

Interviewer's note: In the case of this interview Section W was taken first and Section R was taken at the second place.

- (1) In June 1955 I received my baccalaureate in the city of Debreczin ~~xxxxxx~~. Even before that time as a schoolboy I had been working in summertime. I had been working in ~~the~~ the trade school, Hungarian name altalános iskola and later on during the summers in the gymnasium. In one summer in the gymnasium it was compulsory to have the so-called practice which meant that we were sent to work on construction. We called this practice "forced labor". During that summer we were erecting a building in ~~the~~ season a village near to Debreczin. Here we got paid for our work but I do not remember the ~~wagesxxxxxx~~ wages anymore. I remember that we had to pay for our food and at the end of the summer we came out even. We could not make any money. During this work everybody tried to be as idle as possible. The whole work had not much use. In 1950 and 51 we were called up for work even during school time. For example, we were supposed to pick cotton or to help out in the different TSZCS. In the free summers every student tried to find a job in order to buy a suit because that was impossible to be bought out of the salary of the parents. Everybody tried to land in a good job but that depended on the connections. Who had no connections got some poor ~~jobs~~ job, such as in a state farm.

With connections you could become a so-called threshing controller. That was a good job with a good salary. However, with great responsibilities. Since I did not have any good connections I was working with the railway maintenance or I was carrying bricks and so on. After my baccalaureate in 1955 I was not accepted at the university although I tried 2 universities at the same time. So I looked around to find a job but that was difficult too. Finally with the aid of an acquaintance of mine I got a job in Budapest with ~~the~~ the Gyogyopedagogiai Miskola, the College for Teachers of Retarded Children. The college had a special boarding school for retarded children and I became a supervisor in that boarding school. This was regarded as a very good job. Very few of my school mates were lucky enough to get accepted by a university because of the class trouble. The kader cards showed everybody's class origin. Sons of the intellectuals had a letter ~~z~~ on their kader cards, sons of workers letters ~~m~~. I had letter x which meant the old class, the class enemy. That was the worst recommendation.

- (2) From September 1955 to September 1956 I was supervisor in that special boarding school for retarded children.
- (2a) Our work was something like the work of the nurses. The retarded children could not take care of themselves. They could not control their sphincter or bowel movements. We had to take care of them day and night.
- (2e) My monthly salary was 800 forints. The deductions

amounted to 100 forints a month. I had to subscribe to a peace loan, ~~then~~ that was sheer force. First I was told that I have to subscribe for 800 forints. Then after some haggling we agreed in 400 forints. So in every month 40 forints were deducted for that purpose.

- (3) We worked 48 hours a week as it was regular. The only difference was that we had to work on Sundays and we got our day off on some of the working days. We had to do night duties too which were included in the 48 hours.
- (3a) The boarding school was overcrowded although it could not accept all the applicants. The children were placed in bunks one above the other. There was one room in which 37 kids slept. They slept on so-called straw sacks and the straw sacks were of course defecated and urinated. It was impossible to change them because we had no more straw sacks. Some of the kids were there at the expense of the state and they had a much better treatment since they got clothing, linen, and so on ~~from~~ from the state. The so-called private kids who were there at the expense of their parents received only one blanket from the state. These kids were mostly the kids of poor peasants and they had the worst treatment. They lacked almost everything. The kids received regular medical care and received regular teaching from the hands of the qualified teachers. Altogether, however, the hygienic conditions were rather poor because the ~~equipment~~ equipment was poor. The employees tried to do

what they could as human beings but the equipment was a great obstacle.

(3f) 48 hours a week.

(3g) 6 days a week.

(3o) The regular benefits of vacation, medical care.

(4) There were altogether 11 supervisors in the boarding school. I was the only young among them. There were 3 men, the other ones were women. The men came from all walks of life. One of them was a former lawyer another one had only 6 years of schooling. The women had all a rather poor schooling. The best educated of them had only a few years of highschool. The women were in charge of the girls, however, their work was more difficult. He taught the boys to take care of themselves. An older or more clever boy was in charge of a more retarded one. But in the case of the women, they had to make up the bed and do many things which were done in our department by the boys. There were separate buildings for boys and girls, except for the building for the small children under 10 years who were kept together, both sexes, but in separate rooms. The retarded kids were in the age group of 4 to 16 years.

(4b) The director of the boarding school was an expert, a special teacher of retarded children. He was a former Protestant theologian and not a member of the Party. The deputy director was a great Communist, a former country teacher who took a six 6 weeks course

and got his present job. He was the leader of the Party organization there. There was a Party secretary too, one of the teachers. He was the son of a gendarme. Consequently he felt insecure. He tried to be on good terms with everybody, with the Party and the employees. He was a rather good Communist. Among the other employees there were very few Party members and I would say there were no more than 2 enthusiastic Communists.

(4f) He belonged to the pedagogical trade union. The trade union did not do anything but collected the membership fees. During the one year we had only 2 meetings. None of them lasted more than 1 hour and was ~~about~~ about rather stupid personnel matters.

(4i) No.

(4,1) No.

(4n) There were no good cadres. The number of employees was rather small.

(4p) The deputy director and one of the women teachers were the enthusiastic Communists who reported to the AVU.

(5) I don't know of any case that somebody in the special boarding school has changed his job. In spite of the bad conditions it was regarded as a quiet, safe job. I left my job under legal conditions so I had no difficulties. Generally speaking, I would ^{say} that it was important to get ~~xxxx~~ another job first and then to leave the old one. If somebody left his job, he could have lost all his years which counted for his pension. If

- somebody was out of work for more than a month he lost all his accumulated benefits in the pension plan.
- (5a) In 1956 I was accepted at the Gyogypedagogiai Fiskola. It happened mainly because the director of the boarding school recommended me very highly. So I had a good reason to leave my job.
- (5b) I wanted to study and become a doctor. In 1955 I applied to be admitted at the medical school, however, there were too many students applying for the ~~medical~~ medical school so to make it sure I applied at the same time to be admitted ~~at~~ at the faculty of law in Szeged.
- (5c) I would like to have a nice dwelling place which can be called a home for the family. I would spend money on education, books, and entertainment.
- (5d) No opinion.
- (6) My family lived as so many other lower middle class families were living. My father and mother were working regularly. My ~~g~~ grandmother was selling and buying out of the foreign gift parcels. We were off like many other people I would say the average.
- (7a) 800 forints a month. I spent it on myself. I bought many books and spent on amusements, however, I could not buy any clothes.
- (7b) It was the average salary.
- (8) I made 800 forints a month. The deductions amounted to

100 forints or so.

(8b) I received 680 to 700 forints a month.

(8c) Officially it was impossible to obtain any additional income, however, all the youngsters were engaged in odd jobs and in selling and buying. I did the same since I had free time particularly in the day time. I was repairing radios, I was delivering, carrying wood, I was selling nylon stockings and coffee. Out of such sources I could make some money. But it was not a fixed sum. There were months when I made 200 forints, in the next months I could not make anything.

(9a) In September 1956 I was admitted to the Gyogypedagogiai Fiskola with a state scholarship. So the following description refers to that time. My state scholarship amounted to 200 forints a month. My parents sent me another 200 forints every month. So altogether, I would say, I received 400 forints as income. At that time I was renting one room, a very small room, on the Korut and paid 200 forints a month.

(9b) The dwelling conditions were very poor. It was particularly difficult for students to get a room. I lived in a so-called maid's room and had to pay a very great amount for it.

(9c) I paid 198 forints a month and got 3 meals a day through the students' board. It was a rather poor arrangement. The food was poor and insufficient. We were hungry all the time. For the supper I had to go

Pest
 over to ~~Enxpxxt~~ to the Rakoczi ter because it was served there. The lunch was served at the Piskola in Buda.

- (9d) It would be difficult to tell how much I spent on the average, perhaps 200 forints a month. A good suit cost 1800 to 2000 forints and it lasted for a year. You could buy a suit for 800 forints, but it did not last more than 2 months.
- (9e) It was included in my rent.
- (9f) I do not smoke. On drinks I spent perhaps 20 to 30 forints a month. I drank only when I was in company.
- (9g) Nothing, ~~ixwas~~ it was a part of the state scholarship.
- (9h) Amusements amounted to 100 or 200 forints a month. In this case it was not necessary to spend Saturday and Sunday at home. Prices in the espresso were cheap.
- (9i) Haircut costs 3 forints 60 cents. I needed it once in every 5 or 6 weeks. The bath costs 2 or 6 forints, however, I had a bathroom ~~xxxx~~ where I lived. Concerning laundry, I did it either myself or sent it home to my parents.
- (9j) I did not spend very much. I usually bought a weekly and the sport newspaper which amounted to 2 or 3 forints a week. I did not buy many books, ~~xxxxpxx~~ perhaps for 10 forints a month.
- (9k) It was during my highschool days in Debreczin that I went to the doctor for the last time.
- (9,l) We had to spend quite an amount on streetcars in Buda-
 perhaps
 pest, ~~xxxxpxx~~ 20 or 30 forints a month.

- (9m) No taxes. Altogether a student in Budapest needed 600 - 700 forints a month unless he lived in one of the state students' hotels. All the students tried to get some money out of odd jobs and different small-size business. I did the same and made up the difference in such a way.
- (10) There are great differences according to the different parts of the country. In Budapest the people were well dressed. In Debreczin they were fat. On the other hand in the peripheries of the city or among the peasantry of the Alföld the picture was very sad.
- (10c) I don't know very much about that.
- (10d) They meant a deterioration as it is shown by the dwelling conditions. In what was once a store, now 2 families are living. The basement apartments are awful. The apartment houses managed by the state are in no condition. They are soaked by the rain or the wind blows through the windows.
- (10f) No information.
- (10g) In 1956 there was a small improvement. Many prices were decreased. The general change in the political situation meant very much. People's look was no more so sad.
- (11) The main reason of discontent and revolution was not poverty but oppression. There were very great differences, a social inequality between the worker and the Party secretary. The economic conditions were important for the

peasantry and the working class. For the youth the political matters were more important. The wages were unjust, then again pretty much depended on the family budget. If the woman could manage money, the working class was much better off.

- (1) The most important things to know about the Revolution are: the general political background, its reasons, and finally the development and suppression of the Revolution.
- (2) The political and economic causes of the Revolution go back in time. There was an incubation period since 1955 or even since the death of ~~Stalin~~ Stalin.
- (2b) It is difficult to name one specific date. Perhaps 56, the spring of it up to the 20th Congress of the Party was the most important date. People generally felt that something has to be done, however, nobody dreamt of a revolution. We knew of the events in Berlin and Poznań and we wanted to avoid it. Then came October 23rd when everybody forgot the lessons of Berlin and Poznań. There was a hidden feeling in everybody which simply exploded.
- (2c) The spring of 1956.
- (2e) The writers expressed the general feeling of the people.
- (3) I would not pinpoint one factor, rather the whole situation led to a Revolution. There were students' demonstration going on. For example, the burial of Radek became one great demonstration, however, we got soaked and caught a cold because of the weather. We knew of the Petöfi kor but we did not regard them as the promoters of a revolution. I did not believe that a Revolution was going on when I heard the trams shooting around

the building of the radio.

- (3b) There was no preparation. It was the result of a ~~no en-~~ ^{Radio} tary bitterness. The police around the ~~the~~ behaved themselves brutally.
- (3c) It was impossible to control the thoughts of the people. There were several ideas. Every group has its own ideas. I was told on the morning of October 23rd that in the afternoon there will be a demonstration at the statue of Bem as a sympathy with the Polish situation. There was no plan about what to do after that. However, in the afternoon one could see large groups everywhere on the street. They were reading the ~~manifesto~~ ^{manifesto} of the students of the Polytechnic. Everybody agreed with that manifesto. It expressed the opinion of the masses. The same ideas had been moving in the back of the minds of the people but they did not have the courage to speak up. Later, when the students of the Polytechnic and of ~~the~~ the Eotvos Lorand University had spoken up everybody became more courageous.
- (3f) There was nobody who opposed the revolt. Everybody was animated by the feeling ~~is~~ of revenge and bitterness. Everybody hoped to hit back.
- (3g) There were cautious people who went home around midnight, particularly in the civilian population not among the students. The students wanted to hit back for the last slap on the face received from Gerö.
- (3h) The slogans in the first few days said Gerö should ~~go~~ go, Nagy here should come and the Russians should ~~eva-~~ eva-

cuate Hungary. Generally the demands of the students were accepted which were based on free elections and on the independence of Hungary.

(3i) No. The revolt was not anti-Communist. Nagy here was a Communist himself.

(3j) Many Communists shared the opinion of the ~~xxxxxx~~ revolutionaries. The Revolution was against Rakosi and Gerö. Particularly the youth was against them. One should make an important distinction between the generations. The old generation wanted to get back what they had possessed once, however, the youth did not agree with them. That is a very important difference.

(4) In the evening of October 23rd after the great demonstration I thought that the revolt was more or less over . I was sure that it will end the next day. On that first night it was easy to get arms, however, I did not want to get one. In the morning of October 24st I returned to the Gyogyepedagogia. None of the students there had arms at that time. I spent the whole day there. In the morning of October 25th I went to the Parliament Square where I ~~xxxxx~~ ^{saw} a ~~xxxxx~~ large crowd. The whole Square was surrounded by Russian tanks. One of them had a Russian flag. The mass demanded: Down with Gerö. The mass was increasing in number but there were no shootings on the Parliament Square although we heard that shooting was going on around the radio station and the around the Western

railroad station. About 10 p.m. somebody appeared on the balcony of the Parliament building and announced that Dobi will appear and address the mass, however, nobody appeared and the mass was booing Dobe.

A few minutes later we could hear machine guns from the direction of the Margit bridge. The mass on the Square started to run away but at that time the Russian panzers opened fire from all the three directions. There were no shootings from the side of the Parliament. We were under fire from three sides. Fortunately enough the fire came from panzers so everybody fell flat upon his tummy or tried to find shelter under the tanks. The shooting began about 10.30 and lasted to 1 o'clock. The shooting went on in certain waves. There was a lull of 10 or 15 minutes. In the meantime some people succeeded in forcing the entrance of the Parliament building and many people ran into the building. By that time 2 corpses were laying on my side so I utilized one lull in the shooting and ran into the Parliament building. At 1 o'clock p.m. the shooting was over and slowly the people who took shelter in the Parliament building started to leave. There were Russian soldiers standing before the entrance. They searched everybody. They were looking for arms. Who did not have any arms were free to go. So I went off. I was walking on the streets like many other people. In one of the public parks I found an old gun. I took it. Later on I met another student whom I had met for the

first time at the meeting ~~ag~~ of the Petőfi kor. He had
 a gun too so for a while ~~xxx~~ we were going together. We
 joined one group, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ then we joined another group.
 The next day he was wounded and I remained alone. I was
 still walking on the street when I met a ~~gang~~ group of
 hooligans . They asked for my identification
 and asked whether I am a member of the freedom fighters.
 Finally they took my gun. They had no legitimization papers
 either. They were simply hooligans and since one of
 them did not have a gun they took away mine. This happen-
 ed on October 27th. After that day I had no gun again.
 On the same day I participated in a demonstration. This
 demonstration was around the Party house which stood ~~at~~^{on}
 the intersection of Rakocsi ut and Korut. There were 5
 or 6 AVG people in that house shooting ^{at} the civilian po-
 pulation through the windows. The ~~was~~ made an attack
 upon the house. The door was forced, however, by that
 time the AVG people escaped. So we searched through
 the Party house. We found there 2 mimeographing machines
 and the youth committee of the ~~seventh~~^{seventh} district of Buda-
 pest seized them. The ~~machines~~^{machines} were used to mimeo-
 graph the demands of the youth committee of the seventh
 district. Quite a few leaflets were mimeographed. I got
 a bunch of them ^{and as} I was strolling up the street, and distri-
 buted them. Since I was living nearby I returned to the
 Party house on the following days to get more leaflets.
 By November 1st there was peace in the city. ~~xxxx~~^{Only}
 the ullői ut was some shooting on. That was the time

when it ~~Yakkeisake~~ looked as if the Revolution were victorious. I was thinking of my original cowardice and I was ashamed of myself. On November 2nd a friend of mine arrived from Debreczin and proposed that we should either go home to my parents or we should escape to the West. I refused ~~this~~ this proposition I wanted to stay in Budapest. A few days later I regretted it very much. I spent the night from the 3rd ~~atixk~~ to the 4th of ~~Kyk~~ November at home where I was living on the Korut near ~~sk~~ to the Dob ~~skgy~~ utca. At 5 a.m. we were awakened by the fire of heavy artillery and by the movement of panzers. The apartment houses were shaking in their foundation. We opened the radio and heard the speech of Nagy Iure where he announced the attack of the Russians. The son of the main tenant and myself went into the freedom fighters committee of the seventh district which was in an old police building near ~~sk~~ to the Korut. Many youngsters and policemen were there. First they promised us arms, however, we did not get arms and about 6 a.m. we were told to go home. So we went home and waited what will happen. By that time the Russians were shooting the city with mines. There was a mine thrower of the revolutionaries standing before ~~khakax~~ the Royal Hotel on the Korut. The Russians wanted to annihilate it and instead of it, they were shooting ^{the} at the apartment houses of the Korut. We spent ~~a~~ night in the cellar of the apartment house. On the next day, on the 5th of November the heavy artillery was still

bombarding the city. One of the shots demolished our apartment. There were orders given that the gates of the apartment houses should be locked, however, we did not obey. The gate was open, but the people living there kept a watch. We did so because youngsters and other freedom fighters came in when they were persecuted by the Russians. On November 6th I got fed up with life in Budapest. I set out for the Western border and after a long journey finally I reached Austria. The days of the ^{Revolution} ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ were ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ sometimes fearful and other times dangerous. But for 2 or 3 days we were so happy as never before during 12 years. I have never seen in my life such happy faces as on the streets of Budapest on November 2nd and 3rd.

(4a) Everybody was fighting, young kids and old men. The young kids were the greatest fighters.

(4b) On one day there was no food so I visited the barracks of a supply unit of the army where I had an acquaintance. I saw that the attitude there was rather mixed. One half of the army was glad, the other half was ~~was~~ ^{not} hesitating. ^{revolutionary.} ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~. Everybody tried to behave like a ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~. The soldiers removed the Russian emblems and put on the Hungarian Bocskai cap. One could see many soldiers who participated in the fights. At the same time many civilians paraded in uniform which they found somewhere. Many of the soldiers did not dare to return to their units and they became revolutionaries. On November 2nd a Hungarian panzer unit marched through the city.

Everybody was cheering.

(4c)

I saw 2 cases of mob violence. I participated in one of them and it was a good feeling. The first case happened sometimes between the 28th of October and the 1st of November, in the forenoon on the Rakocsi ut before Kozert store . A long queue was standing before the store and somebody recognized there an AVO man. He was told to show his legitimation. He had no papers and behaved very insolently. He got a ~~slap~~ slap in his face. He gave ~~it~~ it back to the other fellow whereupon he got a few other ones and the other people interfered. He was dragged into the Kertesz utca. He was beaten and kicked. He was a very tough fellow and tried to resist. I still wonder how he could stand what he got. He was still alive when he was made stand before a wall and shot. The other case was with a Russian who got Hungarian police uniform and he was standing near to the Eastern railway station in the gate of an apartment building shooting out from there. When I arrived there, people already captured him from behind. When he came out he was beaten very much. Then he was thrown upon a truck and we were told that he will be taken to the Kozart utca and he will be hanged there. I did not follow the truck and don't know what happened. Then again on the intersection of Aradi utca and Lenin korut I saw an AVO man hanging from the street. I saw lynching too. I had ended on October 27th on Saturday when there was fight going on between Soviet and Hungarian panzers. During the

fights the shop window of a shoe store was broken and
 somebody tried to steal a pair of shoes. He was beaten
 severely by the mass and finally he was hospitalized
 by the official first aid group. By the way, the
 Igazság, the newspaper that appeared during the Revolution,
 wrote of some other similar cases. It published
 a picture where a guy was walking with a sign ~~xxxxx~~
 saying:
 I stole on the street. The picture was taken on
 the Rakocsi ut. ~~xxxxxxx~~

(6a) I never belonged to any of the groups. I went a few
 times into the Party house which was ~~xxxxxx~~^{seized} by the youth
 committee of the seventh district and tried to distri-
 bute leaflets. This was, however, an individual action.
 I did not belong to the youth committee.

(6e) There were several ways of how to get arms. In the first
 days the workers of the land factory came to the city
 and it was easy to get arms from them. On October 23rd
 the mass stopped a police guard and ~~xxxxx~~^{took} all the arms
 away. On the next day there were many arms to be seen.
 Many of them belonged to the workers who had got them
 in the arms' depots. The students got their arms from
 the storage ~~xxx~~ of the National Defence Institute of
 the university or ~~xx~~ from the house of the Szabadseg-
 harcos Szovetsag. Later the army brought many arms.
 Other ones were found in the Party houses. For example,
 you could find arms on the streets, in the parks, under
 the doors of the apartment houses. One could find quite

a number of arms ~~is~~ lying on the corner of Rakocri ut and Norut. One could find there army uniforms too. Ammunition was lying on the streets too. For example, at the National Theatre before the store of the Kozert there was ^a box full of ammunition on October 24th. There was a man standing by but he did not ask who helped himself of the ammunition. Even the policemen gave ammunition.

(6g) I don't know of any uniform military leadership, or ~~plan~~ ^{plan}. That was the great mistake. The Ministry of Defence was full of the old people. The Deputy Minister of Defence was Janke, an old steel worker and faithful Party member. Those people did not do anything. The fighting groups were dispersed all over the city. There was no uniform plan. There was no general command. This is why nobody was informed about the movements and the attacks of the Russians.

(7) I don't know. Those people who were fighting around the ullbiut were real heroes. They were the great personalities of the Revolution.

(7a) I don't know of that.

(8) The Soviet troops were hesitating. They did not know what to do. Those Russian soldiers who had been in Hungary for a long time sympathized with the Revolution. The other part, however, carried out the orders. The Russian soldiers were afraid and were shooting indis-

criminally. They regarded all the Hungarians as enemies. I saw ^{that} during the shootings at the Parliament Square. There the Russian soldiers were first talking friendly with the mass. Then suddenly they started to shoot. At the same time it happened that the Russian tanks were shooting one another. This was, however, a lack of organization only.

(3e) I did not see any defection, however, I have heard about it. For example, before the Hotel Astoria Russians deserted their tanks and they were taken over by the Hungarians.

(9) We saw and experienced during the Revolution what was going on. Everybody gave a report what he had seen in some other part of the city. When the radio and the press became free we got good information. The free Hungarian radio was good and for a few days there were many good and free papers. For example, the old Sziv-
 vjsag was published again and many, many other papers. They gave some notices about the events but mostly they gave political program.

(9a) See above

(9b) See above
 listened

(9c) We ~~listened~~ pretty much because the jamming stations had stopped to work but the foreign radio stations were not too interesting at that time. Radio Free Europe, BBC, The Voice of America were much behind the events.

- (10a) All the ~~and~~ old people ~~disappeared~~ disappeared and did not make their voice hear. A new government came up with new people.
- (10b) There was a Communist daily paper called Kepszabadsag published during the revolution. In the plants the Party secretaries stayed on their job. I don't know anything about the other Party organizations.
- (10g) No information.
- (10h) No information.
- (10j) The greatest change came in the leadership of the stage theatres. It was written up by the papers. The old Communist leaders of the stage, except for a few ones, disappeared and the new people came up there. I don't know very much about the new political parties since all of them had a very ephemerie life. I know that there were ~~my~~ many of them. The organization of the freedom fighters, the nemzetör was so ething new. The members got a membership card and armband. We were glad that the Social Democratic Party appeared,, even more happier when we heard about the reorganization of the Smallholder Party. Actually it was no good that so many political parties came up since each of them had its own program just at the time when we needed unity.
- (10k) See above.
- (10l) No information
- (10m) The old people thought that the system before 1945 will return, however, the young generation did not

share their opinion. I think that the leadership should have gone to those youngsters who came up after 1950. ~~After~~ After the triumph of the Revolution in the first few days of November there was a great chaos, however, a free election could have solved this problem.

(11) It is too late now to ^{be} clever and decide what should have been done.

(11a) No, the Revolution was not useful. It meant bloodshed and it put an end to the political improvement. A clever policy could have achieved something, but the Revolution lost such a chance. I know that after the Revolution some smaller concessions were given by the Communists. For example, the ~~salaries~~ ^{salaries} were raised. ~~This~~ This is perhaps, the only achievement of the Revolution and it is pitiful when compared to the sacrifices.

(11b) The success depended on the Soviet, ~~perhaps~~ Perhaps the Revolution could have been successful with the aid of the West, however, the West is afraid of the Soviet. If there was no war at the Suez we could have achieved the same thing which Gomulka achieved in Poland. We could have achieved that without such traitors as Kadar and his gang.

(11c) It was pious desire but realistically we could not have expected any aid.

(11d) There is no explanation for that. Rumania is a backward country, the life in Czechoslovakia was always better than in Hungary. There were no Russians in Czechoslo-

vakia and the Czechs are not revolutionary people. The Slavic people will never rise against the Soviet. One dog does not eat the other one. On the other hand there is a long tradition of freedom and fights for freedom in Hungary, however, all those fights ended badly. There is a great despise of the Slavs in Hungary.

- (11e) Since Nagy Imre was always persecuted by the Communists he must have been a good man. During the Revolution he was rather hesitant. It was impossible to say what he wanted. After all he was a Communist.
- (11f) During the Revolution both good and bad ~~people~~ people were important. There were many people left over from the Gerő government. For example Áros the Minister of Interior or Janke the Minister of National Defence. On the good side I would ~~name~~ mention the name of Isleter who was idealized by everybody. Then again Nagy Imre was popular and Kovacs Bela from the Smallholders Party was even more popular, however, his name was hardly known by our generation.
- (11g) The peasantry according to its usual behavior was cautiously waiting ~~still~~ till decision will be made. All the peasantry did was that they have beaten up a few Kolkhoz presidents. The youth was very active in the fights, even the tough guys of the Angyalfold and Ferenvaros were fighting. The working class took a great part. The young ones fought in the ~~revolution~~ Revolution. The old workers were building the barricades. One half

of the intellectuals was fighting. The other half began the organizations of political parties and newspapers. Then again some other intellectuals were sitting at home and were afraid because of their well equipped apartments. They sent their wives out to stand in queue and do the shopping. All the classes of the country participated in the Revolution including the hooligans. Such a gang took away my arm too. Even the newspapers mentioned the hooligans who were ~~a~~ looting wherever it was possible.

(11h) Yes it was expected. If you attended a Russian, a Marxist or a national defence class at the university you could observe the real attitude of the students. All of them hated the Communists including the sons of the workers and the peasants. Even those fellows saw what had happened to their fathers. Everybody suffered equally. The peasant boy suffered because his father was underpaid. The sons of the intelligentsia suffered even more. I would ~~say~~^{say} that as early as September 1956 the university students made up a united front against the Communism.

(12) I left my home in Budapest on November 5th when I saw what became out of the Revolution. I started out alone for the Western border and I did not receive help from anybody. Later on my trip I found some friends on the road and we came together to Austria.

- (1) I began my schooling in ~~1938~~ 1942 in Tata where my father who was a *gendarme* was stationed. Then came the war and our family moved to ~~Decselek~~ in county Szatmar where I finished the third grade. In 1947 we moved to Debrecen and I became a student in the first class of the college of the ~~reformed~~ church. After 6 months ~~the schools~~ the schools were taken over by the state. The reformed ~~church~~ church was asked to keep only the upper four classes of its former college which now became a church gymnasium. The lower 4 grades were taken over by the state. So I finished my grade school the so-called *altalanos iskola* in the state school. In 1951 I began my studies in the gymnasium and I got my baccalaureate in 1955. In the same year I moved to Budapest and in 1956 I was accepted by the *Gyogypedagogiai Főiskola*. However, there I spent only a few months up to the Revolution. Concerning my studies in the gymnasium I finished the first 3 classes in the gymnasium of the reformed church. For the last year I went over to a state school called *Farkas Mihály gimnázium*. I did so in order to qualify for the university since students of the church schools were not admitted ~~to~~ to the university.
- (1e) It was the intention of the whole family that I should attend the school of the reformed church.

- (2) Not applicable

- (3) In the trade school, constitution was a compulsory political subject which taught only about the people's democracy and the Soviet. It taught us about the happy life of the Soviet workers and about the distress of the workers in the Capitalist countries. Later on in the gymnasium we had to study Russian and civil defence. Both of them were political subjects. During the four years we had quite a number of Russian teachers. First we had 2 Ukrainians in the school teaching Russians. Later a Hungarian teacher came who had been a prisoner of war in Russia for many years. In the last 2 years every school had quite a number of Russian teachers of Hungarian origin who had taken a short course in Russian language and qualified for a diploma. They did not know very much about Russian although they were usually linguists. They knew only 2 lessons more from the material than we, the students, did. My professor, for example, was originally a professor of Hungarian and Latin. He was really good in grammar, particularly in Russian grammar. He was always teaching us Russian grammar and we could not learn how to talk. The Russian professors were like the other professors, they were not Communist. They took the special course in Russian only because it meant promotion and safety in job. I do not think that the Russian education was very successful. I studied it for 7 years. At the end of my highschool I was able to read and understand a Russian newspaper. Nowadays

I still can read it but I would not understand it anymore. I could well see the complete failure of the Russian language classes at the university in 56. Then and there the students were divided into three ~~gaw~~ groups and took Russian courses in those three groups. The first group consisted of those who did not know anything. The second group consisted of those who ~~xxxxxx~~ were able to read but nothing more, and finally the best group consisted of those who could understand a few sentences. I belonged to this last group since I usually had been a good student. Now I think that the study of Russian would have been very useful for us. In those times, however, we saw only the political angle of it and we hated it. It is true, that the Russian courses were

loaded with politics. They were teaching for example, the best ~~work~~ ^{works} of Russian literature such as Pushkin and Tolstoy, however, everything was ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{treated from} a Communist point of view. For example, we had to learn about the life of Tolstoy and it ^{was} pointed out that ~~xxx~~ Tolstoy was always dreaming about the Communism. When we had to evaluate the Russian writers according to the momentary line of the Party. It was something like a blasphemy. We learned pretty much about ~~xxx~~ Gorky, however, nobody liked him because of his work, The Mother. He was a Communist. He hated him most ~~xxxx~~ ^{among} the Russian writers.

(3d) At the university there was a huge set up for national defence and military training. Every university had

its own department of military defence or military science. Our Gyogypedagogiai Fiskola was a small outfit, consequently we had a common military department with the medical school. We had to go over to the medical school for such lectures. There we learned about the history of the arms and we ~~got~~^{got} education in the parts of the guns, of the atomic bombs and in first aid. What we learned there during the military courses we could utilize pretty soon in the Revolution. The military subjects were usually taught by officers of the army. Some of ~~the~~^{the} training ~~officer~~ officers had many difficulties with the students, particularly the students in science who knew much more ~~about~~ than the officers. The officers did not like the students and the students did not like the officers. We had to attend this military class every Tuesday morning ~~from~~ from 8 to 10 o'clock.

(3e)

The ~~MI~~ was practically ~~szorosan~~ compulsory and we had to participate in its practices every second week one afternoon doing sport exercises but no military drill. The ~~MI~~ gave a certain political ~~education~~^{education} too, talking about Socialism and so on. At the beginning the students liked it but later on it became hated pretty much. Its main aim was to make good soldiers out of the students. But the students did not want to become soldiers. This was one of the reasons why so many fellows applied at the university. In this case they could postpone their military service. Everybody hated being drafted into the

army.

(4) The objectives of Communist education were changing according to the Party congress. There was no aim. They wanted a youth which does not think but obeys. They wanted a youth as it is in the Soviet Union. It could not be realized in Hungary.

(4b) Communist education was ineffective. It is to educate and mold the youngsters. But Communism selected ~~very~~ very stupid methods to do so.

(4c) Everything was disliked, even in the best subjects there was something which we did not like. For example, in our text book of physics there was a paragraph saying that the electric bulb was not discovered by Edison but by some Russian guy. The students hated everything that referred to the Party, to the USSR, to Socialism.

(4d) I don't think so.

(4e) I have seen a few children whose attitude was changed by the Communism. Those were the retarded children at the special boarding school of the Gyogyopedagogia. There I found quite a few youngsters who were enthusiastic about Russian. However, none of the normal youngsters were so. Perhaps there were some ~~youngsters~~ youngsters under 12 or 10 years who became enthusiastic because of the Russian war films. I know of such a case. In the family of a friend of mine there was a young boy, 12 years old, and he became quite a pioneer. He had some discussions with his father who before 1945 had been

a capitalist. This little boy told his father: "Daddy you had exploited the workers".

- (4i) Communist education might be effective at a very young age, ~~perhaps~~ perhaps under 12 years but no more effective ^{at} ~~xxxx~~ our age.
- (5) My father was sub-lieutenant of the gendarmery. In 1944 ^{leave} he was ordered to ~~xxxx~~ Hungary and come out as a part of the military police to Austria. In Linz he was captured by the Americans and was a prisoner of war up to October 1945. During the same time the family stayed at home. First at Győr at the parents of my father. Later on we went over to the mother of my mother in county Szatmar. He did not know anything about our father. In October 1945 he was set free by the Americans and came to Hungary. Then he was captured and as a former gendarme he was sent to the internment camp in Jateszalka. He was kept there for ^{one} years and set free ~~ix~~ in October 1946. He was still kept for a year under police supervision. Finally he became entirely free. After the internment camp he settled in Pecsstelek ^{where} he had acquired a farm. This farm had been the result of his and my mothers savings so he was farming there up to 1951. In the ~~me~~ meantime the half of his farm was taken away since he was called a kulak. He still had 12 yokes. Then in 1951 they wanted to take ~~w~~ away even his house so he sold the remaining part of the farm and in 1951 he moved to Debrecen where he could buy ^{a house}

out of the money he got for the farm. The house was a ramshackle ~~ix~~ building. They still have it and live in it but it needs constant repair. In Debrecin he could not ~~keep~~ keep a steady job because he was a former gendarme and kulak. He got only very poor jobs, such as shovelling coal at the electricity plant or wood cutting, or maintenance man, and so on. He worked with different firms and he was ~~wasm~~ usually kicked out in 2 or 3 months. For a while he was living out of odd jobs, then he got a job with a cement factory, however, the cement attacked his skin and he was laid off. It took him 6 months to get healed. Finally he found a job with an iron factory as an unskilled worker and now he is working there for more and 2 years. My mother was active on the farm too. In 1951 she became nurse in one of the hospitals and she is working there ever since. She had a great luck, she was silent about her husband and his past. Of ~~course~~ course, ~~she~~ she had to comply with many Communist requirements. She has an office in the trade union of the hospital. By the way, my parents got separated in March 1957 and are living separated. I am their only child. I do not know my relatives, except my grandparents.

(5f)

Up to ~~19~~ 1945 we lived like the other lower middle class families. After that everybody lived equally. There were no more differences. Of course, there was always food in the village. We did not spend on clothing. I being a student in Debrecin was the only mem-

ber of the family on whom money could be spent. As long as it was possible I got everything from my parents. I was the only and spoiled child. Three persons were making money on me. I sometimes think I could not repay my parents for all that I received from them.

(5g) 3 or 4, depending whether we lived with grandmother.

(5h) See above

(5i) None

(5k) It hurt me very much.

(6) Single

(7) Not applicable

(8) We talked freely about politics with my parents, however, we had certain friendly debates particularly I disagreed with my grandmother. She was very much for the old system. She wanted kingdom, titles, and ranks. I did not want them. I agreed more with my father concerning the political system, however, we had some differences in our opinion concerning the distribution of wealth. My mother was not interested in politics, she cooked. Our political debates with father always ended ⁱⁿ ~~with~~ good friendship. We agreed that next day we will continue it and went to bed. My father used to say that those people who have a higher education are more important whereas I said that all people are equal disregarding their education.

(9) Not applicable

(10) The authorities tried to disrupt the family, by over-taxing the time of the individuals. My father and mother were very busy with making a living and with the different organizations they had to join. They did not have any leisure time. My mother had to join the trade union and she became elected the secretary. It was her duty to collect the membership fees and she had to prepare a great deal of paperwork. At home in the night hours she had to be busy with the trade union. My father for example, ^{once} ~~was~~ was ordered to attend a Party seminary. It's amazing, but for a while in one of his jobs he was regarded as a good kader. I don't think that there was any other grievance.

(11) Yes we liked one another very much. I do not remember any bad words in the family circle.

(12) Yes, see above.

(13) No, just the contrary.

(13b) No trouble.

(13c) No trouble.

(14a) My father and mother were not too close. They had certain difficulties which finally ended in their separation. However, the relations between me and my parents

- we're very intimate and good. I could tell them what I wanted to do and they permitted me almost everything.
- (14b) I don't know. I know only of the families of 3 of my friends where the situation was pretty much the same. However, in the case of one friend the parents were very conservative but not their son. The result was that in the evening the kid had to ^{leave} ~~xxxx~~ the family home through the window or at night he had to come home through the window.
- (14c) My leisure time was taken up with swimming and water polo. Otherwise we went to the movies and to dance. We ~~were~~ went rather seldom to theatres. In Budapest it was too ~~is~~ expensive. When we went to a dancing place we tried to get in through the exit in order to avoid paying admission ~~xxxxxx~~. Students were students all the time. It was a special joy to cheat in such a way.
- (14d) With my parents we went to visit relatives. This was a pastime I ~~was~~ did not like. We went quite a few times together, to theatre, opera ~~and~~ or even movie. But my parents did not like very much to visit public places and I was not at home too much.
- (14e) Yes.
- (15) No information.
- (16) It was easy to make a friendship. There were many boys who were interested in getting acquainted on the streets only and for one night only. Otherwise you could always

meet girls or boys at the dancing places, or during the sport exercises. It was pretty easy for students. They were together all the time. At ~~the~~ ^{our} university of +uda-
 nest we were altogether 300 students. Everybody knew everybody else and boys and girls addressed one another from the first day on as "te". The usual greeting was servus. During the revolution grandfather and grandson greeted each other with servus. The general tone between the 2 sexes depended on the youngsters. The students at the university were mostly interested in an earnest life. One boy and one girl met and pretty soon they planned a marriage. In their case the marriage really meant a planning whereby they wanted to wait up to the last year. It was regarded as a good basis of the marriage if the 2 students got a state scholarship. They could live on it.

(16a) I know of cases where girls got married at the age of 14 and boys ~~xxx~~ ^{at} the age of 16. I had a girl acquaintance and I met her when she was 16 years old. Then she was just pushing a baby carriage with her baby. Most of the boys wanted to get married ~~x~~ before they joined the army. Such a marriage of boys often ~~xxxx~~ ended in a tragedy. The boy was taken away and the girl began to go out with another boy.

(16b) Courtship was very often short. But at same time the old custom of visiting the girl's parents and of engagement were still kept. The attitude of the parents depended on their social class. In the case of a working boy

at the age of 17 or 18 he was ^{making} ~~xxxxxxx~~ more than his father. He was independent and he was not interested whether his parents permitted his marriage. The same refers to many girls. In ~~xxxxxx~~ some other social classes the ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{approval} of the parents was necessary, or at least it was desired. On the university it was a rarity if a girl in the last year was not yet a bride. In this respect the state scholarship was a great help. Each of them got 400 or 500 forints, so the 2 of them made about 1000 forints which was enough to set up their own household.

(16d) If somebody wanted a girl he could find her. If somebody wanted a student he could find a student.

(16e) Yes. That was one of the great ~~xxx~~ problems although the Russians were very glad. It was easy to find prostitutes on the street or in the different places of amusement. If you went to a certain place for a week you could see the same faces every night. So it was not difficult to find out who was who. Being a swimmer I was always going to the swimming pools and there one could find ~~fix~~ girls too. The prostitutes were particularly liked ~~xxxx~~ by the army officers who had a lot of money and no ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{brains}. In Budapest the prostitutes had ~~xxxxx~~ their own places. For example, before the eastern ~~xxxx~~ railway stations in the Ilkovic Restaurant. That was the meeting place of the underworld, the girls and their ~~xxxx~~. In Buda some of the small streets were full of girls. In Pest the Berkocsis utca was notorious.

- (16f) The Communists tried to be severe and punished prostitution, however, without any results. The police could not do anything. In Debrecen the students knew exactly the houses of prostitution and tried all of them. I have no experiences from Budapest.
- (16h) The laws concerning abortion showed that there were many illegitimate children, however, people were not interested whether somebody was legitimate or illegitimate.
- (16i) I am not an expert on that point.
- (17) Theft became a national problem. It did not cause any more problems to steal, not from another fellow, but from the state plants. It was simply called relocation. Stealing was the usual way how the young workers made some extra money. If somebody wanted a motor part for his motor bicycle he asked one of his friends who stole it from his plant.
- (17d) Yes in Budapest in certain peripheries I have heard about it.
- (18) I had 3 good friends in Debrecen and I met them through my sport life. All the 3 of us were swimmers and we met in the swimming pool. Finally we became the best friends 2 of them are now in America. The third one stayed at home. We spent together most of our free time.
- (18c) Sport was the most important. But we were good com-

rades. There was one great difference between the 3 of us: I was a good student all the time. The 2 other ones were not. One of them finally could get the baccalaureate after many difficulties. The third one did never get so far in his studies. So he became a bricklayer and acutally he had more money than the 2 of us together.

- (18g) Complete understanding and ~~szkxkxk~~ comradeship.
- (18i) We stuck together, we agreed, we liked life.
- (18k) Everybody wanted his kind as his friend. The Communists made friendship with Communists. The non-Communists with non-Communists. However, if a friend of mine had joined the Party I would have examined his case and decided according to the circumstances.

(19a) My father was Catholic, however, my mother was Protestant.

(19b) I was ~~Pro~~ Protestant. It is difficult to characterize religious life generally. Every family or every person had his own religion. I ~~xtended~~ attended a Protestant church school where everybody had his own opinion. Not every student was a religious person. My family or me have never been persecuted because of religion. Even the church schools applied many poor methods. There were many bad priests. Even in our school, I would say, most of the priests were bad as priests and as teachers. ~~They~~ They did not instil a great amount of religiosity. The Catholics have always been more fanatical than the Protestants. They had been always better on the pulpit.

Everybody had the feeling that there is a need of God. His behavior was, however, individual. There were students who spent a whole day in the church and ~~other~~ ^{other} students never went into the church since it was not compulsory. I did not like to attend the common religious services since most of the kids there were parishes. There were always more girls than boys in the church. Of course, I don't know what was the situation outside of the church schools.

(20) The influence of the Communists depended on the priests. After the state had taken over the church schools our gymnasium stayed under the jurisdiction of the bishop. The bishop was Peter Janos one of the leading peace priests. He was seldom at home. He was always traveling. He visited India and China. He preached rather seldom. I never attended his sermons.

(20b) Communism could not stamp out religion. It wanted to make a tool out of religion.

(20c) Bishop Peter Janos was one of the chairmen of the peace council. In his sermons he was always talking about Communist slogans. I knew a non-Communist priest. I preferred to go to him. In the so-called Greek church of Debrecen there was another peace priest too.

(20f) Some people went to church, other people did not. Who was not born in the city could freely go to the church. The old women were always in the church, but even some of the youngsters went to the church.

- (20g) I don't know of such a case.
- (20h) I did not like to go to church. This is a human affair. I used to go to a priest who held devotional hours in his home. I used to go to the oratory of the reformed college.
- (20i) Those who have a religious conviction.
- (20k) For the great majority of the youth religion does not mean very much. They went to church only if they had some ~~at~~ troubles. Generally it was more important for people to make a living.
- (20l) I have no information.
- (21) If the young man is inclined for a profession he should become an electrical engineer or a doctor. Both of them are very good occupations. In our class there were 37 students and 20 of them wanted to apply at the medical school of the university. Then again a physicist or a chemist has a great future under the Communist system. If somebody has no inclination for the professions, he should become a mechanic. They make a very good one, not only in the factory but outside ~~ways~~ doing odd jobs privately.
- (21b) He should learn Marxism and particularly Marxist theory. He should be an opportunist. In such a way he can make success, but every success is dangerous. It is true, that even a few good experts can make a good living and can get ahead under the Communist system.

(22) The Party member, the functionaries of the state and the Party were pretty well off. Then the doctors lived pretty well. The country doctor makes 6000 to 10 000 forints a month which is an awful rest sum, particularly in a small village. Not even the doctors in the hospitals make so much, however, they form ^a caste in the society. This caste system of the doctors was well recognized even by the Communists. There was a special film called: *Áhíllencs szamu korterem* (Card No. 9) which caricatured the existing situation. The doctors became pretty much excited when the film came out and protested against it. However, I think the film depicted the real situation. There are some other ~~xxxxx~~ ^{persons} who live pretty well. The Kaszek people for example, particularly those in the trades make an awful lot of money. The plight of the peasantry is much worse. They are non-proletarians. Many of them were put into the concentration camp on the Hortobagy. The unskilled workers and particularly the construction workers are worst off. Most of them are making less than 1000 forints a month. They are the real proletarians of the Communist system.

(22a) I belonged to the student group.

(22b) The same.

(23) There are social classes under Communism. For example, working class and peasantry. There are very important differences between them, both in material and spiritual ways. The intellectual differences are very con-

spacious. Somebody with a higher salary leads quite a different life. You can see those differences at the places of amusement. A worker will never go into the opera. You could observe the class differences even in the movie houses. The intellectuals liked very much a film which was no amusement for the workers.

(23b) I believe that there has been an important change since the war, however, I do not know very much about it.

(23d) We cannot talk about class barriers. Everybody is pretty equal. Differences exist only on an intellectual level. Students find it pretty difficult to get along with the sons of workers.

(23e) They are more equal, but I am not quite sure.

(23c) One thing is sure: politeness disappeared for good. If you are using the streetcar of Budapest you will hear every moment that somebody is called stupid. Both women and men. It happens that one of the passengers called the motorman stupid whereupon the motorman retorts in the same way. Nobody cares very much about such insults. Everybody's nerves are strained. Nobody tries to be polite. It happens that a young boy is sitting on the streetcar and before him there is an old lady standing. The address of *ur* is no more used, except among the older people. The youngsters call everybody either uncle or comrade or simply by his name. The general address is *you* in Hungarian *magá*. The use of *ön* disappeared. The greeting of *kezet csókolom* is still used with girls before they become intimate

and use the form of *te*. In the factories the older fellows are called *szaki bacci* the younger ones simply *oszen*.

(24) The kulak class suffered the most.

(24a) I don't know of that.

(25) At most places the leader was a Jew. For example, *Rakosi* in the Party. But there was a Jewish leader in every ministry or in every plant. The situation was pretty bad for the old Jewish business men. But even those had rather good connections. They stuck together and if one of them ~~was~~ got a good position he helped the other ones and secured ~~him~~ ^{them} a good position too.

(25a) It depended on how able he was to get a good position. He had a rich Jewish merchant in *Debrecen*. Everything was taken away from him but he could stay there as an employee with his nationalized store. Such persons became the new managers in the Communist system.

(25c) I had a friend who was a half-Jew. His father had died in 44 in the concentration camp. His lumber yard was taken away by the Communists. His widow made a living by doing crocheting work at home. My friend did not like the system.

(25d) One could not make any distinctions who was Jew and who was not. There was no Jewish problem ~~which~~ neither anti-Semitism. For the Party it was the same, and if somebody was against the Party it was again the same

whether he was a Jew or not. The political attitude was not ~~more~~ connected with the race.

(25g) Don't know.

(25h) I have never thought of that. All I know is that in Debrecen there is a special area full of Jews. It is a ramshackle area where you could see old Jews dressed according to the order of Chasidism . You can see there kosher shops. In the pastry shops and espressos of Budapest one can always see many Jews.

- (1) It was necessary for me to know what ~~is~~ ^{was} going on around me. In the school it was necessary for me to show an interest in politics. It was impossible to deal with any-
~~things~~ thing else. When I was working in Budapest I had to attend a political seminary once in every 2 weeks.
- (1a) I was interested only in the main principles. But in 1956 everybody was very much interested in politics.
- (2) One part of the school youth, the good students, knew exactly that in old times there had been several political parties. ~~Most~~ ^{Most} of the ~~youngsters~~ ^{youngsters}, however, knew only that in 1945 there had been many parties and all of them had disappeared. During the history classes we had always disparaged the Social Democratic Party.
- (2a) I did not sympathize with any of the political parties. Many political parties are necessary only that some ~~shrewd~~ ^{fellows} should get money out of them.
- (2b) No, he was never a member of any political party.
- (2e) I never liked the Communists. As a little boy I heard pretty much about them during the war. Ever since, I have heard and seen only ~~disagreeable~~ ^{disagreeable} things about them. We met the Russians for the first time in 1945 and we got nothing but bad things from them. Later on I began to think even about political matters and I could not find any ~~advantages~~ ^{advantages} in Communism. My political views did not change in this respect although over the xx years I got to know Communism more and more.
- (2f) I was neutral against the Communist Party.

- (2g) Most people had the same attitude particularly the educated people.
- (2h) Because of the terror. Everybody was in a constant fright in the 1950ies up to the death of Stalin. He did not even dare to open his mouth.
- (3) My main grievances were: annihilation of human freedom. It was impossible to talk
The press had to glorify Stalin. It was impossible to listen to the radio. That was even worse than the economic pressure. Then again the system of the workbook was pretty bad. Such a workbook accompanied the whole life of man. Everybody had to have many personal documents which was very, very bad.
- (3a) Inadequate housing, disagreement with political ideas, inadequate food at least certain times.
- (3b) Interference with religious life. Actually everybody arranged his religious life as he wanted. Then again interference with family life was one of the least important grievances.
- (3c) Inadequate opportunity to get ahead, the kader cards. I can mention the case of professor Santa, a world famous brain surgeon who was arrested and kept in prison for many years. He was rehabilitated just a short time ago. Many writers underwent the same calamities.
- (3d) Overtaxation.
- (3e) Overwork, terror, inadequate food and housing.
- (3j) There were no good things in the system, except for the

youth such as sports opportunities. A good sportsman could get everything he wanted.

(4) Those people who served Moscow faithfully had the real power. It was a system of vassals. Everybody had a chief who watched him and controlled him. The ruling class was the class of good Communists.

(4f) No information.

(4h) The Party members.

(5) It was generally told that it was advantageous to be a member of the youth league, however, I do not know of any concrete advantages. I joined the Youth League since I had many stars on my leader card. But I did not find any great advantages in it. An independent Youth League secretary had many advantages. He had a job paying 1500 to 2000 forints.

(5a) The drawbacks were that the members had to attend the meetings.

(5c) At the beginning it was very difficult not to join the Youth League. ~~Everybody~~ Everybody had a pressure upon him to join it. Later on this policy was changed and even the old members were kicked out. At that time ~~probably~~ ^{those} who did not want to join did not join it.

(5e) When I was a student in the grade school I was a ~~pioneer~~ ^{pioneer.}
 When we finished grade school we got a good-looking diploma from the pioneer movement saying ^{that} because of our good work done as pioneers we are recommended to the

Youth League. Then in September the high school started and on one of the first days the secretary of the Youth League came into our class and collected those pioneer diplomas. In 2 weeks they were ~~exchanged~~ ^{exchanged} for our membership cards in the Youth League. That's how I became a member. From that time on I had to pay one forint a month. I had no other obligations.

(5f) See above. In our gymnasium we had a large Youth League organization which were led by a secretary and by secretaries in every class. I was elected class secretary as one of the few good students. My main duty was to prepare a report every week about our meeting although we never had any meetings. Then I had to control the membership stamps. Actually there was a special officer in charge of that. But I had to see that ~~the~~ ^{he} gets the stamps and he gets the money from the ~~the~~ students. That was my main activity. I was class secretary for 1 year only in the third class of the ^{gymnasium} ~~gymnasium~~. Then I went over to the Fazekas Mihaly school where I was only a simple Youth League member without any office.

(5g) As long as I was a secretary I had to write the report which took me about 30 minutes. I usually wrote it during the arithmetic class. Then we had a special meeting for the Youth League secretaries, once a week which lasted about an hour or an hour and a half. If we would have worked according to the Communist rules we could have spent all our afternoon with the activities of the Youth League. I know that students in other schools

were much more burdened. Our school, however, was a church school and most of the students, were the sons of priests gendarms, officers of the army, and so on. They were not too enthusiastic about the whole Youth League. In some other schools you could find the sons of Stakkanovites and they were enthusiastic holding many and long meetings.

- (6) Membership in the Party was a good letter of recommendation. Party members could easily get jobs, could easily get different kind of rewards.
- (6a) I knew one Party member, the father of my school mate, with whom I was on good terms. First I met the boy and liked him. I learned only later that his father was a Party member. ~~xxx~~ Actually his father was a worker, a good worker who became a Stakkanovite. He was an old worker and not an enthusiastic Communist. I did not know any ~~fullblooded~~ ^{fullblooded} ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ Communists.
- (6a) I don't think people changed very much because of Party membership.
- (6f) I don't know of any cases of this kind.
- (6h) No.
- (6p) No, I could not have joined it since my kader card was not good enough. My origin was bad and I did not have any merits.
- (6r) I don't know.
- (6s) I have never met any Party leaders. I went only once into a Party house. That happened in Debrecen when I

found a membership book on the street I went into the Party house and returned ~~it~~ it there. My idea was that the guy will be pretty much punished by the Party because he did not take care of his membership card. That's why I did it. Usually we did not like to go near to the Party house. We arranged our walk in a way that we should avoid the Party house. Very often meetings were going on there in the afternoon or in the night hours and if somebody was passing by unsuspected he was invited to attend the meeting. Then it was very difficult to get away.

- (7) I had to join the Izabadszagharcos Szovetseg. It was a mere formality in the school. According to my papers I finished the course of sharp shooting of the Szovetseg although I never attended it. Then again I finished the radio course although I had never attended it. However, it was good to have such certificates from the Izabadszagharcos Szovetseg since it meant a definite advantage at the time of the draft. In Debrecen I was leading an active sport life. In 1952 I joined a sport club called Haladás. There was ^{no} politics there, only interested sports. ~~xxxx~~ I was ~~xxxxxx~~ interested in swimming and regularly participated in the different swimming programs. We received bathing suits and gowns from the club. ~~on~~ the ~~other~~ other hand we had some program every weekend. In 1954 I left the Haladás ~~club~~ club and joined the Lokomotiv Club which was the club of the trade union of the railway employees and had much better financial

means. We got more railway tickets and other benefits. 2 times a week we went out for swimming races. In such a way I had an opportunity to travel into the different parts of the country and to visit many cities. There were no political activities whatsoever connected with sports life. For example, my former trainer was a doctor and an excellent sport trainer. He definitely was not for the existing system. Anybody who joined the sportsclub had many benefits. On the other hand we were supposed to work very hard. My regular daily schedule meant that before going to school at 5.30 a.m. I went into the swimming pool and had a training there lasting till 7 a.m. Then at 8 o'clock the school started. After the school we had some training again. Sometimes from 8 to 10 p.m. It happened pretty often that I got home after 10 p.m. only. It is true, that this sport program offered to us was liked very much by all my friends.

(7c) See above

(7d) See above

(7e) The sport programs were generally liked. Particularly such a club as I mentioned which did not do anything in politics.

(7,1) See above

(7c) No information

(8) All I know is that the old Communists became disillusioned. There was a marked animosity between the old and the new Communists. The new Communists were op, or-

tunists who wanted to get money. But very few of them were really enthusiastic about the Party. Even young people joined the Party in order to make success. Particularly the intellectual members of the Party lacked any real enthusiasm.

- (9) The DISZ had been all the time a great problem for the Communist Party. The Party tried several methods in order to gain the approval of the youth, however, those methods failed.
- (10) People did not dare to talk. There was a general mistrust. You could feel it right away, it was generally in the air.
- (10b) Out of our family only my father was taken to the police. That happened a few years ago and he was taken to the regular police not to the xx AVO. He was taken away at night and kept there for a whole night. The police wanted to persuade him that ~~the~~ he should join the DISZ CS. Later on he was summoned to the local police 3 or 4 times for the same purpose. Actually he was not arrested.
- (10e) In Debrecen the members of the AVH were generally not known to the population. So all I know is coming from hearsay. I think that most members were recruited through money. Those fellows who did not like to work could make money and success by joining the AVH. There were many people who were drafted into the AVH and stayed there. I don't know of any open recruitment.

- (10g) It turned out during the Revolution that in the post offices there had been certain secret rooms which were not accessible for the ordinary police but ~~the~~ only for the AVD people. Those were the rooms wherefrom the ~~isugext~~ long-distance calls, particularly the telephone calls with foreign countries could be overheard. An AVD man was more than a policeman.
- (10K) The AVD was the servant maid of the Party.
- (11) A friend of mine in the school had the following adventure: It started at a football game when the Pozsa team from Godolló played very unfairly and the judge made unfair decisions for ~~their~~ their favor. At the end of the game the public wanted to beat the umpire. However, he escaped from the stadium with the aid of the police whereupon my friend punctured the bicycle tires of the police. He was caught, was taken to the police station and kept there for the night. During the night he was supposed to scrub the floor, particularly the floor of the toilet rooms. In the morning he got 2 slaps in his face and was permitted to leave. Those people who were important before 1945 were in a greater danger.
- (11g) I know of one deportation camp on the Hortobágy, the state farm at Elek. I worked there as a student during one summer and during that time I met a few deportees there. One of them was a former captain now doing ~~fa-~~ general farm work. The other one was an older man no more suited for farm work so he was clerk in the

cooperative store. All those ~~xxxxxx~~ people were very distrustful and did not want to talk. It happened that 2 of them met in our presence and started to talk in English. Later on we became good friends with the deportees and they told us many of their complaints. They were cheated pretty much with their wages. For example, one work was given out to them on an hourly ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{basis}, so they worked rather slow. Then finally it turned out that they got their wages on an accord basis and got a very small wage. One of the deportees was the camp leader or the organization leader who had a certain leadership over the other fellows. All the advantages he had out of his job was that he had a special office in the building of the school. There were women and children among the deportees but I don't know where they lived and I have no further information. I met one deportee family in Debrecen where they were living. The name of the deportee was Baron [REDACTED] who came from Budapest. He was not working while in Debrecen but his wife and daughter were working. Both of them in a hospital and one of them with my mother.

(12) Not applicable

(13) It depends on his kader card. If somebody had a poor kader card he should keep his mouth shut and work hard. Who had no special bad points in his past could make a success on the Party line.

- (13c) No, because nobody risked his authority in order to help somebody. If somebody was arrested because of political reasons everybody denied that he knew him.
- (13d) Yes, it is an advantage. Particularly if the fellow feigned to be stupid and was willing to feign a faithfulness to the Party. It was important that the police should believe that the suspected fellow was really stupid.
- (13e) Money was always a great help although one needed a great deal of it. It is interesting but there were always moneyed people. Some of them, for example, got their money from their relatives abroad. Some other people had something left from the old world. Then many people got money out of stealing particularly those people who worked with a large plant or with the T S Z CS. Even among the students those threshing controllers stole together a great amount of money and when they returned in the fall they were quite different than the other students. Generally, however, it was impossible to see who had money since even the MASZEK people tried to hide ^{and} not to show it. The greatest sign was that the moneyed fellow bought a Pannonia motorbike. If you went into an espresso you could always see people who spent more than the average and who obviously did not work and nobody knew where they ^{had} money from. Then of course, there were the higher public officials and officers of the Army who had money out of legal sources.

(13f) Yes.

(13g) I think not.

(14) The fluctuations in the terror could be easily observed. The most difficult situation was at the beginning of the 50ies. Then after Nagy Imre the whole situation eased and although there were many small changes this eased terror lasted up to the revolution.

(15) I would say that the Soviet Union was the bandleader and all the satellite countries were simple musicians in the band.

(15a) No

(15e) The Soviet influence was equally important in every field of the life. We had to do everything on the basis of the Soviet experiences.

(15f) All I know is that a Bulgarian fellow called ~~Comrade~~ Comrade Ivanovics was the personnel manager of the Vendeglatoipari Hozsant in Debrecen. He only stuttered in Hungarian and he wrote in Bulgarian. But his job was important. I don't know how he got it. I had to see him when in a summer I was working for a while in a pastry shop. At that time his secretary told me that he was a Bulgarian.

(16) People generally kept their mouths shut, however, there were some courageous people who spoke up particularly among the old Party members. There was one of them at

the place where my father worked. After a meeting when he spoke out his mind the AVO took him away for 2 or 3 days. Then he came back and at the next meeting he talked again. The average working guy ~~criticized~~ ^{criticized} the system whenever he got his salary. In the tavern everybody was free to talk.

(16c) One could be frank with a peasant or in the tavern with a guy who was ragged and drunk, or you could talk freely with the unskilled worker in the construction industry.

(16d) People were generally not candid.

(17) The best examples can be found in the field of cheating in wages. One summer I was working in construction. For example, when we worked half a day we put it down as 2 days work, or we made 200 square meters we put it down as 600. There was ~~xxx~~ an even greater cheating going on in the bookkeeping. In political line it was more difficult to circumvent the officials orders. This could happen only at a mass demonstration. For the students it was compulsory to attend the mass demonstrations. If they failed to attend it was the same as absence from the school. So we waited the roll call and after that we disappeared. Then it happened that at the end of the ~~demonstration~~ demonstration there was a second roll call. Sometimes the students were punished by the teachers for their absence at the demonstration. Other times only those students stayed at the mass demonstration who carried banners, flags, or slogans

because they had to return with their flags to the school. My father, for example, was always carrying a flag whenever a mass demonstration came up since he had such a difficult position in all his jobs.

(18) The cohesive forces of the regime were the AV0 and the terror. The principles of Lenin were definitely no cohesive forces.

(19) Every cheating should be regarded as an opposition. There was a constant sabotage, a constant political neutrality, a constant silent opposition. It was impossible to ~~was~~ oppose with deeds. In 1954 it happened a few times that in the morning hours one could see leaflets on the streets of Debrecen and I understand in the streets of ^{Miskolc.} ~~Miskolc.~~ There were very few leaflets, however, it ^{happened} ~~was~~ several times in the morning hours. Some of the leaflets were printed and came from abroad. But I don't think they came from a Free Europe balloon. Some other ones were obviously prepared at home and they were not printed.

(19b) I don't know of organized groups hostile to the regime.

(19c) The state officials and the higher ranking police and army officers.

(19m) Those organizations expressed the opinion of the students. Everybody felt the same way. I attended a few meetings of the Petöfi kor. They were very good meetings but it was impossible to get in. There was one

meeting for the future teachers at the business university. Even the corridor was fully packed so many people turned ~~up~~ out.

- (1) I did not get much information out of the newspapers. The foreign radio stations were more important. Those people who knew a foreign language were usually better informed. The newspapers became much better after 1955.
- (1a) The foreign radio stations were the most important. After 1955 even the newspapers became important.
- (2) I have liked to read newspapers.
- (2a) I read many weekly and monthly papers. I subscribed to the Szabad Ifjusag for 2 years. My father wanted to subscribe to a daily paper, for a month he kept the Szabad Nep. Then he got fed up with it and subscribed to the Nepszava and finally to the Magyar Nemzet. But finally he abandoned all of them since all of them were lying exactly in the same way. I ~~never~~ usually bought the copies of the sport ~~new~~ newspapers, then of the Mivelt Nep and Beke es Szabadsag. I took them home and my family read them too.
- (2g) A friend of mine got foreign publications from the English and American legations. He spoke English and translated some of the articles to me. The Communist newspapers published abroad could be always bought on the streets. For example, the Daily Worker and the L'Humanité.
- (3) I went to the movies pretty often. I would say once a week and saw every new film.

(3b) I liked the non-political films particularly the French and Italian ~~amex~~ films.

(3c) The English films were very good and we saw many other foreign films. For example, 2 films produced in Western Germany. Then I saw 2 films produced in Eastern Germany and in Poland. Both of them were pretty poor. The Czechs made one very good comedy. My friends attended the so-called Bulgarian and Rumanian movie week and told me that those films were very poor. Then I saw 2 Yugoslav films. They were good. The Russian films were very poor, however, they were not poorer than the present-day West German films which I can see now in Munich. The Hungarian films, ~~were~~ well, some of them were very good other ones very poor. They tried to imitate the ~~were~~ French technique of film making. Finally I remember 2 poor films from Mexico.

(3e) In Debrecen one could go to the theatre rather seldom because one play was played for 6 months. For example, the operetta Csardaskiralyo was played for 1 1/2 years. The program consisted of 3 or 4 plays and the operettas were always popular. On the other hand the political plays could be played only for 1 or 2 weeks. There was a Russian comedy which had quite a success. Then the play of Gorky ~~exies~~ called "Night Hostel" was played with a great success since it was a great literary achievement.

(4) I read many books according to my age. As I grew as I was

in the grade school I read a great many cheap-covered books published before 1945. In the last few years I was more interested in modern literature, particularly in Hungarian literature.

- (4e) I know of Thomas Mann but I did not read him. I liked 2 Hungarian writers Jokai and Kerinty and 2 Hungarian poets Arany and Vorosmarty.
- (4f) I know of Thomas Mann.
- (4g) The public libraries had many books. But they were all political books written by the Soviet authors. There was a time when Hungarian books were not published at all. I remember that I bought 2 good books by Hungarian authors. One was a historical novel by Kovai Lorinc. The other novel was about the Party life. I forgot its author.
- (5) We got a radio for the Christmas of 1955. It was the so-called folk radio which sold for 480 forints and was good only for the Hungarian radio stations. Actually it was a pretty poor set. We could receive only the Kossuth station. But the other Hungarian station the Petöfi station never came in. Of course, for 800 forints or more you could buy a good set and listen to the foreign radio stations. However, such a set was bought usually by the newly married couples particularly when it was sold on instalments.
- (5c) The Saturday night programs were good, when we could hear comedies and a lot of music, particularly dance music and so-called folk music which is actually the

old gipsy music. The word gipsy could not be used. So they were characterized as folk musicians. For example, the gipsy band of Lakatos Sandor was called folk band. Then again there was another popular radio program called heart sends to heart. But there you could hear the same hit songs played 3 or 4 times a day. One could hear good operas on the radio particularly the good Italian operas which were very popular.

- (6) I listened to foreign stations at the places of my friends in the evening or in the afternoon when it was not jammed. Most often I listened to the Free Europe Radio and to the Voice of America. The Free Europe had a program all day. We did not like them very much because their news were poor and unreliable. In many cases they told news two days later than we had heard about them in Hungary. We also listened to the Hungarian news cast from London and Paris. My father liked very much the BBC. He was listening to it every night although the reception was very poor.
- (6a) We listened to a foreign station and then to a Hungarian one and then compared the news. The foreign stations told many unreliable news. They did not know Hungary well, however, it was possible to arrive ^{to} ~~by~~ the real truth by comparing the different news.
- (7) There were many news going around from mouth to mouth. Most of them said that on this and that day something will happen. Then the date came and nothing happened. Most ~~was~~ of those rumors expressed a desire and not news. Particularly my grandfather furnished our family with such kind of news. The real news came from Hungarian arian athletes who went abroad and when coming back told ^{what} they saw.
- (7a) Generally the students were supposed to arrange for political discussions or the so-called press conferences. In practice, however, such conferences were never held.

For the general population the discussion of the current events depended on the situation. There were times when everybody was tired and not interested in foreign news. When two people met they usually discussed the results of the Tote and then exchanged their news.

- (8) The sportnews were reliable in the Hungarian papers.
- (8d) It depended on your feeling. One believed the short news and never the long ones.
- (8e) The reports on the ~~xxxxxxx~~ plan fulfilment were always lying. The political information and comments of the radio were a little bit more reliable.
- (8f) The Irodalmi Ujsag and some other papers were better than the others, particularly the short articles. The long debates and the short stories taken out of the life of the plants were very poor. In the last months before the revolution the Irodalmi Ujsag dealt very much with the so-called literary policy and those articles were very popular. I want to mention that *Keke es Szabad-* *sag* which wrote about really existing problems not the fake problems of the Communists. For example, it wrote about the problem of the rum since drinking became a serious problem. Then again it wrote about abortions. For example, *Fcher Klari* wrote the story of a typical case. In some cases an open discussion came out of ^{these} ~~this~~ articles and many people were able to publish their opinions. For example, there was such a discussion about the moral attitude of the youth. One writer said it was

pretty bad, another one tried to defend the Socialistic youth. As another topic games and drinking or early marriage and divorce were similarly discussed. If a student's letter was published concerning such a debate we read it with great interest, however, if a DISZ secretary wrote nobody read it.

(9) Yes, people tried to be well-informed. We were living in darkness and people wanted to ~~xxxxxxx~~ avoid something like running into ~~the~~ a blind alley. If anybody knew foreign languages he was at a great advantage.

(10b) I was at my summer vacation when the Korean war broke out. The owner of the only radio in the village came and announced that war broke out in ~~Korea~~ Korea. We did not know where Korea was. We could not find a map to locate it. It happened only a few days later that we found ~~Korea~~ Korea in a map published by the newspaper. I don't know who started the war.

(10c) I heard that the Hungarian government protested several times against the Free Europe balloons. I saw the picture of them in the newspaper. I heard that several people died because because the box containing the leaflets dropped upon them. Later on I learned from the Free Europe radio that that was a good thing.

(10d) I know the name of Nagy Ferenc but I do not think that he has a great future. I know of him that when he left the country he sent a telegram from Switzerland telling that the fur coat of his wife should be sent after him.

I don't know the names of any other emigres. I know that in 56 after the amnesty order and after the so-called resettlement committees a number of people returned to Hungary. They were interviewed by the newspapers. They said bad things about the Western countries and even worse things about the emigre organizations.

- (1a) Concerning politics we want free elections ^{according} ~~concerning~~ to the will of the majority. There should be several parties although there are many drawbacks in such a system. I have no great opinion of the political parties, however, they are necessary. Concerning the economics it should be done according to the opinion of the majority, however, the situation as it existed before 1945 should not be restored. The large plant, the large estate are no good. Cooperatives are necessary. There should be free cooperatives of the workers. The wages should be just. I do not know the problems of the peasantry but the land should be in private property. Tax and finally the rights of freedom should be generally insured.
- (1b) The care given to the youth should be maintained but in a different framework. The possibilities of amusement, sport should be left. Then again the care given to the old-aged people, the health care is good. The present OII is ~~still~~ still better than nothing. There is one good thing ~~in~~ in the present educational system and this is that education does not cost money. However, the present political restrictions should be removed. The students should not be compelled to participate in politics and the universities should be open to all students of any class origin.
- (2) It is no good to suppress a political party. Every opinion should find a clear expression. In Hungary

everybody is a politician. So there should be a free competition. If somebody can recruit followers he should be permitted to do so. However, something must be done against the Mussera type of fellows. It is not easy but ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ something must be done.

(3) Yes.

(3c) No, the government should comply with the opinion of the majority.

(3a) These things which are detrimental to the economics ~~xxx~~ of the country should be forbidden. There should not be any ruling class. In case of free elections a ruling class is impossible.

(4) Yes, everybody should be free to participate in any kind of meeting.

(4b) An armed uprising against the government is justified when the government is not free. It is not justified against a government which is elected freely.

(5) The material welfare ~~in~~ and the freedom of the intellectuals should be insured. The present inequalities among the social classes should ^{be} abolished. If the intellectuals are permitted to travel abroad then even the workers should be permitted to do so.

(6) The large factories should be ^{kept} ~~xxxxx~~ in the hands of the state. In a free state nationalization is good. When factories are in private hands they bring profit to one person only.

- (6b) The present factories should not be restored to their former owner, however, if somebody established a new factory in the future, he should have a complete right to that factory and even his children should be able to inherit it.
- (6c) Private profit is good but within certain proportions. The profit made by the state is distributed within the whole population.
- (6e) The present monopolies should be kept. They are useful for the state and the individual could not do a better business than the state.
- (7) No large factories should be kept in private hands, however, the small tailor should be permitted to have his own shop.
- (8) Government planning is right if it is done from below, and if it is only consolidated in the ministries. The Communism did just the opposite. The ministries gave orders without knowing anything about the local conditions.
- (9) The state should not interfere with the field of family life, personal freedom, and so on.
- (10) If the citizen expects something from the state he must have certain duties toward the state.
- (10a) There should not be any taxation. If the factories

are in the hands of the state, the state can get income from there.

(10b) Military service should depend on the political situation. A free Hungarian government should declare Hungary a neutral country.

(10e) State and citizens have mutually duties towards each other. The state represents the people. Its duty is to take care of the people pretty much the same way as the father takes care of his family members.

(11) The medical care as organized in the OTI is rather poor, however, there are many good features in the whole system. For example, compulsory medical examination for students, for young workers, and for many other cases. This system worked as a good prevention for TB and some cancer cases. The sick person did not get much money from the OTI only 70% of his salary. But it was still better than in old times. People were generally afraid of the dentists of the OTI.

(12) I don't know how it was in old times. Nowadays people go pretty often to the theatres and movies. In such fields there are good chances of amusement.

(13ab) I don't know of old times. At present it is true, that nobody can starve in Hungary. Concerning the plant cafeterias where cooking is done on the premises the food is good. The other ones are rather poor. However,

everybody gets the necessary calories altho. honest and luxury food ~~is~~ items are very expensive. Pretty much depends on the individual skill of the housewife.

(14b) I don't know of those old times. At present people are dressed out of very poor material but still well-dressed. The youngsters are particularly well-fashioned. They follow ~~the~~ what is called American fashion although the Party attacked it several times. It is not the real American fashion but what Hungary thinks of it. There are many good tailors in Hungary.

(15) I don't know.

(16) Only the experts should get leading jobs. The unskilled worker never ^{becomes} ~~becomes~~ a good factory manager. Management jobs should be given according to merit and knowledge.

(16a) The factories should be run by experts, such as engineers and economists.

(17) The collective farms were usually called cooperatives of distress. There were some exceptions, the sho. window cooperatives.

(17c) The peasants should get greater independence. Cooperatives are good if anybody is free to join and leave them. In this case it is better than individual farming.

(17d) Every peasant should get as much land as it is enough for one family. The remaining part of the land should

be left in the hands of the state.

(17h) The land should be restored to the kulak under the restriction mentioned above. If he can cultivate his land alone he should do so. He should be permitted too to join any cooperative.

(17i) Regarding the public opinion in Hungary it would be impossible to restore the large estates to the former owners.

(17,j) No opinion.

(17m) They should be either kept in the hands of the state or the peasants should be entitled to purchase them or lease them.

(18) The church should be a church and should not interfere with politics.

(18a) Churches should be completely independent of the state.

(18b) All churches equally.

(18c) Some part of the former land-holding of the churches should be returned but the churches should be kept independent from the state and still manage their finances. However, there is no possibility for ^{restoring} the large estates of the bishops and canons.

(18d) There should be a religious teaching but only on a voluntary basis.

(18e) Everybody should be free to decide whether he wants or does not want to attend religious teaching.

(18f) I would send my children to state schools but to religious education.

- (19) If somebody really believes in the Communist principles he should be able to adhere to them. However, the opportunists and those who committed crimes should be punished.
- (19b) The leaders will anyhow disappear without being caught, however, everybody should be judged according to his merits or crimes.
- (19c) Nothing should be done about them. They were members because of their age.
- (19d) I would use their own methods against them ~~and~~. What they did to the old gendarmery should be done with them.
- (19e) There are differences. The traffic police did not do anything. The plain clothe men, well, many of them were scoundrels. If somebody committed any crime against the kulaks the Russian methods should be applied against them.
- (19f) They should stay where they are. The Communist Party should not be suppressed. If ^{it} ~~they~~ really ^{has} ~~have~~ followers, they should be able to follow the Party.
- (20) We adopted rather Western culture than we gave them. However, we gave them some great painters and musicians.
- (21) There is a Hungarian national character although it is difficult to define.
- (21a) There is a very great psychological difference.
- (21b) There is a great difference. The Hungarian is xxxxxx

independent and different from anybody else.

(21c) There are differences although the ^{Hungarians} ~~xxxxxxx~~ try to adapt everything that is American.

(21e) It is difficult to answer. The worker is just the same worker in the Western countries as in Hungary.

(21f) I don't know.

(22) I don't know of any good government. The old people always praise the old monarchy but it had many poor features. After the first ~~xxx~~ war the life was ~~xxx~~ good and bad too. The standard of living was good in 1938 but after that came Hitler.

(22f) Significant.

(22i) Don't know.

(23) I am a ^{Chauvinist} ~~xxxxxxx~~. I want Hungary ~~xxxxxxx~~ as she was before Trianon.

(23c) Other people have no right to threaten Hungary's territory.

(23d) There is no natural conflict or opposition. The difference in temperaments may lead to conflicts but not necessarily.

(23e) If I see the ^{words} ~~xxxx~~ Hungarians and Czechs, put down together side by side, then I underline 2 times the word Hungarian and erase the word Czech. The Slavs are generally hated.

(24) Hungary should not be guinea-pig. That was our great misfortune after the first world war. Even nowadays we have

play the role of a guinea-pig.

- (25) It is a rather stupid race. If the leaders cast a slo-
mushik
gan everybody believes them. The Russian ~~xxxxx~~ is still
without any culture. If he got his vodka he was not
interested in anything else. He was willing to follow
either the tsar or Stalin.
- (25c) The young generation of Russians does not know what
Com unism means. But they follow their leaders. The
leaders are all scoundrels who keep the country in strong
hands. However, there are some intelligent Russians too.
- (25g) My opinion did not change but it became more and more
complete. By now I know why I hate them.
- (26) I hardly know Marxism. All I know is what I learned in
the schools. It is true, that Marxism has many follow-
ers and will have for the near future. However, I do
not think that Marxism can be realized.
- (26g) Don't know.
- (26h) It seems human freedom. Even Marxism has certain prin-
ciples with which I agree.
- (26i) I don't think Hungary had ever been a democracy.
- (26j) I hardly know him as a Marxist.
- (27) I do not have a clear opinion. Nito's system cannot be
very good since there is a great poverty in his coun-
try.
- (26e) We must distinguish between the ~~classical~~ ^{classical} ~~Communist~~ ^{Communist} Co. unism

and Stalinism. The Classical Communist can be a patriot. The Stalinist cannot.

(28) I don't know.

(28b) Nagy here was very popular among the peasants, the students and the intellectuals. Perhaps he would have stayed on.

(29a) No opinion.

(29b) Dad.

(29c) Dad.

(29d) That's ~~xxx~~ a bluff.

(29e) Dad, but it has some good sides too.

(29f) It is a ^{phase} ~~xxx~~ of the general development which emerges at a certain time and then it disappears.

(29g) There will be always a middle class.

(29h) Dad, there is no such thing.

(29i) Veron Jeter, a good writer.

(29j) Don't know.

(29k) Don't know.

(29,1) I don't know what is he for. I know only jokes about him.

(29n) She is not good for politics.

(29n) He should be a priest and nothing more.

(30) There would be many parties and I think the Social Democrats and the Smallholders would have the greatest number of followers.

(30a) Those who were for the Revolution such as Nagy here and ^{These} ~~xxxx~~ Jeter are the well known names.

ut

- (31a) Less.
- (31b) Less, except for a few people.
- (31c) Less.
- (31d) Less.
- (31e) The leading officials get more. For example, Bodly gets 50 000 forints.
- (31f) It depended on the job.
- (31g) More.
- (31h) The Maszek people more.
- (31i) The same.
- (32) With the exception of the artists and the Communists everybody was better off before 1948.
- (33a) They are in conflict.
- (33b) They coincide.
- (33c) Conflict. Country folk are even more country folk than in old times.
- (33d) There is ^a great difference between priests and priests. Some of them want to restore the old order. On the other hand I saw ragged priests as day-laborer because they could not teach.
- (33e) The secret desire of all the counts is to restore the old order. They want to be counts again.
- (33f) The landlords want to get back their large estates too.
- (34) None of them is interested in Hungary. But they want to use her as a guinea-pig. Even the Americans. On the

other hand it is true that we could ^{get} more in the fields of economy from America than from Soviet Russia.

(35) The population would not fight for the present regime, only those who fought against the Revolution.

(36) My opinions did not change, however, some problems were cleared up.