficulties lead women to this, and possibly loneliness and the fact that they were far away from their families.
- (16f) I think the Communists were more severe about sexual matters, and punished various cases involving immorality more severely than before. For example, if they discovered that someone in a factory or school was having an affair with a fellow worker or schoolmate, the were dismissed.
- (16h) In the village - ours was a very religious village - there were never any illegitimate children in the past. In the past few years there were two illegitimate children in the village. First there was a great deal of contempt for the people involved, but when it occurred again, people did not react quite as severely as before. In general people were more sympathetic towards such cases, both in town and country, because they understood that the disintegration of family life and financial difficulties sometimes lead to this. The regime itself, did not differentiate between illegitimate children and legitimate children and this was a correct attitude. However, the regime also punished illegitimacy to some extent, because

the man responsible for it, had to support his illegitimate child for 16 years. Thus the regime tried to prevent illegitimacy. The result was the prevalence of abortions in order not to ^{jeopardize} the mothers' future marriage and to avoid having to pay the child's support for 16 years.

- (161) Yes, women's status has changed; they now went to work together with the men. Women were not respected as they were in the past. Also in families, which did not belong to the intelligentsia the women lost their role as educators of their children. Since the intelligentsia was ~~paid~~ better, the women did not have to work necessarily. Women usually did not like to go to work. The fact that the wife had to work was often harmful to a marriage, because the husband and wife got home at the same time, but the wife still had to ~~do~~ ^{do} the cooking and the housework. Although she did this gladly since it belonged to a woman's sphere of work, she often ~~resented~~ ^{resented} the fact that she had to work harder.

- (17) The general state of morals is lower today than in the past. The chief cause of this ^{is} the lack of training and education, and especially the lack of religious ^a education. Women and men work together in offices and factories and got used to being with each other so that

they talked vulgarly to each other, without any reserve in their speech. In the factories and other places even women got used to cursing and using vulgar language. Although men disliked this, they eventually took it for granted and did not curb their language before women. At the university, men used to curse but not the women. The boys generally respected the girls more than at factories or offices.

In general the state of morals was lower than in the past although not necessarily in my own environment.

(18) My best and closest friends were my childhood playmates from my village, with whom I continued to be friends in gymnasium. There were four or five of us boys who were close friends, but only one of them was the sort of friend with whom one discussed everything: family affairs, love affairs, one's most intimate thoughts. After gymnasium he was recruited into a labor battalion, because he had three brothers abroad. When I got to Budapest and started to attend college, I made a whole new circle of friends. However, these friendships were never as close as those I made at home with the boys I had known since childhood. Although we understood each other well with these new friends, there were certain things I would not have discussed with them. There

was always a certain distance, which could not be bridged. I would not discuss my family ~~relationships~~^{affairs} with them for instance, or my own personal problems. All together, there were six of us in this group and I was especially friendly with one boy. My friend was also the son of a peasant and the others were the sons of a teacher, a worker, and a collective farm member. Politically we were completely in agreement. When we received packages from home, we always shared them with each other; this was not generally done among the other boys.

Question: Was there any barrier between students at the university because of different origin?

Answer: During my first year a boy, ~~son~~^{the} of a miner, used to make sarcastic comments about the students who were ^{of} peasant origin. There were many students at the university who were of peasant stock. But after a while he realized that he would not get anywhere with it and changed his opinion completely so that afterwards he used to stand up for the peasants. In general there was no feeling of discrimination against students on the basis of class origin; friendships depended on a similarity of interest and not on identical class origin.

(18c)

We attended theaters and movies, we went on walks, we took out girls on dates together, and we discussed politics. The single question, topic, of these political

discussions was "when will it be over?". We considered everything from this one point of view.

(18g) I value sincerity most in a friend. This is what I value most in a woman too.

(18i) See question above.

(18k) Yes, because by accepting this job he took a certain political stand and because he was free to refuse such a job and only accepted it of his own decision. I suppose I would not have disapproved of a friend accepting such a job, if it was the sort of position where they simply needed a man to fill a job, which did not require a strong political stand or attitude. But actually I would disapprove even of this, because it would be a sign of careerism and spinelessness.

(19a) My entire family is Roman Catholic.

(19b) I am also a Roman Catholic. I attended church regularly,

(20) whenever I was able to do so. The Communists prohibited religious instruction, in order to prevent young people from being imbued with religious principles. In the elementary school, religious instruction was first allowed, although not within the regular hours of instruction. First it was permitted to be held in the schools, and then in other places such as the churches. However, in the winter this was impossible, because the churches were too

could. The Communists held often various meetings, such as the meetings of the pioneers, at the same time as the religious instruction was held. Also they demanded the presence of both parents at registration for religious instruction. Very often parents were at work or one of them lived in a different town, which prevented them from fulfilling this order. At the same time, the parents were told the time of registration only a few days in advance and therefore were sometimes not able to be present. The registration time was very short: half a day in the village and two days in town to prevent people from registering in large numbers. Later, only one parent had to come and had to bring a written permission from the other. If the parents had government jobs, or were Party members, although not convinced Communists, they were afraid to send their children to religious instruction, because they felt they might lose their jobs.

The Catholic newspapers had financial and other difficulties. There were campaigns against the priests; they were slandered and arrested. The result of this was that as usual, what was forbidden became more attractive, and thus when the Catholic saw his religion suppressed he became more religious. But the Communists were also

successful with the masses and especially with ~~the~~ youth, because they ceased to consider religion as a necessity.

(20b)

Until 1951 they wanted to stamp out religion, but when they saw that this was impossible, they decided to make use of it for their own ends. That is why they thought ^{up} ~~the~~ the idea of peace priests. At first, the regime closed the churches, but later on, it changed its policies and proclaimed religious freedom in order to make use of the church for its own purposes.

(20c)

I did not know any peace priests personally. Generally, they were those priests who had no strong vocation, and were not truly believing and good priests. These were often forced to be peace priests through threats, ~~and~~ slander, and prison. Only a small percentage of the Hungarian priesthood became peace priests.

(20f)

They made no particular difficulties about attending church. Processions were not permitted, however, or they were only permitted near the church. I have heard of cases where the Party called in Party members and others in government jobs and asked them why they attended church. I know such a case: a mother of three children was called in and warned that it would be ~~at~~ ^{to} her disadvantage to continue going to church. She said, that she would continue to do so anyway. The Party official told her that if she insisted on doing so she should

at least not sit in the first row in order to be less conspicuous. This was a very reasonable Party official. Once the same Party official called in 50 people, including this woman for religious agitation. She refused to discuss the matter with him, or even to talk to this official. He told her "I disagree with you, but respect the fact that of 50 people you are the only one who dared to speak up." This woman was the widow of an engineer, a former factory stock holder, who was now the manager of a state shop.

(201)

Only religious people attended church every Sunday. One stratum went only on the more important holidays, or about once a month. The majority of youth did not attend church at all. Elementary and secondary school students often did attend church because their parents insisted on it, but when young people were away from their families, they stopped attending church. Only about 20 per cent of the college students attended church. However, even among these more young women went to church than men. The older people, in general went to church more regularly. There was no social class which now went to church more than any other, except in so far as such a difference existed in the past. In the village people were more religious and attended church more regularly than town people.

(20k)

Religion means less to youth today, but it means more to those young people who are religious, since they need their religion more today, in today's depraved world. Religion provides the needed spiritual strength. Thus, today a small percentage of youth is religious, their religion means more to them, than it did to their parents under normal conditions.

(20l)

The churches certainly had a role in fostering opposition to the regime. But it is difficult to say how and to what an extent. Till 1947 or '48 there was a Boy Scout association, which trained young people according to religious principles. The Boy Scouts gave young people a firm political attitude, which meant a great deal to them in their later life. The child or individual, who had been a Boy Scout, was constitutionally unable to participate in Communist organizations and disliked them. Thus the old type of education through religious training in the Boy Scout ~~movement~~^{movement} turned the young people against the regime. The example of Cardinal Mindszenty, of Grösz, and the bishops who were persecuted and imprisoned, also ~~instilled~~^{instilled} a spirit of resistance in people. Their example showed the people the importance of religion and the impossibility of compromise. By refusing to urge young people to go to DISZ meetings, the priests took a political stand, and at the same time they gave the people strength to resist the regime.

(20m)

See question 20 above. In the last year of gymnasium when religious instruction was voluntary, only 6 students of 120 asked to receive religious instruction. I was one of them. When I asked permission to get low priced school lunches, it was refused. I was told by my classroom teacher that the refusal was due to the fact that I ~~received~~ ^{attended} religious instruction. Eventually I gave up religious instruction, but only when it was officially forbidden.

(21)

I would suggest an occupation which ~~was~~ ^{is a} political insofar as this is possible. A person who wants to lead a normal family life should have a nonpolitical occupation. He should not have a managerial job, or be a mass leader, or have a leading position connected with ^{the} economy, because these jobs are political and their holders must do what the Party orders. Quite naturally the legal profession is also such a political one. He can be a physician or an engineer where he has the opportunity to produce without taking a political stand. He could also be a cabinet-maker or a tailor - a small artisan - not in a factory - these are good and peaceful occupations.

(21b)

1. Technical proficiency,
2. never to try to get ahead through political channels,
3. he should always take into consideration the good of the majority,
4. he should behave with character and ~~KNIS~~ respect others.

He should also, within limits, criticize what is wrong.

Question: But don't you think that he might get into trouble if he voices any criticism?

Answer: This is alright if he knows his job and is technically proficient. I am only talking about decent advancement and not about spineless advancement. If it were a question of getting ahead at any cost, then I would say that he should take a five month training course and follow the Party line. If he wanted only money and had no character, then he ~~can~~^{could} get ahead by giving up any of his own principles and just following the orders of the Party.

(22)

This following list begins with the groups which were best off and ends with those worst off:

1. Party leaders, ministers of state, the AVH.
2. College professors.
3. Factory directors and managers.
4. Skilled workers without family.
5. Miners.
6. Workers in general.
7. Collective farm members.
8. The intelligentsia.
9. White collar workers.
10. ~~poor~~ peasant peasants.

- (22a) I was as well off as the 6th group, although I was not a worker; I was on the same level with them because I was lucky enough to receive help from home. The financial status of university students was variable, depending on their home circumstances. It did not depend on their origin because if they were good students and had many brothers and sisters at home, they received more help from the state. Or, a technicum graduate of peasant origin, who was a university student, was in a better financial group than his own parents.
- (22b) I would have liked to belong to as prosperous ^a group as possible without having to stoop to dishonourable actions. Financial considerations are not the most important. If I ^{had} wanted nothing but money, then I could ^{1,2/5} become an AVH agent and earn 7000 forints a month within 3 years.
- (23) Intelligentsia, the workers, the peasants, and the political class, e.g. the regime.
- (23d) Since 1945 there has ^{been} only one barrier between the political class (the regime) and the rest of the people.
- (23e) There is greater material equality today since nobody has anything. There is also greater social equality than ~~MAVAKKAK~~ before ~~MINNE~~ the war.
- (Respondent appeared confused as to the definition ^{and meaning} of social equality and confused it with material and political equality.)

Although there is greater social equality today between the intelligentsia, workers, and peasants, there is greater inequality between the leading class and the masses. This inequality is greater than before the war. In the past there was greater equality between the leaders and the lead than today.

Question: Was there social equality between the leaders and the lead before the war?

Answer: Yes, there was greater equality between them in the past, because every^{body} received that to which he had rights. Also in the past the people's wages were more equal, though not entirely equal. Today there are greater differences in wages.

Question: What is your definition of social equality?

Answer: (After considerable thinking, respondent was unable to give a definition, but admitted that there was greater social inequality in the past than today.)

This statement is opposed to what I said before. I believe that in the past people were more equal financially and politically than today, but less equal socially.

(23g)

Yes, there have been changes. Manners are more spontaneous and direct, and there are not such big differences in behaviour towards various ranks and social classes.

But at the same time, one could not discuss politics as

spontaneously as in the past. In the Horthy regime, I could discuss politics without being afraid of anyone. But at the same time, one could not discuss politics as spontaneously as in the past. In the Horthy regime, I could discuss politics without being afraid of anyone. Today one does not have to use various addresses, such as your excellency, etc. towards the higher ranking people. ^{Today} One's manners ~~are~~ ^{are} more direct and spontaneous in the office than in the family circle. With the family one still used "I kiss your hand" to young, as well as older women, and such phrases as "my respect" to the father of a friend. We addressed professors as "mr." (Úr) and Őn. At the university there was only one who wanted to be called "comrade professor".

- (24) I do not believe that the minority suffered more under Communism. Originally our village was a Croat one, and there was official Croat language instruction in school. We never had any disadvantage because of our Croat origin. The regime allowed Croat language instruction, the singing of Croat folksongs and cultural competitions between various nationality groups. The regime is deliberately benevolent towards the nationalities, ^{in deliberate contrast to} ~~and~~ ^{the} different attitudes of the Horthy regime.

(24a)

No.

(25)

I never considered the question. Of course there were a large number of Jews in the AVH, especially among the leaders. The Jews have the ~~same~~^{useful} quality of always knowing which side their bread is buttered on. They always know what ^{be} will/materially advantageous to them and use any means to get ahead. There is no evidence that the regime had a special policy towards the Jews. The regime was not especially disadvantageous to the Jews - perhaps the opposite.

(25j)

I think there was less anti-Semitism than before the war.

Question: How do you explain this in view of the fact that such a large percentage of the AVO and Communist leaders were Jews:

Answer: I can't explain it, but the fact is, that there has been no anti-Semitism in Hungary since 1945. This is a delicate problem, since today there are those, who claim for political reasons, that the Revolution was anti-Semitic. The Revolution was not anti-Semitic; the Revolution was against the AVH and not against the Jews. I am upset about such tricks, which try to claim that it was anti-Semitic. Before the war there was just as much anti-Semitism in the West as in Hungary. I don't know, why they try to blame it all on Hungary.

Question: Why is there less anti-Semitism today than before the war?

Answer: Probably because the regime made no difference between Jews and non-Jews; none had political advantages. It is a fact, of course, that the Jews participated more in the regime, but in that case people opposed them as Communists and not as Jews.

- (25c) I had one Jewish acquaintance, a fellow student at the university. He was no different from any other students; he behaved quietly.
- (25h) A large percentage of the Jews in Hungary must be called to account, but not as Jews, but because they had leading positions in the Communist regime.

- (1) Yes, I have always been interested in politics and I am especially interested in politics today, since these are such times of decision, when the fate of Hungary depends on various political changes. And I am especially interested in Hungarian politics today, because I am separated from my homeland. Compared with other interests, politics took up relatively little of my time, because there was little possibility of being correctly informed. The papers were not reliable and it was almost impossible to get papers from abroad.
- (2) In 1945 or 1946, after the elections, which were won by the Communists, I did not see the situation as tragic, ^{since} I was not aware of the true nature of Communism. But this did not mean that I agreed with Communism. Until 1947 or '48, however, I felt that the country could go on this way. Then I discovered what Communism really meant and I turned my back on it. My attitude towards Communism has not changed since then. I did change my opinions about the West, however. I believed, after 1948, that a radical change in the life ^{of} the East-European countries would take place as a result of Western action. I thought that the regime in Hungary would not last ^{more} than a few years. Until 1952/53 I believed that Western policies would change things in

Hungary. The Western radio stations made us think, in 1952 and 1953, that the West would establish an army and attack the Soviet Union. But, when I saw that the West had no intention of doing this, I still hoped for the regime's collapse, but I had no idea how this would happen.

(2a) I never was definitely behind any party, but ^{was} a sympathizer of ~~the~~ the Christian Democratic Party, because its principles are based on religion, and if these principles are followed, they can't commit any extreme mistakes.

(2e) 1. Family traditions: the whole family was against Communism. 2. Seeing the difference between what the Communist Party proclaimed and the reality.

(2f) II

(2g) The terror was so great that to resist it in small groups was impossible. The regime could deport and arrest 10,000 people or more, if it wanted to. To obey meant silent opposition; there was nothing else people could do. This is a stupid question. People did not really obey. Where they could, and as far as they were able to, they did exactly the opposite ^{of} what the regime commanded. For instance, they resisted entering collective farms, etc.

(3) The main grievance was the degree of oppression, the

fact that one could not express one's opinion freely. At the same/^{time}the regime's newspapers were full of lies and they pretended that everyone agreed with them. The worst thing was the lack of opportunity to express one's opinions freely.

(3a) IV, IX, XIII.

(3b) III, I, and XV.

(3c) I, III, IV, VI, IX, X, XIII and XV.

(3d) XIV, I, II, V, (so some extent), VI, X.

(3e) ALL.

(3f) There were no such things.

(4) The Soviet Union was the real power in Hungary. The Hungarian Party and the Hungarian leaders were only Soviet puppets, whose job it was to execute the Soviet orders in Hungary through the AVH.

(4f) Yes, there was a tremendously big bureaucracy; if one wanted to get anything done, one had to go to a great number of officials. There were a great many supervisory organs; each state or government activity was supervised by 5 or 6 offices or agencies. For instance, a state farm had to fill out three monthly reports on milk production, and one report at the end of the month. The partial cause of this enormous bureaucratic apparatus was, that the producers were told in advance, how much

should be produced of everything and then the results were compared with the plan. Actually, today, when I see the amount of bureaucracy in Germany, I am beginning to think that the Hungarian bureaucracy wasn't so terrible after all. There is a fantastic amount of paperwork here.

(4h) Party members and those who were in agreement with the regime. ^{non-political!} A few technicians and experts, only those who were absolutely needed by the regime.

(5) I can't say that DISZ had any advantages, except ^{that} through it we got to know the aims and teachings of Communism and its impotence. It showed to us that Communism was not even able to get people interested enough in its teachings and slogans to make them attend meetings. DISZ did not give youth anything, either culturally or scholastically. They did not enable youth to travel or to get to know the country. It did not even help people to get ahead; only those who were DISZ leaders were given such an opportunity. Accepting a leading position in DISZ had no material advantages, but it gave the students a good point on their kader cards and helped them get better jobs, or to get them admitted to universities.

(5d) Yes.

- (5e) I became a member in 1947 or 1948, when it was established. Since the student association was continued as DISZ, membership was transferred automatically. For two years, I was not a member, because I was not willing to pay for the membership stamp which cost one forint monthly. I did not actually refuse to be a member but I said I lost my book. This was from 1953-55. I had no trouble or disadvantage because of this. Then I became a member again and they accepted me because I was doing well in my studies.
- (5f) I had no position in DISZ.
- (6) The members of the Party consisted of convinced Communists and those opportunists who joined the Party for advantages. Party membership meant, that a person was disliked and despised by the people. The majority of the Party members did not gain a great deal by being Party members, there were a great many passive Party members who joined for advantages only; they only received ^{this} ~~an~~ advantage if they belonged to the highest echelons of the Party.
- (6f) Those Party members who were convinced Party members in 1946, and later realized the true meaning of Communism, the fact that people hated it, went through a tremendous internal struggle. It troubled them a great deal that they were members of the Party in spite of the fact that they disagreed with it. They were of course, unable to leave the Party voluntarily.

I knew several such disillusioned Communists. In Vas county I knew an old worker, who had been a Party member since after World War I. When he saw what the Communists were doing to Hungary, and the way they treated people, he threatened the council president, the Party secretary, and the manager of the cooperative store with a gun. He tried to shoot them but did not succeed. He went out of his mind, and was hanged. The newspapers said that he had been an old army officer.

(6d)

I know a Communist, a man of peasant origin, who had three years of secondary school, and attended a Party school. He became a Party secretary, a hotel manager, and the president of a town council; all this was in the country of Vas. He was not stupid, but in my opinion he had too little intelligence for the jobs he has held. It shows how advantageous Party membership can be for a Communist; it can be a springboard to success. He is a convinced Communist, but one can discuss anything with him, even criticize the regime on a friendly basis.

Question: Why is he a Communist?

Answer: He was an unskilled worker in 1945, and later on he got a better job. In 1948 or '49 he was fired for unknown reasons. Later he somehow got to the provinces, and lived very badly. He stood before a choice and decided to become a Party member. He made a quick career.

His wife, who was very religious, urged him to stop what he was doing and he tried to convince her that Communism was the answer to Hungary's problems. His wife became estranged from him but did not want to divorce him, because she was an extremely religious Roman Catholic. But he divorced her, chiefly because of political reasons. He disappeared during the Revolution, but after the Revolution he was made president of the local village council.

(6h) No.

(6r) The Soviet Union gave instructions to the Hungarian Party Central Committee, which transmitted it to the lower levels. There was no opportunity for initiative among the Party leaders. They had to do what they were told. There was a conflict within the Party about this; a segment of the Party criticized the policy of industrialization, forced agricultural collectivization, etc. Some of the Party leaders like Imre Nagy, were more independent and tried to adjust the Party's policies to Hungarian conditions. Some of the Party leaders followed Tito.

Question: Who for instance?

Answer:)Respondent had to think for a few minutes) For instance Rajk, who was a follower of National Communism. That is why the Hungarian party was opposed to him.

The death of Rajk resulted in conflict between Yugoslavia and Hungary. ^(Oct., 1956) (The atmosphere at the funeral of Rajk was extremely tense. There was only a little spark needed to cause an explosion in the crowd. People attended in thousands, because they felt that the execution of Rajk was a mistake of the regime and they saw this as a ~~proof~~ ^{proof} of the regime's criminality.)

The most important Party leaders are or were: Rakosi, Gerö, Marosán, Imre Nagy, Szakasits, and Rajk.

(7) No.

(7g) People felt that these mass organizations were completely bad and ineffectual. They considered them organizations, whose aim was to reeducate ^{on} ~~the~~ the Soviet pattern. People kept their children away from them, if they could.

(7l) The mass organizations were completely ineffectual and impotent. Their aim was completely political, there was no organizational life, and usually only ^a small percentage of the members participated. One of the disgusting things about these organizations was that they organized mass processions on May 1st and other Communist holidays.

(7m) I don't know how workers felt about the Trade Unions, since I have never been a worker. The aims of the Trade Unions were political and they were not organizations protecting the worker's interest. The workers could not achieve ^{anything} through them. The Trade Unions were toys of the

Party without independent aims.

(8) 3 per cent.

(9) DISZ was never a stalwart Communist organization. This was only a claim of the Communist press. DISZ was a thoroughly unimportant organization. Also it was ^{not} DISZ which was transformed into a center of opposition. It was the youth and the workers who were the centers of resistance and if DISZ became a center of resistance, this was only because all the students and young workers were necessarily members of DISZ! Thus it was not the organization, but its members which resisted Communism.

(10) The AVH was established to maintain the Communists in power through terror, since the regime knew that it could not maintain itself in power without force. The task of the AVH was to organize informers among the people, in the factories and towns, in schools or small shops, and even among the smallest groups. These informers were well paid and told the AVH who were the greatest opponents of the regime in that particular place and who were those who were against the regime.

(10ef) The AVH recruited people who were either not clear about the aims of Communism, or else people who wanted to

get a job in which they did not have to work very hard and could make money easily. Most of them were not convinced Communists. They were chiefly from the worst worker and peasant circles and not from among the intelligentsia. As a result they were ~~not~~ very well educated or cultivated. They were used to commit brutalities and were very good at these tasks. They were given a free hand in the country, regarding detection, interrogation, and used the most brutal methods to get results. Their number was high and therefore their maintenance costs were considerable. The leading stratum of the AVH came from people who had already been Communist Party members in 1918 and often spent many years in the Soviet Union. They were trained in the Soviet Union before 1945. A small percentage of the AVH was recruited from the intelligentsia. Chiefly from that part of the intelligentsia which was incapable in succeeding otherwise, or among those who simply did not like to work. They started out as informers, and then got higher AVH positions. A large percentage ^{consisted} ~~was~~ of Jews. Those AVH leaders, who lived in the Soviet Union for a long time and were often Soviet Citizens, were generally Jews. This stratum, i.e. the Jews, had very good connections among their co-religionists, and helped each other. This is how the Jews got such a leading role in the regime.

Part of the AVH was recruited through the regular military

draft; the recruits were then checked politically. The AVH often exploited the weakness of people; for instance they often exempted prisoners from serving the rest of their sentences, if they agreed to become AVH informers. First, these people were informers, and later they became members of the AVH either as detectives, or as part of the uniformed service. They attempted to force a friend of mine to become an AVH informer; he was a sales clerk in a cooperative village store. This is a very desirable place for the AVH, because many people go to the store and talk a great deal there. The AVH kept going to him and he simply could not get away. To escape them, he tried to escape to Austria but was arrested. He was interrogated by the same AVH agent, who had been trying to make him an informer. The agent told him that he would not be punished for his escape attempt, if he went home and finally became an informer. My friend still refused and received 2 years forced labor first in a mine, and then at a building construction. He was a young man of peasant origin with 3 years of secondary school; he was fairly well educated according to village standards, he was very popular with people, which is probably why the AVH thought that he would be a desirable informer.

(10j) Officially the AVH and the police worked together, but in practice it did not look as ^{if} the police were supporting

the AVH's work and aims. The police handled chiefly economic problems and kept out of political affairs, which ^{it} left ~~to~~ to the AVH. Their spheres of action were different.

(10k) The highest stratum of the Party, the Central Committee, was obviously a bigger power than the AVH. But in the lowest Party organs, Centers, the AVH was superior. The Party supported the actions of the AVH and made efforts to prove that a person, who was arrested by the AVH, had been a reactionary for a long time. The Party also prepared and trained the future AVH members at Party training schools. The AVH used those new Party members, who appeared suitable for its purposes.

(11) A friend of mine, a minor, was arrested for helping people cross the border, and was sent to reform school for two years. That he received two years in spite of his youth, was because he worked in a seminary for priests and studied privately instead of going to public school. I also had a close relative, a priest, who was arrested for helping people cross the border. He was imprisoned in Hungary for one year and in the Soviet Union for 6 years. He was arrested ^{with a trick.} He was told he had received a package from America and when he went to the Post Office to receive his package, he was arrested. This package saved his life, because he was able to take some chocolate out

it, which he had hidden on him. He was kept in a cell for many days without any food or drink and this chocolate kept him alive.

(11d) Those people ~~who~~ got arrested, who publicly ~~showed~~ - well, not exactly publicly, but at any rate in some fashion - showed their opposition to the regime, so that other people knew about it too. Others, who were arrested were kulaks, or people who knew a priest well, or man-smugglers, (on the border where I lived), or people who had larger shops, or important government positions before 1945, or else, people who had relatives abroad. Such people, even if they were not arrested, were not drafted into the army, but were sent to a forced labor battalion. Those, who refused to be AVH informers were also arrested; they were considered reactionary and hostile elements, because they did not want to work for the regime.

(11eg) I heard a great deal about prisons and forced labor camps from people who had been there, but I never saw one personally. Someone I know, a man-smuggler, was arrested and they tried to get him to confess. He was placed in a room besides a hot stove over a wash basin, he had to bend over it and stay there until he sweated two or three liters. Another thing he had to do was to place both hands on the ground and walk around on ^{all} fours for hours until he fainted. This was done often; some could manage to walk around ~~1~~ 150 to 200 times before they fainted. There were some cells

which were so tiny, that a person could not sit or lie down; one could only stand in it. Then I heard that people were made to stand by a wall and had to lean against a sharp pencil placed between the wall and their heads. One man was woken at 4 AM and told that he would be hanged that day. He was taken out to the yard and told that it was a mistake, he would not be hanged until tomorrow. This was done day after day. Some people went insane under such treatment. This was done to a university student, I met in Gras. He was 26 years old, but was a nervous wreck as a result.

- (13) That would depend on the person's job. If he were a worker or peasant, I would tell him not to participate in political meetings. He should behave passively, not by showing a lack of interest, but simply ~~WIX~~ by not going without saying a word to anyone. For a while they would come and urge him to attend the meetings and at such times he should not appear offended. He should merely be passive. After a while they will leave him alone. This is what he should not do: He should not try to work with them up to a point and not beyond that. If he works with them at all, then he has to go further and further if he wants to avoid arrest. If he is not a ~~Communist~~ Communist, he should not pretend to like the Regime, because he will come in conflict with himself. At his place of work he should accept a higher

or better position only if he feels he deserves it and if he has the knowledge to handle it. He should not accept a better position if he is not equipped to handle it, because this is the first step towards being used by them; then he will have to serve them in order maintain his higher position.

- (13c) It is good to have acquaintances in important positions in the Communist party or in the government, especially if one had had some sort of higher position in the Horthy regime. The regime was willing to overlook this if one of its people could guarantee such a person. Personal connections were useful in getting admitted to a school or university and in getting ahead generally. There was a big "pull" system in Hungary. It is not true, as they claim, that they got rid of "pull".
- (13d) Yes.
- (13f) Yes.
- (14) Yes. The first ^{year} from 1948 to 1952 was the most brutal. The terror was relaxed afterwards. By then the most dangerous enemies of the regime had been liquidated. As a result brutality was not so necessary any longer. The very fact that everybody knew what would happen to him if he did anything against the regime, helped to keep people intimidated.

- (15) The Soviet Union had a leading role in everything in Hungary. This extended even to the newspapers: if the Soviet Union ordered the Hungarian newspapers to write about this or that, the papers wrote about it. The Soviet Union supervised the entire economic and political life of the country.
- (15e) Their influence was strongest in the political life of the country and after that in the economic life, because Hungary had to produce what the Soviet Union ordered, and to sell the required amount to the Soviet Union, at a price set by the Soviet Union. I don't know in which area the Soviet influence was weakest, since it extended everywhere. Perhaps, however, it was weakest in the field of sports.
- (16) Passivity was the biggest weapon for the expression of anti-regime sentiments. For instance, very few people attended Russian movies and people avoided political meetings.
- (16c) One could be frank with one's closest friends and the members of one's family. With others one was more reserved, because it was always difficult to know with whom one was dealing. An ordinary worker in a factory was sometimes an informer. Agents ^{provocateurs} went disguised as prisoners to mines and forced labor camps to get information from the prisoners.

- (16d) One could talk freely about sports and scholastic matters, which were not political, but nothing else. One could talk freely about anything, which was not political, but politics pervaded everything.
- (17a) When I was attending gymnasium, my parents were called to school by one of my teachers, who had heard that I was visiting the seminary for priests and asked my ^{mother} ~~father~~ why I was doing so. She told the teacher quite truthfully that I was visiting a friend who worked at the seminary. The teacher told my mother that my friend gave a different reason for my visits to the seminary. My mother, however, stuck to her previous statement and the teacher changed the subject. Luckily this had no consequences. My class room teacher saw to it that this teacher did not write anything on the recommendation sheet, which was necessary to get admitted to the university. If the teacher had been given the sheet for his recommendation, I would ^{not have} ~~have~~ been admitted. I know of cases, where students, who had received poor recommendations, ~~had~~ were not admitted ^{to} the university. This teacher had been an Arrow-Crossist before 1945, and now he was a Communist Party member and a sneak.
- (17b) A peasant cannot fail to deliver all that he is supposed to, however, everyone in the village managed to deliver produce of the worst possible quality. They mixed water

with the milk to be delivered, or else, they removed the cream from it. A peasant who owned 4 pigs, would report that he owned only two. If he slaughtered 2 pigs, he reported that he slaughtered 1, so that he had to pay delivery ~~of~~ ^{on} one pig only. The peasants in the village managed to ~~save~~ ^{thresh} their grain by hand before the harvest because then the delivery collector could not supervise the amount harvested. One could even cheat at the thrashing machine by removing the crop from the machine without weighing it. Until 1954 there was always a supervisor at the thrashing machine to see that this sort of thing was not done, but the supervisor was often on the side of the peasant. In the forest, there were rules regarding the thickness of wood which was ^{to} be cut; the peasants usually took the thicker trees for themselves and delivered the thinner ones.

(17f)

Other examples of circumvention of official orders:

In school: In the Piarist Gymnasium, which I attended, the teacher often avoided assigning the entire book, which had been prescribed. Or else, he did not teach the prescribed book at all, but dictated his own material. In this school, the make-up of the students was such, that this was quite a safe action. This could be done more passively too; the teacher could assign the book, but never demand recitation from it. DISZ was supposed to have one or two meetings every month. The meetings were

not held but headquarters received a report about the fictitious meeting, with a list of participants.

A state enterprise undertook to deliver 150 quintals of artificial fertilizer to a state farm. Those who loaded the wagons put in only 80 or 100 quintals but got paid for the 150 ordered. Those who delivered the fertilizer to the fields agreed to go along with it, because they got paid after the amount worked, and therefore they got paid more than they actually spread on the fields. There was no actual plot between the people involved. There was just an agreement to go along with this, because both sides ~~of this bargain~~ gained.

The forest workers were members of OTI (health insurance organization). When they had to go to town to do some shopping, they also went to the doctor and asked for a certificate to the dentist. On the strength of this certificate their travel expenses were paid.

- (18) The regime's strength was the political supervision and terror. The rest was all weakness.
- (19) The strongest opposition was passivity. It was expressed by showing a neutral attitude towards everything done by the regime. People did not attend political meetings and when they had to make voluntary offers for the peace loan

they offered as little as possible, just enough to satisfy them and no more. If a person was forced to go out and do political work in the village, for instance, trying to get the peasants to enter the collective farm, he visited the family assigned to him, chatted with them for a while and at the end he simply stated why he came. He avoided all agitation or putting pressure on people. Open resistance was not possible. The villagers resisted the visit of political propagandists or agitators the following way: When they heard that the propagandist was coming, the man went to the stable to chat or to work, leaving the wife at home. When the agitator came, the wife said that she could not decide anything without her husband.

I did hear of some active and open acts of resistance at meetings and at factories. I heard about the Geipel affair of 1954 from nonofficial sources. At a meeting the workers revolted against a raising of their norms and left the meeting. They said that they were exploited, that their norms were being raised all the time without a corresponding raise in wages, that they were being cheated. Many of the workers were arrested.

Some other forms of resistance in the village were refusal to attend the May 1st procession. During the harvest Sunday-threshing was made compulsory. In my own village,

not a single person obeyed this decree. They talked it ^{and agreed} over ^{so} that nobody would obey the decree, ^{so} that no single person could be blamed. The police came, but nobody was hurt. People simply said "I want to work, but after all I can't do it without the others."

- (19b) In the village the middle peasants were the most hostile to the regime, not the kulaks, because they were ruined and therefore incapable ^{of} ~~any~~ any opposition. The workers were also extremely hostile to the regime.
- (19c) Chiefly the Party leaders.
- (19f) I know of ^{only} one opposition group. There was a group in 1947 at the college of physical training in Budapest. It was a political opposition group against the regime. At least 30 students were expelled when it was discovered.
- (191) The emergence of the Petöfi Circle was due to 1.) the freer relaxed atmosphere, which followed the death of Stalin, 2.) the regime allowed it to be established because it did not know the consequences. By the time NEFESZ was established, events had accelerated. Everyone felt that something would happen. Youth needed an organization which would represent it, and since ^{Disz} ~~these~~ included young workers, as well as university students, and secondary students, the university students felt that no single organization could represent the interests of all three groups. The university students always had the aspiration

to separate themselves from the rest. They wanted a separate organization, because one of their demands was university autonomy, which necessarily separated them from the workers and secondary school students. Also, DISZ represented the interests of the Party and not of youth.

- (1) I got most of my information about world events from newspapers and from Western radio stations. The newspapers were good only to inform one that something had happened. They never told the truth about the event.
- (1a) Western radios.
- (2) Yes.
- (2a) I read Szabad Ifjúság chiefly because at the university they wanted us to buy it. Three or four of us subscribed to one issue. I did not read too many of the other papers, except Szabad Nép at the dormitory, which subscribed to it. I read the following regularly: Sports (Sport) and Képes Sport, as well as Színház-Mozi, (theater-movies)
- (2g) No.
- (3) I went to the movies once a week.
- (3b) I preferred chiefly those movies, which had very little politics in them. I saw all the Hungarian movies.
- (3c) I saw very few Soviet movies, although they were the largest in number. I saw all the French and Italian movies, which were performed in Hungary.
- (3e) Yes, I went to the theater, chiefly to the National Theater, about once or twice a week. I had a subscription to the City Theater (Városi Színház) but I did not go very often because I don't like opera and because the

performances were bad. At the National Theater I saw Othello, Bánk Bán, Uborkafa. I also saw some operettas, including the Czardas Queen and others.

- (4) I had very little time for reading, while I was attending the university. I read chiefly romantic lovestories and cowboy books, whatever I could get from friends. These books were not available in stores, but were circulated constantly among friends. While I was in gymnasium I read books by Jókai, Móricz, and books by Russian authors, which were compulsory. Some of these books by Russian authors were Gorki's "The Mother", which was full of politics. I also read Tolstoi's "War and Peace" and did not think much of it. I don't think it is a great work, although the style is very good. I did not like to read books by Russian authors, because they were compulsory and they were generally political works. I did not like Soviet literature at all. Interviewer: But Tolstoi is not Soviet literature. Answer: Well, no, but he is Russian. We used to call all Russian literature Soviet literature.
- (4e) Jókai, and Móricz. I like Jókai because he has a great deal of imagination and I like Móricz because ~~HEXIE~~ his way of thinking is genuinely the thinking of the village and because he represents the interests of the masses.

- (5) Yes. I listened mostly to sports programs and to music, and not to politics. Sometimes I listened to a short newsbroadcast. I also liked to listen to a daily program, which consisted of messages to relatives and friends with musical accompaniment. I liked this, because they usually played the most popular songs, since it was a request program. I also listened to the dance music, late on Saturday night.
- (6) We listened to RFE a great deal, both at home and in Budapest, although somewhat less in Budapest than at home. We listened chiefly to the news on the hour, and those programs which discussed the standard of living in the West and compared it to the people's Democracies. In the village, we also listened and liked "Farmer Balint," because it discussed peasant problems, in an interesting and amusing way. He ~~discussed~~^{talked about} how to hoodwink the regime, and what to say to the Party secretary. He was able to say what we would have liked to tell the Party secretary at home. He said it for us. His language was that of the village; a real peasant mentality: simple, short, to the point. The news was very monotonous and repeated the same items all day. Very often RFE was guilty of inciting the people; it seem^{ed} to say: "just do something, and we'll help". The Black Voice program was guilty of this.

During the Revolution ~~the~~ RFE said "wait three more days"; we understood this as a promise of armed help. I heard this on November 5th, with my own ears.

I listened to BBC, when I had time.

- (6d) BBC was most reliable; it never said "do something, and we will help". BBC had a short broadcast, and therefore did not have to say something all day.

- (7) Sometimes, when I was unable to listen to one of the Western stations, I ~~was told about their~~ ^{was told about their} news broadcasts ~~by~~ ^{by} friends. I also used to find out about less important events, which were discussed at Party political meetings, from friends, who heard it from friends who were present. An example of the ~~functioning~~ ^{functioning} of the ~~grapevine~~ ^{grapevine} in Hungary was the 1955 European ~~Basketball~~ ^{Basketball} Champion match, which was held in Budapest. I was present and saw the Russian players whistled at by the audience. Many people were arrested. News of this event spread all over the country, as though it had been announced over the radio.

- (8) Only the news about sports events were reliable. Otherwise, I did not believe what I read in the paper, unless I had seen it with my own eyes and knew it was true.

- (8d) One could often ~~KNOW~~ see that exactly the opposite was

true from what the papers wrote. For instance, the papers said that the people were gladly contributing to the peace-loan; at the same time I saw in the village that there were fights to try to get the people to contribute and the educator had to beg two hours to get an offer of 100 forints. Then, the regime wrote about the successes of the state farms, but at the same time, in 1955, one of my professors received a letter from a friend, who was the manager of a state farm, ^{stating} ~~and stated~~ that of 26 state farms, 22 had had a deficit that year.

- (8e) BBC. The newspapers were not considered reliable, except Hétfői Hírlap, which appeared before the Revolution. People were willing to pay 5 forints for it, instead of the regular price of one. In the village people gave 2 liters of wine for Hétfői Hírlap. They did not believe any other newspapers.
- (8f) Yes, I read Irodalmi Ujság, but not very often! I found those poems and short stories interesting, which in discussing the past, ~~they~~ were actually criticizing present conditions.. Irodalmi Ujság was not read in the village; its style was not understood by the village population. In the village they read Szabad Nép and Szabad Föld.
- (8g) Yes, I did occasionally read it. I thought it was full of lies.
- (8h) Yes, I read Hétfői Hírlap and knew it was telling the truth. It talked about everything: agriculture, industry, etc..

It chiefly discussed mistakes, which should be corrected. I saw that it told the truth.

- (9) Yes, people did make an attempt to be well informed; the only opportunity they had was to listen to various foreign radio stations and compare them, or, if one heard a news item~~s~~ over the Hungarian radio to check up on it by listening to the version broadcast by the foreign stations.
- (10a) The atom bomb was dropped on Japan in June 1945 and forced Japan to capitulate. I know that the atom^b bomb killed about 100 to 150,000 people. It had a tremendous moral impact, which achieved the capitulation of Japan (respondent would not express any further opinion).
- (10b) The Soviet Union started the Korean War - at home they said the opposite.
- (10c) The papers at home said that the Americans started ~~the~~ germ war^{fare} in Korea and that many people fell victim~~s~~ to it. At the same time, the foreign radio~~s~~ said, that this was only a propaganda ruse against America. I believed the latter, because I simply could not believe that America would do such a thing and because I felt that America had a sufficient number of men and arms to win the war without resorting to germ warfare. At the same time I did not understand why it took America so long and why

it ended where it began. I could not understand what America had in mind in prolonging it ^{to} such an extent, because I figured from the early quick advance of American troops, that they could occupy all of Korea in one or two months. I thought that they were prolonging the war, in order that it might destroy as many people as possible and to show in a later victory how strong they were, ^{to serve} as a deterrent to future aggression.

(10d) I knew about it only from the Hungarian newspapers and the domestic radio, which discussed it a great deal. At home we thought that Germany ^{had} an army of 400,000, equipped in the most modern fashion. We thought that in Germany every village was full of soldiers, armed to the hilt, and that there was a tank on every corner. We were disappointed when we came to Germany and realized that this was not so. It was then that we discovered how much the Soviet Union was afraid of the Germany army. In Hungary they told us that Hitler's military leaders were organizing the West German army.

(10e) We got many Free Europe balloons in the village and we heard about them from the Hungarian press and RFE. Some people collected the leaflets from the balloons. Their purpose was propagandistic and their tone the same as RFE's. Often there were some very interesting facts in them, but most of the time they were very empty.

- (10f) The Berlin riots were unexpected and depressing. As far as the West was concerned, it behaved the same way as during the Hungarian Revolution. ~~It seemed almost inevitable that the riots would be a continuation of the~~ The Hungarian papers said little about ~~them~~ ^{the riots,} and we heard about it chiefly from the Western radios. Everyone was very much surprised that they received no help from the West and especially from Germany.
- (10g) My own opinion was, that the West had had enough opportunity to prove to itself that one can't negotiate with the Soviet Union. Almost everyone believed that the Geneva Conference would have no results, even though the four big powers were involved. At home we received distorted news about the summit meeting; the Hungarian newspapers said that Soviet Union had the initiative in everything and that it was the West's ~~mistake~~ ^{fault} that the meeting was unsuccessful. The Western radio stations said the opposite and strengthened my previous beliefs ~~to~~ that the Soviet Union was not even trying to come to an agreement. It merely wanted to force the West to accept the Soviet stand in everything. I found it shocking that America sat down to negotiate with the Soviet Union and ~~tried~~ ^{tried} to prove to the Soviet Union the correctness of the Western stand. I felt that this was unnecessary and humiliating to the West. In general people expected the summit meeting to fail.

(10h) I knew almost nothing about emigre activities abroad. I knew that there was some sort of emigre organization in New York under Ferenc Nagy, and I knew only its name: the National Council. I heard about this from the Western Radios especially through RFE. Friends, who had letters from the West, told me that there were many small organizations among Hungarian exiles, which were divided among themselves and were unable to unite. I knew no further details.

(1) I would change the entire political system, that is the People's Democracy, a state with a Communist leadership, which receive its orders from the Soviet Union. I would dissolve all the political organs, as well as the AVO, which is the terror organization, upholding the regime. I would reorganize the police, that is I would check the post-1945 activities of the members of the police and would dismiss them if they ^{had helped} ~~supported~~ the Communist regime. I would completely change the foreign policy of Hungary and would establish relations with every country on the basis of complete equality, regardless of its political nature.

Economically I think that heavy industry, the mines and factories, should be nationalized, that is, they should be kept in the hands of the state. However, private property should be acknowledged too, up to a certain size. In agriculture private property should be maintained, but there should be no estates of 2000 holds; these should be kept in the hands of the people and not the collective farms. Collective farms should be dissolved.

Citizens should be allowed to travel freely. Hungary's economic treaties should be re-examined and revised to benefit Hungary's interests; I mean the agreements regarding uranium and agricultural products. ~~The~~ School instruction should be reorganized completely, to eliminate ~~political~~ political indoctrination. The church should be allowed to

maintain schools again and the universities should have complete autonomy. Everyone should be allowed to study, regardless of his origin, or of the economic or political status of his parents.

- (2) Yes, every political tendency should be given the opportunity to express itself freely within the framework of a party and insofar as it has no right to exist, it should be forbidden.

Question: Who is to decide whether a political party has a right to exist?

Answer: the government, the congress. What I mean is, that if a political party fails in the elections, it should be discontinued. The Communist Party should be discontinued since, in the last 10 or 15 years, it has proved its incapacity to function.

- (3) Yes, of course, everyone should have the right to speak freely; only this way can one develop a healthy atmosphere and thus decide where the mistakes are and where to correct them.

(3c) No.

- (3d) Yes, if the interests of the state are identical with the interests of the people; i.e. if state means the entire people and not just a ruling class or a clique, or the Communist leaders.

- (4) Yes. It is healthy if people have the political freedom to call and attend meetings. But the Party which is banned should not be allowed to hold meetings.

Question: How do you decide which Party should be banned?

What percentage of votes would a Party have to get in order to keep its right to exist?

Answer: If a Party does not get a large enough percentage to elect any representatives to parliament, then it should be discontinued, however, only after it has ^{demonstrated} ~~proved~~ in two or three elections that it cannot achieve the needed percentage. New parties should be formed at will. There should be no limitations on them.

- (4b) This depends on the motivation of the group, which wishes to overthrow the government. The first condition is, that the majority of the people should support it, not just a few thousand people. But I think it is unlikely that there should be an armed uprising in the state, which has freedom of speech. An uprising in such a state would be possible but senseless.

- (5) See question 1. Agriculture should be entirely in private hands, although there should not be large estates. The peasants should be free to produce what they want to; they should be given machinery, tools, and financial aid to help them out. They should receive all the support they need

from the state. This is especially important in Hungary, since Hungary is still an agricultural country and with its small population, it can only prevail against industrial countries like Germany, if it develops its agriculture. After 1945, Hungarian agricultural products were very popular abroad. Hungarian agriculture should be restored to its high pre-1948 standards. The country could get foreign currency by exporting wine. Trying to create a heavy industry in Hungary is absurd, because the country can't compete with the large European countries. The tourist trade should also be developed again, in order to bring foreign currency to the country. Hungary should stop producing those products, both in industry and agriculture, which can be produced more cheaply abroad. In agriculture I mean such things as rice, lemons, and tropical fruits. Why does Hungary have to produce a motor-bicycle, which is sold for 14,000 forints, when I can get a car in Germany for 18,000 forints?

(6) Yes. See question 1.

(Eb) The bigger factories should not be returned to their former owners, although it is difficult to say what the limits should be. I can't decide myself. But on the whole, I would say that factories working with more than 15 or 20 workers should not be restored to their owners. In Transdanubia, 70 per cent of the leather factories used to belong

to one man; these should not be returned.

(6c) I approve of private profit.

(6e) No. Whether a country should or should not have state monopolies, is to be decided by the legislature, which would approve it only, if it were useful to the country's economy. I would approve ~~it~~ a state monopoly, voted by the legislature, if it were to the advantage of the country and ~~of~~^{of} the majority of the people. If not, then I would disapprove of it. The chief consideration is, that it should be advantageous to the state. For instance, if the Hungarian tobacco industry produces at a higher cost than foreign countries, and is unable to sell its products abroad, then state monopolies should be established and the importation of foreign tobaccos forbidden, in order to assure^a domestic market for the domestic product. The same is true of grain; Canada can sell grain more cheaply than we can; if we don't establish some sort of state controls, then our own grain will go to waste.

Question: Are you suggesting the establishment of a government trading monopoly?

ANSWER: A state monopoly for grain trade should be established one of whose tasks would be to prevent the importation of cheaper grain from abroad. The importation of cheaper grain from Canada, ~~and~~^{and} other countries, by the city population, would ruin the Hungarian peasant, who could not compete with the foreign producer because his costs of production are higher.

The city workers should be forbidden to import cheap grain from abroad, to save the farmer. Of course, one solution would be, to stop producing something, which was uneconomical, but I do not think that Hungary should stop producing grain, ^{just} because the costs of production are too high. I don't think it would be a good idea to start producing something else, such as potatoes. We may not always be able to import grain from abroad and hence we have to continue native production.

Question: Is a government trading monopoly necessary or would a protective tariff ~~which~~ be sufficient to take care of foreign competition?

Answer: A government trading monopoly would be more ^{efficient} ~~and~~ in regulating and planning the domestic and foreign grain trade.

- (7) Yes, I am in favor of nationalizing light industry too, depending on the size of the factory and the number of workers employed. Hungarian hand crafts should not be nationalized.
- (8) A country's economy can not be run without economic planning. A plan is needed for every area of ^{the} economy to prevent chaos in industry and in the country. But the ~~current~~ planning, which exists in Hungary is unnecessary and insane.

For instance, in Hungary they said that they are going to raise the quantity of grain produced by 25 per cent in two years, disregarding the conditions necessary for such a rise. It is impossible to have a planned economy in which one decides 5 years in advance by how many per cents production in certain branches ^{of} the economy should rise. The plan should give some leeway for failure, ~~to~~ ^{to avoid} ~~that the~~ crisis if the plan ~~is~~ ^{is} not fulfilled.

- (8c) The plan should extend to all branches of production. It should not state what was to be produced and how much, although this would be easier in industry than agriculture. In agriculture, if a peasant produced what the state wanted or a loss as a result, the state would have to compensate. The state should have the right to force the peasants to produce whatever was vitally needed by the state, even though it was less profitable for the peasant than growing something else. But the state should then pay a higher price for the needed product and compensate the peasant. If a peasant wanted to produce lucerne, because it could be sold at a higher price, the state should force him to produce wheat instead, even though it was less profitable. Domestic wheat production should be maintained at a stable level, because foreign countries can't be depended on to provide the country with a cheap

supply of wheat in the future and since the imports are unreliable, a certain degree of self-sufficiency is required on the part of the country. But agricultural planning should not be as rigid and strict as industrial planning.

Question: What would the population in your village think of agricultural planning?

ANSWER: In the village, people produce chiefly to satisfy their own needs. Thus they would not agree to produce only certain products, which would pay them well and buy their wheat. They would be afraid to do this, and would insist on producing in addition as much wheat as was needed by their families. But, perhaps, if the state assured ~~them~~^{them} a suitable profit from the production of planned crops, they would not mind doing it. The important thing is to avoid insecurity caused by the fluctuation of prices. Planning would stop this and would assure a stable level of prices.

Question: Do you think your father, for instance, would agree willingly to change his crops to suit the state economic plan?

ANSWER: I often discussed things like this with my father. I believe, that if the country had an economic policy, which would foster a higher standard of living, if the private individual were taken into consideration by this policy and

if the peasant could see that his interests were identical with the interest of the state, then he would be willing to give up part of his profit, to go along with the government's policy. My father agreed with this. He has changed his thinking since 1945, because for many years now, about 60 per cent of what he produced was taken away from him by the state. Before 1947/48, my father considered chiefly his own interests. This changed due to the fact, that since 1948 the state has been robbing him; if now the state took only 10 or 15 per cent of what he produced, instead of the majority, and if this were in the interest of the state, then he would gladly give it up. He realizes now that the peasant is not self-sufficient, since he needs consumer goods, produced by the city.

- (9) Family life and religion.
- (10) Of course; in a normal state with a normal economy it is the duty of the citizen to pay taxes, to serve in the army, and to send his children to school.
- (10e) It is the duty of the government to pass laws which defend the interests of the people; to insure freedom of speech, religion, and press, social security, old age insurance, and to see to it that people actually receive these benefits and that they do not simply remain on paper.

- (11) I don't know about the pre-war situation, since I was too young. Those who were in OTI now, got better medical care than before the war, meaning that it did not cost so much money as before the war. In general, however, sick care is far worse today than before the war. In general, the doctor has no interest in his patient. He treats him quickly and superficially. The interests of the individual are not taken into consideration. On the one hand there is a much larger number of doctors than in the past, but on the other hand, today there is a constant shortage of medicines.
- (12) I don't know ^{what} ~~how~~ the situation was before the war; today the opportunity to attend the movies and the theaters exists, but people are not allowed to see what they would like to. They can see only Soviet or People's Democratic plays; plays by certain authors are forbidden altogether, that's why the French movies are so popular whenever they are played. Theater and movie tickets are cheap; entertainment in general is much cheaper than in Germany, for instance.
- (13) No. The situation is worse today.
- (13a) Better today, than in 1946. The situation directly after the war was very bad. But the situation today is worse

than it was in 1947.

(13b) Approximately the same as in 1950. Poor nutrition is chiefly caused by the communal ~~canteens~~^{canteens} which serve food of poor quality and quantity.

(14) Today, people are more particular about dressing well, but they don't dress better than in the past. In the old days, the people in the village were not particularly interested in dressing well, but today there is a greater interest in good clothes even in the village. But people are not able to dress better.

(14a) Better today.

(14b) About the same as in 1950.

(15) No.

Question: Do you really mean that?

Answer: Industrial production did increase. I said no, because as compared to the growth, which has taken place in other countries, Hungarian production has not increased. After all, in 10 years something must grow and increase in a normal situation. Industrial production did not increase to the extent that it should have. Compared to foreign countries Hungary's industrial production increased less, relatively, both in quantity and in quality. For example, abroad they produce some novelties, which are not even known in Hungary.

Question: What about the growth in heavy industry?

ANSWER: I suppose there has been a growth in that, ^{but} the Hungarian people do not benefit from that, because it is all sent to the Soviet Union.

(16) The factories should ^{be} run by experts. In a state, in which a great many factories are nationalized, there is no need for the workers to run the factory, because if the factory belongs to the state, it therefore represents the interests of the state, which in turn represents the interests of the workers. As a result it should have working conditions which equally represent the interests of the state and the worker, and these interests are identical. The workers should however, have a trade union to represent their interest.

(16a) The role of the trade union should be non-political and it should represent the interest of the workers.

Question: What should happen if the interest of the trade union clash with those of the state as a factory owner?

Answer? The government should be run by parliament and the trade union should be represented in parliament in some form; ^{it} should have a seat in parliament. Thus it can represent the interests of the workers in the government.

Question: Should the workers of a nationalized factory

be allowed to strike?

Answer: Yes, they should be allowed to strike, if their reasonable demands for satisfactory wages and hours are not granted by the state.

Question: Who is to decide, whether these demands are reasonable?

Answer: Either parliament should decide, or else the Trade Union should negotiate with the state for reasonable terms. (Further probing showed respondent even vaguer on this topic.)

(16d) Experts.

(17) I think they are bad.

(17c) All the collective farms should be dissolved. I, myself, would dissolve them, but on the other hand if 5 or 10 people want to group themselves in a free collective, which would be profitable, they should be allowed to do this. It would be to their disadvantage that the property would not be their own as if they farmed it alone, but on the other hand they may be able to get higher profits out of cooperative production, and therefore they may prefer this.

Question: Do you think there would be many such farmers who would prefer a free cooperative to independent farming?

Answer: According to my experiences in Hungary: No. I don't know of any farmers who would like this. But I think it is a possibility and I think it often might be more

profitable than private ownership. Knowing the Hungarian peasant, I believe that the establishment of a voluntary cooperative farm movement is highly unlikely. The Hungarian peasants, ~~proprietors~~, work much ^{harder} ~~harder~~ if they work for themselves.

(17h) Yes.

(17i) All land up to 50 holds should be returned to the former owners. A farm of 50 holds is too large to be worked by one ^{family} ~~person~~; it needs 3 to 8 hired workers.

(17j) Until Hungarian agriculture can stand on its own feet and is supplied with the necessary equipment, which would enable it to reach its full potential, the state should provide loans for machinery, The loan to be repaid in 20 years. The state should also provide tools, artificial fertilizers, and improved seeds.

(17k) I approve of the machine tractor stations; they are not at all bad. ~~■~~ A small farmer, who can not afford to buy his own tractor, should be able to re a tractor from the state machine tractor station. But a farmer should also be allowed to buy his own tractor, if he can afford to do so. The peasant should pay for the hiring of ^{the} machine with money or produce. The state should not make a high profit out of hiring tractors to the peasants. The M.T.S. should be kept in the hands of the state and their work should be strictly supervised.

- (18) There should be complete religious freedom. The state should not prevent the individual from practicing the religion of his choice.
- (18c) The state should assure the priests their salary and it should support the ^{de}denominational schools. But church policy should not depend on the state. The church should be completely independent of the state.
- (18e') Yes. The state should require that every student up to the age of 18 should receive religious instruction.
- (18g) The church should not have property such as land or factories. The chief task of the church is to teach religion.
- (18f) I would send my children to a denominational school. I went to one myself and received an excellent education. They are very strict and the discipline is very good.
- (19) I certainly don't want to say that they should all be hanged. But I think that those who remained members of the Party after the Revolution should be judged differently from others. The actions of all the Party members should be examined separately and they should be judged on the basis of their actions. I would be hardest on those who approved of the Party up to the Revolution and were not disillusioned by the policies of the Party; It is very difficult to ~~understand~~ understand how they could help but be ~~disillusioned~~ disillusioned in Communism.

- (19e) ~~[19e]~~ Nothing should happen to the DISZ members. Membership in DISZ meant nothing. But the work of the DISZ leaders should be examined and they should be called to account for actions, which were very detrimental to the majority. The members of the DISZ Central Committee worked for the Party and for the Soviet Union.
- (19f) Same as the Party, but they should be judged more strictly.
- (19g) A purge is necessary especially among the leaders.
- (19h) Those Communists, like Maleter, and some of the writers, who fought in the Revolution and were completely on the side of the Revolution, should get praise and appreciation for this role. In a free state, if they were willing to regard the good of the majority, they should be able to live peacefully and should ~~be~~ even be allowed to get leading positions in the country.
- (20)
1. Acceptance of Roman Catholicism by St. Steven.
 2. The fact that as a result Hungary was always a defending fortress of the West against the Turks.
 3. The battle of Nándorfehérvár.
 4. The Revolution of 1956, of course.
- (21) Yes. 1. Hungarian "virtus"; a quality of passion, a love of wild *carousing*. 2. The Hungarian is thoughtful and contemplative; he thinks for himself and does not wait

for a leader to guide him. 3. He likes what is national and does not easily adopt traditions and habits of other nations, whether he is at home or abroad. 4. Hungarian music has a fiery and passionate quality; The Hungarian is like the music, quick to act, sudden in decision. 5. The Hungarian is not easily organized into a mass or group. 5. He likes to stick to his decisions and is not easily influenced.

(21e)

Yes, but this is not necessarily a Hungarian characteristic, it is so in Bavaria also. The peasant is somewhat stingy, and prefers to save his money as against spending it on good living. Among Hungary's leading classes, some people were always found, who were willing to sell the country's interest. In the "good old days" there was a great deal of strife among the land-owners and magnates.

(21f)

Yes.

(22)

The 25 years under Horthy were the best, because it was under Horthy that Hungary had the highest standard of living in the 20th century. It is true that some strata, the estate servants, lived badly. But even some of these got along alright, depending on the estate, on which they worked. This period was also the best politically.

(22f)

See previous questions.

(22i)

Politically the period between 1945 and 48 was freer than

the period before or after. But socially the situation was not consolidated in this period; This was a time of very great social struggles between classes and between Parties. As far as the various classes are concerned, however, the working class, for instance, was much more united in this period than before. We must differentiate three groups among the peasantry in this period: the first had land before the landreform, the second received land through the landreform and therefore supported the regime, not knowing the consequences, the third, which had owned fairly large properties, taken away from him through the landreform. The conflicts between these classes of peasants were emphasized in this period and thus the social differences among the peasants were much greater in the immediate post-war period than before. The differences between various classes were also greater between 1945 and 1948 than before because the workers received advantages from the state, since the regime depended on the support of the workers. Hence, class differences between '45 and '48 were greater than before or after.

- (23) No, I do not think the boundaries are important. Although Hungary is entitled to the territories lost at Trianon, she will never get these lands back. Hungary and her neighbors can not exist as they are today; they will form

an alliance, and within this alliance political borders will not be so important. I am thinking of something like a Danubian Federation, an organization of small Central European states, which would enable them to stay intact and not to be crushed between the conflicting political and economical power drives of the Soviet Union and the West. They cannot exist, and keep up the race, against the West and the Soviet Union, if they remain weak and divided.

(23d) No. If Hungary wants to exist, she will have to form an alliance with her neighbors in spite of past conflicts. If such a federation is established, its task should be to eliminate these conflicts with other nationalities.

(24) See question 23 above.

(25) The Russians are an undemanding people, that is they are satisfied with little, both materially and culturally. They have a low standard of living, they think culture is wonderful but don't try to acquire it or show any great interest in it. There are some exceptions, of course, ~~some~~^{who} have a great hunger for knowledge, science, scholarship. The majority of the Russians are friendly and understanding. It is very difficult to convince them that something they have learned to believe is true, is not true. They have very low cultural standards.

- (25c) No, they are not all Communists. They want a better life, private property, but unfortunately their education was such that they never knew anything ~~about~~ ^{but} Communism. They persisted in their loyalty to Communism because they knew nothing else. A very small per cent of them would be Communists if they knew the truth about Communism. But as it is, a large percentage of them is Communist.
- (25d) During the war, our village was part of the front for 12 days. Our own house was used as a hospital by the Russians. We got to know quite a few officers; they were very friendly, looted a great deal and told us that from now on good times would come. They said that we had been under German rule until now, but today the Russians would change everything to the better. At the ~~II~~ same time, however, they wondered at the high standard of living in our village: at the fact that we owned our own house, 2 - 5 horses and cows, more than one room in each house, and at the fact that we did not live in the same room with our livestock. They called everybody bourgeois. At least 99 per cent of them wondered at the high standard of living. They were surprised at the fact that our well had a drain and kept saying "kultura, kultura". What they stole in one house, they sold in the next. The women hid from them; while they were in the village, my sisters hid in the pantry in order to avoid them. A great many women in the village were raped.

- (26) Marxism is good to the extent that it represents the interests of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, at least on paper. But the principles of Marxism are incapable of realization. There is no need for Marxism today; its failure has been proven more than once.
- (26h) No, Marxism has ~~theses~~ which are not compatible with Democracy. Marxism claims that it can bring about equality, but this is not so; under Marxism there always exists a leading class, which has political and economic advantages and is not equal to the others. In a democracy there is true equality, whereas in Marxism equality exists only on paper. Marxism can only be supported by terror organizations which predicate a lack of freedom.
- (26i) Never; however, the 1946/47 period was similar to democracy.
- (26j) To be a democrat means to follow the basic principles of Democracy and to carry them out: "equality, political freedom, and freedom of speech". ^{To be} A Democrat means not just to convince others of the advantages of democracy through empty phrases, but to try to realize them.
- (26a) Tito is not a real Marxist, because he benefited Yugoslavia politically and the majority of Yugoslavs are satisfied with him, since they did not live better before the pre-Tito era. Tito did a great deal for the country's economy

and he is a good politician. Of course, in so far as he nationalized everything he is a Marxist. If he were a Marxist, then his country would be a People's Democracy and under the leadership of the Soviet Union. This is Marxism. But Tito does not consider the Soviet Union the leader of Yugoslavia. He is a national Marxist or rather a national Communist. He takes advantage both of the West and of the Soviet Union.

(27) The aim of national Communism is to build Communism according to the circumstances of that particular country and not to copy the Soviet Union. The national Communist does not think that the role of the Soviet Union is the only road to Communism. He does not want to copy dogmas from books.

(27e) They are incompatible. With regard to Hungary, if a person is a Communist he follows Russian orders, which are against Hungary's interest.

Question: What about Imre Nagy?

Answer: I still say that you can't be both, a patriot and a Communist. What he did prove in the Revolution was that he was a Hungarian patriot and thus he is not a Communist. By the time of the Revolution, Imre Nagy was not a Communist. This goes for his 1955 speech also; in this he was not a Communist but a patriot. The fact that

he is for nationalization does not make him a Communist.

- (28) Economically a healthier atmosphere would have been established. There would have been an improvement in the economic life of the country. The country would have become independent of the Soviet Union economically and politically. There would have been political freedom also.
- (28b) Imre Nagy would only have stayed the leader until free elections were held.
- (29a) Bad.
- (29b) Bad.
- (29c) Bad.
- (29d) Bad.
- (29e) Bad.
- (29f) Bad.
- (29g) Good, if not the owner of a large factory or industry.
- (29h) There is no such thing as kulak. The concept is bad.
- (29i) Bad. Because he is easily influenced.
- (29j) His attitude is not bad. What I learned about him had been distorted by the regime. At first he was a Communist and then he turned against Communism because he saw it was bad.
- (29k) What I know of him is bad. He had a role in World War II.

Question: Who was he?

Answer: Wasn't he an Italian?

- (29l) He leads a minority of the Chinese people. He represents nationalist China. He is an anti-Communist and was the first to realize that Communism was dangerous for China, thus: good.
- (29m) She tried to do a great deal for Hungarians during and after the Revolution. I don't know her real point of view. However, I approve of what she did against Communism. But I don't believe that she is truly against Communism; she is against the Soviet Union. Good and bad. I am not quite certain of her role in the Imre Nagy government; I don't believe she would have had much of a future as a social democrat.
- (29n) Good.
- (30) Christian Democrats or Small Holders.
- (30a) I don't know.
- (31a) Less.
- (31b) Less.
- (31c) Less.
- (31d) Less.
- (31e) Less.
- (31f) Less.

- (31g) They received more, because they would not have deserved anything.
- (31h) Less.
- (31i) Less.
- all the classes, which opposed Communism received less.
- (32) Small Holders, kulaks, workers, artisans, were better off, white collar workers were not better off before 1948.
- (33a) Politically they coincide, economically they conflict.
- (33b) Coincide.
- (33e) Conflict.
- (33f) Coincide.
- (33g) Coincide.
- (33i) Conflict.
- (33j) Conflict.
- (34) It is not true that the United States and the Soviet Union are equally dangerous. I was concerned about the fact that only money counts to America and therefore she will disregard the interests of Hungary, because Hungary is not a rich country.
- (35) In a war between the Soviet Union and the West, only the Party leadership would fight for the present regime.

This does not include the provincial Party members, the village Party secretaries, etc.

- (36) No, my views have not changed, at the most they have been strengthened: that the United States considers only her own material advantages.

(1a) ³~~My~~ first thought, it would be all about the Revolution, but now I see that it was very detailed and covers everything. It is bad that the questions are so general and broad, so that the answers are necessarily ~~crude~~ ^{crude} and the nuances and details can not be brought out.

(2a) Yes, but not while there is a Communist regime.

(3) No.

Interviewer's Comments on Respondent.

Respondent is a very nice and pleasant young man, with unusually ~~crude~~ ^{courtly} manners. He is not tremendously intelligent and has a slow and fuzzy mind. His political and economic views are extremely confused and he is completely unaware of the logical contradictions his views involve. He is a ~~shrewd~~ ^(shrewd and) sharp observer within his limited sphere of interest, but had to be pressed to give concrete answers instead of hazy generalization and stereo-types. He had a tendency to dictate generalizations to my questions, until I stopped him; I had the feeling, this was a habit acquired at Communist seminars and meetings. All in all: A decent, ^{humane,} limited, conventional lad.

It is difficult to tell, ^{to what extent} ~~to what extent~~ his present social and political opinions have been acquired since ~~XXXXXX~~

The
his escape. ^ Hungarian students, now in Germany, are making ample use of their opportunities to compare Hungary with the West, and unnoticed by themselves, have undoubtedly developed a completely new attitude, ~~and~~ influenced by their ~~present~~ present environment as well as by their discussions with each other.

It is interesting to note how considerably Communist education has influenced and molded a convinced opponent of the regime, a young man of a highly conservative peasant background.