

- (1) The Revolution developed spontaneously; it was so spontaneous that one had plans for the day when it began - - -. Hungarians had begun to be ashamed of being Hungarians and suddenly they realized how many among them there were who held together, were united. And the whole Revolution, and what led to it, was ^{nothing more than} ~~essentially~~ opposition to the Soviet Union and the AVO.
- (2) It began with the shooting at the Radio Station - I don't know. I participated in the demonstration in the afternoon of the 23rd, until late at night. The whole thing started to have impact towards the evening, before the Parliament.
- (b) There were no such events! The road widened gradually - it couldn't have done anything but lead to a Revolution. There was one big thing when the Hungarian people showed how they felt at the second funeral of László Rajk. There were 300,000 people present; there had never been that many people at a funeral. (Probe for other similar events) Answer: The Polish events were also important since the demonstration on the 23rd was a manifestation of solidarity with the Poles. Some of the slogans decided on in advance but not used at the demonstration proved this: "Polish soil belongs to the Poles". I don't know why this wasn't used; perhaps because they didn't dare to say anything so extreme anymore.

- (c) I felt this when the university meetings began establishing Mefesz and abandoning DISZ; I felt for the first time that active groups were taking a stand.
- (e) The writers had the advantage of having an association within which they could discuss matters. The writers started to feel that they were unable to write to order; they began to argue, and the big ones especially people like Déry, who was a talented writer although a Communist, attacked Rákosi. Youth joined them and since the writers were true to the Party line they were allowed to go on. This encouraged others to follow in their foot-steps.
- (f) I used to read Szabad Ifjúság as well as Hetfői Hírlap. The crowds used to stand in line for a Hetfői Hírlap. I don't know how they were allowed to sell it; the criticism was almost Western in its sharpness. The change of tone in Szabad Ifjúság was called the "constructive tone of Communist youth". On the 20th, 21st or 22nd of October I read Szabad Ifjúság and was very much surprised at the article about the youth meetings, the article stated the demands of youth excluding only two points. I didn't read Irodalmi Ujság. I know that in recent years it often published non-political fiction and articles and writings which were not socialist realism and had other subjects than the mines and Party secretaries. This was true of the movies, too, lately. Even our parents said that some of the recent movies were

good. Szabad Nép had greater difficulty in adopting a freer tone because it was a Party organ. However, there were very many articles which included "constructive criticism". Everything could be said if it was prefaced by "I am a good Party member but ----".

(g) I don't know, I don't remember.

(3) Politically: 1) The big rehabilitations, 2) De-Stalinization and the resignation of Rákosi, 3) The possibility of criticism. Economically: The incompetence of the economic leadership; I am from Pécs, and saw terrible economic conditions here.

In Hungary there had to be a revolution as compared to Poland because in Hungary the demands were political, and in Poland only economic.

(b) The control system was impotent against the huge crowds which appeared at the demonstration. It's not that the people were so aggressive at first. No one dared to do anything. An old woman accidentally kicked a glass door at Szabad Nép and the rest followed. There was a big crowd at Parliament and the others followed again. Everyone followed this basic nucleus of the demonstration because after all everyone in Hungary was of the same opinion.

(c) The demonstrators were determined not to allow outside elements among their ranks. They wanted a peaceful demonstration, to go to Pest from Buda, to show the regime

something. I was among the demonstrators, and saw there would be chaos. I had a strange ~~feeling~~ feeling about this - - -. From the Bem Statue people spontaneously went to Parliament. But even these didn't want the Revolution yet. The tone of the demonstration was first warm and then hot. When Imre Nagy said "go home" the crowd shouted "we are staying together". But by then the Stalin Statue had supposedly been pulled down. I didn't know what to expect at the demonstration. There was an unbelievable feeling of expectancy and tension in me. People were so excited! We felt that something might happen - that we might get some result through talk.

- (f) Of my acquaintances no one opposed the Revolt. The ones who opposed it were the *treacherous* officers of the army, the AVO, and the Party members who crept into their nests and didn't come out until later. I was called "comrade" on November 6th, but not until then. I knew a Party secretary who had been in apprentice school with me; he told me on the 25th that he was very happy about the events.
- (g) Careerists were neutral. *They* were some among my acquaintances. I lived in the same house with a chief engineer who was trusted by the workers in his factory during the Revolution but he made some very *anti-revolutionary* statements privately. He was in the factory on the 23rd, 24th, and 25th, and when he came home he called the Revolu-

(strici)
tionaries hooligans and praised the soldiers who were against the Revolution. Now he ^{has} joined the Communist Party again and claimed that the students had burned part of the Corvin department store. He was a typical case of someone who did nothing and told us not to fight but when a change came, he claimed to have been part of it. There were few of these thank God.

(h) "Ruski go home" (I am sorry now that I don't know Russian. This same chief engineer said that if there had been an interpreter in each tank it would have helped the Revolution.) This was the most important slogan because it demanded complete national independence. Another popular slogan was "down with the AVO" - but they seemed ^{to be gone} ~~gone~~ by then - - -.

(i) Naturally it was anti-Communist. At the factory meeting I heard an unskilled worker say: "The real proletarian dictatorship is just coming!" He was an unskilled worker and hence belonged to the rabble. I don't understand how someone like this got mixed up with the Revolution. The fact that the Revolution was anti-Communist is shown by the destruction of Party headquarters, etc.

(4) I was a university student. It wasn't the students who did most of the fighting. I would have liked to fight except for my parents' request not to do so. Later on my parents were less strict. On the day of the demonstration I was at Parliament, at the Radio, etc. On Saturday

and Sunday I was a guard at one of the girls' dormitories. That was the day the second attack came. I ~~ran to~~^{ran to} the university and expected to participate in the fighting. It is more difficult for an intellectual to take up arms; he is involved in creative work, etc. It is more easy for a worker or a simple man because he has nothing to lose. On Sunday at noon we were told to put down our arms and go home. Then we felt that everything was lost. We realized that we would get no help, that all was lost. At the ^{Polytechnic Institute} ~~University~~ we all said: "We are going to Austria". I met every single one of those who were there, in the West. I said I wouldn't go and kept reciting Szózat to myself. (Hungarian patriotic poem). I went home on Sunday, and on Monday I spent all day near the boulevard and watched the fighting from a house. I was nervous and told my parents at home that I would fight. Next day at a friend's house I saw from the window that the AVO's were deporting young people under the protection of Soviet tanks. When we saw this we said: "Now we'll defect." We went to my house and told my parents we would go down to the Balaton. But they knew we were leaving the country. It was personal fear which drove me out. I was more afraid of being deported than of being wounded. This was on the 8th

(Interviewer probed respondent for a more detailed outline of his activities between the 23rd and the ⁴ 25th.)

Answer: I did nothing. I was a "massive" part of the crowds in the streets but I didn't fight. I was almost present at the bloodshed before the Parliament. I was constantly on the street, took news home, participated in any mass demonstrations I came across. I watched the ~~plundering and destruction~~ ^{plundering and destruction} of a Party house and got so enthusiastic that when they sacked one in the next street I participated more actively. Here I realized that bitter hatred made people throw out even Petöfi books. We tried to save the more valuable books. After the second attack I was at home for two days. In general, I walked the streets, until the 4th. I saw the fighting on Üllői Út, Körút, ~~Corvin~~ ^{Corvin} Place. The place was in ruins, more than after World War II. I saw destroyed Soviet tanks, Soviet corpses being spat at, Revolutionary poems on the walls, a candy shop with its window broken and nothing missing. I saw a "member" ^(tag) almost shoot a man who tried to steal cigarettes out of a broken shop window.

(b) On Thursday and Friday I saw some soldiers near Calvin Place; they were deserters and were debating how to get back to their unit without getting punished.

(5c) Yes, I took flour from Bicske to Budapest with a university group. In Bicske the peasants were very enthusiastic but everything was quiet. The provinces were quiet. Budapest was the hot-bed of the whole thing as far as I

I can see.

- (7) The groups at Kilian barracks, ^{Covin} ~~the~~ Place, and Széna Place. I heard some people make derogatory remarks about them before I left Hungary. They called them "leather-coats" meaning that they were wild lads, ~~also~~ hooligans.
- (a) No. During the Revolution the rebels were united regardless of their class background and Weltanschauung; one thing mattered only, opposition to the Soviet Union. Later many of them realized they had nothing in common. If a man ~~was~~ a fighter he would lie in the same bed with a dirty gypsy who was a comrade in arms.
- (8) They fought because they received orders but some defected and joined the Kilian barracks group. At the corner of Kiskörut and Rákóczy Avenue I saw some Russian tanks behave very peacefully although the crowd was threatening. One hour before the attack on Parliament Square the crowd was talking to them and they put out a Hungarian flag, etc. There were shouts "the Russians have defected". I think these Russian troops were Ukrainians; they were friendly to the Hungarians and that's why they were exchanged for Mongolians.
- (9+9a) We had little news until the newspapers started coming out.

- (c) Yes, we listened to the news over the Austrian Radio because Budapest was no good. On October 4th I was at the university listening to the Hungarian stations with their ^{calls} ~~messages~~ of SOS and so on. As for the Western radio stations, we knew everything better than RFE and VOA.
- (10b) The Party organizations fell apart. I don't know about the functionaries. In our house there were a few Party members but ~~they~~ ^{the rebels} didn't take away anybody. I know of some Party secretaries who were picked up and arrested by the Revolutionaries.
- (g) I don't know about the ministries. The ministers hid somewhere and the ministry buildings were all empty.
- (d) The AVH collapsed except ^{for} a few small units. These staged night attacks on the 1st and 2nd of November which proved that they existed. They didn't function during the day but dared to come out only at night.
- (j) They used DISZ not as the Party's youth organization but as an organization which brought youth together, which made it easier to organize youth in the framework of a new group.
- (k) Revolutionary Councils and National Guard organizations.
- (l) I don't know. They were simply "established", just like that. I think that is done in every Revolution. We learned something from the great October Revolution.
- (m) What we dreamed about. There would have been a coalition

government without Communists; it would have been a democracy building socialism, and not a restoration of the prewar regime. At home we realized that socialist building, the socialist order was not so stupid. It's just that we didn't want the Communists. One of the slogans was "we won't give back the land and factories". We wanted freedom of press and opinion, etc.; in industry we wanted factories organized like the Volkswagen factory. We wanted to keep the good things from socialism and discard the bad, and to take what was good from capitalism, too.

I remember I was very sad on Saturday because there were about 30 parties being established. The '48 Party, the Freedom Fighters' Party, the Petöfi Party, etc. Whatever it is we fought for in this Revolution, it wasn't for the right to establish 30 parties. Of course, a multi-party system is good but not like this. They only wanted to establish that many parties because everyone wanted to be a party secretary and act important. There were psychological reasons.

(11) No, I more or less forgot it, it was a bad memory. Since then there have been so many new experiences; most of us who left home were already torn from the reality of home the next day.

(a) Yes, because in Hungary people got to know each other.

Furthermore the Soviet Union has realized that the People's Democracies are only a burden to it. I won't say anything about the West since we expected so much from the West and didn't get it. But one might say that the Revolution was useful because it showed the West what the Hungarians ^{are} ~~was~~ capable of. But oil was more important to the UN than the ^{fate} ~~future~~ of a people. So we realized that we can't expect much from there. Hungary is left alone as in all the other periods of ^{her} ~~the~~ history.

- (b) During the first stage of the Revolution, if the Russians had not brought in new troops we would have annihilated them. We fought with Soviet ^{partisan methods.} ~~partisan methods.~~ If it had depended on enthusiasm, then we would have succeeded.
- (c) RFE made some promises but I won't say anything about that - it's been criticized enough. Also we knew that UN troops had been sent to Korea and Suez. Because of the Western radio promises and because of the UN troops, we expected help. We asked for help and waited for it. It was a big international thing; the radios blarfed it day and night. So we thought the West would do something about it. We thought there was enormous militarism in Germany. I think if that had been so the Germans would have come.
- (e) He is also a Communist lad and therefore only a temporary solution. That's the way our circle felt about it. He is just like Gomulka in Poland.
- (f) Maléter, Dudás, and the anonymous heroes.

(g) (i), (iv), (v), (iii), (ii), (vi).

(h) Yes, partly because we ^{had} done the most debating and partly because it is a historic traditions that youth and students always have a great role in revolutions. Students can be the intellectual leaders of such things. I know of a kid who returned to fight after being wounded and said: "I don't know why I am fighting". The university students knew why they were fighting.

(12) I decided to leave Hungary on November 6th because I was afraid I would be deported. I left on the 8th of November with two other boys.

- (1) I was a university student; I entered the university in September 1956. I graduated from gymnasium in 1955 and between my graduation and the university I was an apprentice optician.
- (2a) I was an optical apprentice. I worked five days and received instruction the sixth day. I was not paid but received a scholarship of 200 frts ^{per month} when I started and of 300 frts at the end. I left because meanwhile I was accepted at the university.
- (e) The firm where I worked was called the Hungarian Optical Workshop.
- (3) I didn't mind working here because I was glad to be out of school and the atmosphere in an apprentice school is different from a factory. There were many things I didn't like, however. I constantly fought with the masters about discipline. I didn't like it when a Party secretary whose education consisted of four years of elementary school told me what to do. The apprentices all had a certain air of frustration because we were all gymnasium graduates and 80 percent of us wanted to go to the university. We all felt very badly about the fact that we couldn't continue our studies. The masters used to call us "asses with high school diplomas".
- (d) The hygienic conditions at the workshop were quite good

We had hot water in our locker room and took hot showers daily. In the workshop we had excellent tools and materials; we used American polishing machines. The technical standards were excellent. This was the only optical apprentice school in the country. Each of the three masters was an expert in his own particular line; they were first-class craftsmen. The factory was all right. The stuff we apprentices turned out was not too hot; after all we were only learning. But if our work was accepted, it was of the best quality. Our standards were higher than the standards of the capitalist countries because we exported to the West and if the West imports products from the People's Democracies, these products are very carefully examined to make sure that they live up to Western standards. Thus the Hungarian products have to be superior to Western products to be accepted.

- (f) We worked 8 hours a day but we didn't work very hard because we didn't get paid. We had quite a good time, told jokes, etc. I was often threatened that I would not be allowed to go to the university if I didn't improve my behaviour.
- (g) I worked five days and studied the sixth.
- (o) I received no benefits except a students' season ticket for the streetcars.
- (4a) The other apprentices were all gymnasium graduates; the

masters were simple people with a little education. The masters were all very badly off until 1944 and this effected their weltanschauung. All three of them were Communist Party members. One of them was the Party secretary; they disliked each other. Their patience was lost more easily with the "asses with college diplomas".

(f)
(A)

The apprentices were all good friends; we went to the movies or museums instead of Marxism hours. We had to show respect for ^{our} the superiors and we actually did respect them if they were good at their jobs. We showed little respect to the master who had almost no schooling.

(f)

We belonged to ^{the} iron workers' ^(Vasas) trade union. We paid two frts membership fees per month and received 33 percent railroad reduction for it. I don't know how it functioned; all I did was pay my fee. The trade union secretary did nothing but collect the membership fees.

(1)

I don't know what a shop triangle is. The Party secretary, the director of the apprentices' school, and the director of the work shop used to get together and talk things over; chiefly discipline questions. I don't think the trade union secretary had anything to do with it. I don't know much about this. (Interviewer had to explain to respondent what a shop triangle was.)

(1)

Political officials didn't interfere in the capacity of political officials but the Party secretary was my master, and the knowledge that he was Party secretary gave him

courage to be very high handed.

- (n) The good kalars were those who were ^{of} working class origin as well as those who did their jobs well, and, to be delicate about it, "shut their traps". I was the worst because I talked too much. A chap who was of similar social origin as I but didn't talk as much, was the best kalar.
- (p) I don't know about it.
- (5) It was almost impossible to get a new job if one was fired from the old one. If one wanted to go to work in another town, it was impossible to find a job in the same field; one could get a job as a cement carrier or something like that though. A teacher had to go wherever they sent him; he could change jobs or cities only after lengthy petitions. My mother who is a schoolteacher wanted to get a teacher's position in Pécs and after many petitions she was told that they were unable to find a job for her there.
- (b) I wanted to be an electrical engineer. I was not accepted at the university at first, because my father had been a privat dozent to Gyula Székfi.
- (e) I would get a comfortable big apartment, I would travel a great deal and collect a big library. I would save for my old age, and buy modern furniture for our villa on the Balaton where my parents could spend their old age.

(3) In our family a university diploma is traditional. In Hungary everybody wants his son to have a diploma and especially to be an engineer or physician. I would want all my children to study; even the girls should at least finish gymnasium. But it is a danger to send women to college because women don't take higher education seriously.

(6) We were much better off before the war than after. My father taught at the university until 1950 or 1951. We often had financial problems; for example sometimes we didn't know whether we could get the travel expenses together to go to our Balaton villa in the summer. We didn't eat very much or well. Due to all this saving, however, I was able to have a new suit made of very good material. My father's salary was sufficient to live on. He worked at the Academy of Sciences after 1951, as a research scholar, and he earned about 1,500 frts a month. Our family of four managed to get along on it.

(7a) *Family income:*
(i) in 1947: I don't know, about 800 to 1,000 frts, per month.
(ii) in 1952: I don't know, 1,200 to 1,300 frts ^{monthly} approximately.
(iii) in 1955: My mother earned 1,300 per month and my father's pension came to 1,200 per month. My sister received 300 frts scholarship and my own scholarship was

200 frts per month.

- (d) My mother has worked since 1954 and my father always did some free-lance work, even after he was pensioned.
- (8) My mother earned 1,600 frts per month, my father's pension came to 400, my sister's scholarship to 300, and my own university scholarship to 140 per month. After deductions from my mother's salary, peace loan, etc. she got 1,200 frts.
- (9) My mother and I shared a rented room at her brother-in-law's house, and paid 180 frts per month. This was in Budapest. My sister, also in Budapest, lived with her uncle and didn't pay rent. My father lived in our apartment in Pécs for which we paid 200 frts a month approximately.
- (b) Our apartment in Pécs was very nice. At first we had five rooms, then we had to rent part of it and were left only three rooms plus bath-room, pantry, toilet, hall, and ^{terrace} ~~balcony~~. Our apartment was very satisfactory, but our problem was that it was impossible to find such an apartment in Budapest and as a result we had to live separated from each other. The housing conditions in Budapest were very poor although one could get everything with money.
- (c) I don't know how much we spent on food; it was approxi-

ately 50 percent of our total income. There were some things that one could never get even for money, ^{such as tropical} ~~fruits~~ ^{fruits.} ~~fruits~~ ~~and~~ ~~fruits~~. I paid 120 frts for my meals at the university canteen.

- (d) I don't know. I myself bought about 2 pairs of shoes in three years at 500 frts each and had a new suit made in 1955 for which we paid 1,400 frts. In the summer of 1956 I bought a pair of summer trousers for 200 frts, a jacket which cost almost 600 and a light summer shirt for 50 to 60 frts. I do not know how much my sister or parents spent for their clothes.
- (e) We had no telephone. Electricity was cheap but I don't know how much it cost. I don't know how much we spent for gas. I don't know how much we spent for fuel, however I know that it was much easier to get black coal, that is good fuel, in P~~e~~sthan in Budapest.
- (f) I don't know how much we spent on this item. Tobacco was cheap. I neither smoked nor drank.
- (g) Before the war it was true that some people could not afford to educate themselves because they didn't have enough money. Today this has changed. One could get a scholarship if one's family had a low income. You couldn't get a scholarship with an income of over 2,400 frts. a month. In 1954 my sister started receiving a scholarship of 300 frts a month. She paid no tuition because scholarship students are exempt from tuition. I started at the

university in 1956 receiving a scholarship of 140 frts per month for lunch and I, too, was exempt from tuition. I approved of the regime's educational policy in this respect.

- (h) Recreation was very cheap. My own recreation budget was approximately 40 frts monthly. I went to the opera once a month for 15 frts. I attended concerts free and stood in the top gallery with the music students. I do not know how much my family spent on recreation.
- (i) I don't know the total but I do know that hair-cuts were very cheap. They cost only 3.60 frts.
- (j) My own book and newspaper budget was approximately 20 frts per month. I don't know how much the family spent. I bought the periodical *Vigilia* for 5 frts a month. I bought no newspapers except *SzabadIfjúság*.
- (k) I do not know; very little.
- (l) I don't know exactly. The streetcar transportation in Budapest was very cheap. I paid 2.70 for my student weekly ticket with which I could travel back and forth daily using four different lines. During the summers we ~~went~~ ^{went} ~~to~~ ^{the} Balaton and paid 54 frts for a return ticket. The trip between Budapest and Pécs cost 80 frts one way.
- (m) We paid 150 frts yearly for our villa which was tax-free until 1964. My mother paid yearly 500 frts for the peace loan; because of her age she was allowed to offer less than the usual 10 percent.

- (10) We knew all about the planned economy. The humour periodical *Ludas Matyi* devoted a whole page to stories about the impossibility of getting the desired consumer goods. The Hungarian economy was poorly run and exploited by the Soviet Union.
- (c) I don't know since I was too young at that time. However, I have heard that there were 3 million *paupers*. The country was not well run before 1941; we sold sugar too cheaply abroad, etc. Perhaps it was good for our family, ~~but~~ ^{but} the average standard of living was very low.
- (d) Hand-crafts deteriorated but there was definite progress with regard to heavy industry. Under Horthy, Hungary would not have built such power plants ^{to} nor would heavy industry have developed to such an extent. The regime emphasized heavy industry because it is the basis of the economy in a socialist system. Agriculture was neglected because the slogan was to get the peasant boys to work in town. The employees of the state farms did no work at all since the land didn't belong to them. There were one or two model farms but these functioned badly and had a deficit. Craftsmen and artisans were first taxed out of existence and finally eliminated ~~all~~ ^{to} together. Only shoemakers and tailors could exist. In heavy industry there were some factories, for instance, iron and steel factories which worked with a deficit. I don't quite know why this was; chiefly I suppose because their products were needed by

other factories. The norm system was also unsatisfactory because such a high percentage of the products consisted of rejects. A relative told me about ^a ~~the~~ case in which a worker was forced to work at such an exaggerated pace that he ruined a machine which was worth 40,000 frts. He was a very good worker and there would have been no point in firing him because he could always have gotten a new job.

(f) After Imre Nagy came to power, the small artisans and merchants were allowed to open their shops again, but they were taxed so heavily that their prices were too high and it was cheaper to buy in state stores.

(g) Things were a little better than in 1951. It is difficult to say just how much. Personally I had ^{more} ~~no~~ money in 1956 but I don't know about the country in general. The so-called price reductions were humbug which consisted of ~~the~~ bringing out one article at a very low price such as a certain type of shoes for 150 frts instead of 200. They naturally ran out of this quickly and didn't make anymore but produced another type which was more expensive.

(11) Material conditions were not among the major complaints. The Revolution did not have economic causes. Not one of the approximately 20 demands of the Revolution were economic. The Hungarian standard of living was not so very bad; I could go to a movie, a concert or a dance quite easily.

Czechoslovakia was the only People's Democracy with a higher standard of living than Hungary. The causes of the Hungarian Revolution were political not economic. One of the aims was to improve the Hungarian economy but this did not involve personal economic grievances.

- (1) (le) I graduated from gymnasium in 1955. I attended the Nagy Lajos, formerly the Cistercian gymnasium in Pécs. I attended the Budapest ^{Polytechnic Institute's} ~~University's~~ electrical engineering faculty from September to November 1956. I chose the university because I ~~was~~ wanted to be an engineer since childhood. I wrote this on my kader sheet, in fact.
- (2) I was not admitted to the university when I first graduated from gymnasium, but eventually they did admit me.
- (e) Anyone in Hungary who deserved it, could get into a university sooner or later, regardless of his family. Of course, it sometimes took years but eventually the deserving people managed to get in. If not in 1952, then they were admitted in 1956.
- (3) National defence training, Marxism, and political economy.
- (4) In secondary school they came with slogans to the effect that everyone was to study hard and ~~to~~ go on to the university. They said that everyone had a road to the university. They claimed that "we shall create the new intelligentsia" and they stressed especially the creation of a technical intelligentsia recruited mostly from workers and peasants. The worker-peasant admissions quota at the university was very high. Thus children of

- (h) My father is retired, my mother works as a teacher, and my sister ~~was~~^{is} attending the university.
- (i) I lived with my mother in Budapest, and my father lived in our apartment in Pécs.
- (k) The only time my social origin was to my disadvantage was when I was rejected from the university.
- (6) No.
- (11) I didn't like to spend much time at home because I don't seem to have much feeling for home-life. Otherwise there was the greatest harmony within our family except for the fact that my father was nervous, and I was a bad boy. Otherwise we got along fine.
- (12) At home one always talked about politics and yet never. Everything was politics so one never knew when one was talking politics and when not. Anyway politics often was the subject of conversation.
- (13b) I had two sets of friends. My parents approved of my closest friends, but I also had a set of pals, an irresponsible bunch - I was always in the worst of company, because I like a rowdy sort of life. In opposition to my parents I liked to go out a lot, ~~and~~^{while} they liked to stay home, ~~and~~ and are very quiet. They disapproved of these

pals.

- (c) We never disagreed about politics.
- (e) My father disapproved of my girl-friends; I remember when we were on the Balaton, once I took out a girl and stayed out too late and my father came after us. It was a rather difficult situation. This is a delicate sort of problem which parents often handle badly.
- (14a) One of the aims of Communism is to annihilate the family. My mother couldn't get a job in Pécs where the family lived. For years my parents spent a great deal of time travelling to each other. There are other married couples who work in different shifts and only get to meet each other in the espresso. There is a great age difference between my parents and my sister and myself. My mother is 38 years older than I am. There is a great deal of love between us, but I often feel a lack of understanding on my parents' part.
- (b) Our family life was quite average and typical. We had little money and had to struggle with daily small problems. We ate less in order to buy better clothes. My father used to say that he hadn't gone to the movies for years, why did I have to go so often? That sort of thing.
- (c) I was a lazy devil. I read, I went on hikes, to concerts and the opera. I used to go on night excursions on the Balaton; I am an adventurous type. I like to ski, fence,

and play tennis. I am interested in sports, not for the result, but in order to get the feeling that I can do it. It's very satisfactory.

(g) Yes, except for parental difficulties.

(15) In our family there were no changes with regard to this. Actually, however, the family had been torn apart because of conflicting jobs. Yes, there were changes in family life; families either became closer to each other or else more distant. In my case, I got colder; in our case family ties were loosened.

^e
(a) Yes, there had been change in the way of rearing children. The home today exerts a greater ideological influence because the parents realized that they had to fight the Communist ideology. As a result children became fanatic haters of Communism. This applies only to my own social circle. In the gymnasium I attended there were 25 boys whose parents were of the intelligentsia, out of 37 in the class. This was true of them. As a result of parental influence these boys were violently anti-Communist. For instance, since they knew that the history taught in school was falsified, the boys did research in history to prove the falsification. This was a ^{conscious} ~~conscious~~ attempt to counter Communism.

(16) I think socialist education left its mark on you^t. Young

people are completely different today; perhaps I mean that they are more spontaneous. Although this may be a Hungarian quality. The relations between boys and girls were also more spontaneous. Manners aren't so stiff and one doesn't have to say: "I kiss your hand, Kitty", and so on.

(b) Young people marry very early today. This has a good effect morally, but materially it is unsatisfactory because the future is so hopeless. Many of these early marriages end in divorce. At the university we didn't know what the future would bring, where we would get jobs, and therefore I thought it's a bad idea to get married without having some sort of established position.

(e) I think prostitution was just about the way it is in America. It was forbidden officially but there was Maszek (private sector) prostitution. Boys used to pick up girls on Margaret Island. The girls started out doing it just for fun and for gifts and as they got used to it they did it for money. I heard from friends that you could get a girl for 80 frts.

(f) The Communists were less strict about sexual matters. This greater spontaneity in manners which I talked about also leads to a more free and easy sex life. Of course, this often depends on the families, the parents of the young people. Of course, Szabad Ifjúság, often made an issue of some cases it disapproved of. I remember an

article about a boy and a girl who were kissing on a train; there was a debate whether this was right or wrong. There was also a story about an army officer who divorced his wife. The paper discussed the rights and wrongs of the case. At the same time, however, there were rumours about AVO orgies in Pécs. When I went to gymnasium the students were not allowed to take girls to the woods. But I think this was a ruling of the old principal^d who stressed the old morality. The co-ed schools which were introduced by the Communists brought boys and girls together; this had both advantages and disadvantages. The Communists also supported immorality by freely talking about abortion and such matters. I remember an article in Szabad Nép around September 1956 discussing abortion. The punishment for breaking the laws against abortion was merely a fine of 200 frts.

I don't really know what the attitude of the Communists was ^{about} ~~against~~ morality but from the fact that they didn't stop what was going on, ~~against~~ one could only conclude that they didn't care; and what was going on around one was like the naturmensch in the jungle.

(h) The regime supported illegitimacy and approved of illegitimate children. I remember a poster which said "to be an unwed mother is a proud and glorious thing". This was around 1953.

(i) Yes, due to the unsatisfactory wages of the men, almost

all women had to take jobs and the additional family burdens used up their strength and nerves. Many young girls made little money and as a result became prostitutes for nylon stockings and such. I didn't know such a person but I had a friend in Budapest who was a big hooligan, a bus driver who made 2,000 to 3,000 frts a month. He said that if one appeared with a car one could choose between four and five terrific girls. They did it just for the entertainment, not for money.

(17) The moral standards ~~was~~ deteriorated tremendously.

(18) I met my best friend in 1942 on the Balaton. We came from the same social background and had the same weltanschauung. We had many wonderful adventures together. We belonged to a wild gang down at the Balaton. In 1943 we were almost arrested for placing rocks on railroad tracks. Once we threatened our parents we would machine-gun a train. He was my closest friend and my most sincere friend; we told each other everything. He wanted to go to medical school but was not admitted. Then he became an apprentice cook and then an apprentice hotel porter. Eventually he attended the Technicum of Restaurant Trades and he could have become a hotel manager in Hungary. At that point they would not have cared about his origin anymore.

(c) We spent our time with a lot of nonsense; we talked about

girls and music as well as politics and our own future.

(g) The fact that he considers me his friend, that we can discuss all our problems and have no secrets.

(1) I had several circles of friends for different reasons. With some we used to play games, with the others I talked engineering, and with yet another bunch I used to go on hikes. I shared only one part of my life with each group. There was a difference between my friends and my comrades. (^uFreundschaft und Kameradschaft^u). My friends were of the same age, thinking, and social origin as my self. There were five of us and we went through all difficulties together and liked to discuss the same subjects. Once we discussed for two weeks the meaning of "club". We spent our free time together and often went on hikes. My best friend got me a girl-friend; we used to call ^{it} "organizing" a girl for a friend. When I am with my friends I become completely slap-happy and can't behave normally. We liked to ^{commit} ~~do~~ wild pranks.

Then there were my kameraden - with them I shared different interests. There were some with whom I only drank and so on. Actually there were various circles with which I was friendly. First of all my fellow-workers in the apprentice school, secondly my fr^ends, third my comrades, and fourth an illegal circle of which I was a member in Pécs, with whom I got together because it was not allowed. (See section C, question (19).)

(19) Roman Catholic.

(b) I am a Roman Catholic. At home I lived a more active religious life than in the West because at home practicing one's religion was a more sincere gesture and not a pharise^{ic} act. I believe in being a Catholic in such a fashion that one ~~can~~ act like a man in every sphere of life, and it means that one has character and spine ~~and~~ in the practice of one's religion as in anything else.

(20), (20b) Yes, Communist rule has effected religious life. The Communists talk about the separation of the church and state, which in practice meant that the state interfered in the affairs of the church. The Communists fear the church more than they fear any other institution. Their aim is to annihilate the church, to deport and imprison her priests.

(c) ~~There~~ ^{They are a} small clique of priests who, if they are not Communists, are willing to serve them. I met one or two of these peace priest. I knew one who, strangely enough, considered the priesthood a profession. They were involved in politics, attended peace meetings, etc. The peace priests sat on the necks of the other priests and terrorized them. It was especially the old priests who were afraid of them. I don't know what motivated these peace priests.

(f) Yes.

- (h) I attended mass regularly every Sunday.
- (i) I know many boys who go to church as an act of political resistance. This is not a form of religious life. Some boys I know make the sign of the cross before a church if there is an AVO agent on the streetcar with them. Where there is oppression religious life becomes more important; this is natural because people seek the solace of religion. Today people attend church far more frequently. In Pécs in my gymnasium class 80 percent of my friends attended church. In Budapest 25 percent of my fellow-workers attended. The 20 to 30 age group goes to church least but this is probably the same all over the world. I don't know if there has been any change in the church attendance of various social groups; I don't think this has changed very much from the past pattern.
- (k) I think that religion is less important to young people today but this is not a result of Communism but simply the "modern" point of view.
- (l) The church had no role in fostering political opposition. Very few priests made political speeches at all. I know of one priest in Budapest who had been imprisoned and when he was freed he described in his sermon what had been done to him. The old ladies of his parish brought flowers and practically sanctified him. But then the regime got after him for having held the sermon and talked about his prison experiences. But on the whole this was rare.

- (21) I would say that he should go to the university and prepare for some sort of technical profession like engineering. That is the most secure and can be used everywhere. Medicine is also a good profession.
- (b) I would have told him when he was still in secondary school to study hard and to choose his university or profession very carefully and not ~~at random~~. But the most important thing was to study. The regime had a slogan "Knowledge Makes You Succeed". This slogan was generally true.
- (22) The best off were 1) AVO officers, top men in the ministries, and the chief Party functionaries. 2) Party members. 3) The rest of the people. The worst off were: "Capitalist elements", "remnants of the past"; former factory owners, capitalists, army officers, etc. These people were deported.
- (a) I belonged to the rest of the people.
- (b) If my chief aim had been to live well I would say that I would have liked to belong to the top groups but I actually preferred to stay where I was because what they did on the top was not life.
- (23) In Hungary we had a classes society. I believed this in Hungary but I don't believe it anymore. It was something I learned in secondary school. There were two classes,

the peasants and workers, and one stratum, the intelligentsia. In Hungary I didn't think much about this but one tried to orient oneself so that one's friends came from the same class; I was just naturally attracted to people who had the same manners, attitude, etc. At the time I thought "ours and the others". By "ours" I meant the intelligentsia and by "others" the unnamed outsiders. A worker was closer to one's mentality than a peasant boy. I supposed there are the following classes now: 1) former workers who are today the leading intelligentsia, the "new intelligentsia". 2) the old intelligentsia, the pre-war intelligentsia. 3) the workers, 4) the peasants. (And what about the old aristocracy? Answer: They are not a class but a stratum. They often worked as manual workers and were socially members of the intelligentsia after work. They didn't belong to any new class, however. They became a mixture and took much from the other classes.)

(d) No, there are no barriers between people today as a result of different class background. Of course, there was a certain feeling, strangeness between people of different social backgrounds. I would not call this a barrier, however. Also one could cross from one class to the other. I knew one boy, the son of a worker, who had excellent manners and education; he was a very diligent and talented chap. One would not have known that he was the son of a worker.

(e) People today approach social equality more than they did

before.

- (g) There is much more spontaneity today. One doesn't use the old formal forms of address any longer; for instance, one does not address a man as ^(uram) "Ej" today.
- (24) The old so-called exploiters have suffered more than others under Communism; for example, the old army officers.
- (a) No.
- (25) The Jews received no advantage from Communism, but after liberation, when they left the German concentration camps, they received suitable indemnity.
- (a) The Jews reacted to the regime in a variety of ways just as did other people in Hungary. Some of the Jews were Communists and others were skilled workers. There were four Jewish boys among the skilled workers at the work-shop where I worked.
- (b) I don't know what the role of the Jews was in the Party. As for the regime, there were several Jews among the leaders, among them Hákosí, Gerö, and Révai.
- (c) When I was an apprentice the Jews in the work-shop were among the most anti-Communist apprentices. The same was true of gymnasium, too.
- (d) At the university they participated in the National Guard organization. I left Hungary with a Jewish boy who lived in the apartment next to ours. He was a grand kid and did

approximately what I did during the Revolution, ran around, milled about, etc.

- (e) I haven't noticed any special attitude towards the Jews. At least I don't know. It's interesting that among the high party leadership there are a number of Jews: Gerö, Rákosi, and Szakasits. (Why do you think that this is so?)
Answer: I don't know. My personal opinion is that the Jews are a talented people, good leaders, who always know what to do and when to do it. For instance, a friend of mine who is now in America studied English thinking that he might one day get to the United States. I never saw a Jewish boy who had no brains. And if they were Communists they succeeded to get top positions because they had brains. After all they were the same as other people.) (How did people in general react to the fact that so many of the Communist leaders were Jews? Answer: I haven't noticed anything special.) (Respondent was rather strained and disingenuous in answering most of these questions.)
- (g) There was a great deal of anti-Semitism in Hungary before the war; after the war there was no anti-Semitism. This was because the Hungarian people felt sorry about the injustices done to the Jews before the war and for the war-time treatment of the Jews.
- (h) I don't know. Many of them left the country now after the Revolution. In a free Hungary they would have complete equality as is only right. They also had complete

equality before Hitler; they were not mistreated in the twenties or in 1938. It was Hitler's mistake to start anti-Semitism; he started from the principle of Deutschland über alles.

(1) Yes, I was always interested in politics; I always read whatever the papers had to say about politics.

(a) 10 percent.

(2) I started to have independent opinions around 1950. I can only discuss it from then on. In 1950 we saw that we had to take up ^{the} struggle against Communism. In gymnasium we showed passive resistance to any red influence. Later when I was working at the work-shop, I "represented the reactionary intelligentsia", according to the masters.

When I was at the university I watched the work of the debating societies with great interest; I participated with a closed mouth and open ears because once I opened my mouth - - -. I was very much interested in the debates of the Petöfi Circle and Tancsics Circle, ~~at~~ the Mefesz meetings, and the literary debates. They ~~un~~animously attacked the mistakes of the state. I participated in the meetings at the university which discussed the establishment of Mefesz, and which voted for it. They both brought youth to ^a high pitch of enthusiasm, especially the first. At the second meeting there were some voices which said that the students should not be torn from the workers by establishing a separate organization, but should stay in a united organization. Others said that university students had different problems from that of the workers and peasant youth, and hence they needed a separate

organization. The Party members, Disz functionaries, and other flunkies of the regime were still loudmouthed. Some of the Disz leaders were more courageous and attacked Disz.

I attended the agricultural debate of Petöfi Circle; they discussed the fact that tree-growing had been neglected in Hungary and that more fruit trees should be planted. This was all claptrap of course, because there were more important questions than fruit-trees at this time. But at any rate it was good to know that finally they had a plan to change things for the better.

Anyway, in spite of everything, I was always optimistic about Hungary's future, ever since I started having independent political views around 1950. In fact as a result of my optimism I partly believed the Soviet peace offers.

Then when Imre Nagy came in 1953 everyone breathed more freely and thought that something new was coming. I felt the same way. But in two weeks we lost our enthusiasm; Rákosi's counter-speech calmed us down. Imre Nagy was put on the shelf again and we fell back into a new pessimism. Then, ~~we~~^{when} we noticed the freer voices in the press and literary life we again started to have a hopeful attitude towards the future.

- (a) No. I was too young.
- (b) No.
- (e) Initially I was willing to accept 30 percent of it. The

literature looked nice and as far as social improvements are concerned the Communists in Hungary created some good things which can only be found in socialist states, although the regime's purpose may have been merely propagandistic. I was too young to realize the rest, at the time. As far as the Russians are concerned the ones I have seen left me with a good impression; the ones I met were pleasant simple soldiers. The folk remains, the leaders change. Although, one should differentiate between Communism and the Soviet. At any rate I did not find them disagreeable at the time.

- (f) (iv) with qualifications plus (ii). Aside from ~~my~~ ^{my} partial acceptance of certain things I always opposed the Communist regime.
- (h) Even though political trends changed and the atmosphere was occasionally more relaxed, the police was always there. Communism is a reign of terror and in a reign of terror one must obey. The AVO had an emphatic role in making people obey.
- (3) Among the most important complaints of the country were the fear of the AVO, the poor housing situation, the regime's propaganda as well as many other things.
- (b) (v), (viii), (xv).
- (c) (ii), (vi), (x).
- (d) (xiv), (ii), (xi).

- (e) (viii), (xv), and (iv). Actually, as to (xv), some workers didn't mind working hard and didn't complain about the norm system because they could earn more that way. Others complained about exploitation.
- (j) Having a day off, price reductions, ~~we~~^{when} we could buy lemons in the store, and Hungarian sports results.
- (4) The regime was directed from Moscow. In Hungary the powerful leaders were the heads of the Communist Party, the Central Committee, and not the government.
- (f) Yes, there was a bureaucracy but it was not as extensive as here in Bavaria. It was variable and depended on the particular people involved. For instance, residence registration was highly bareaucratized; one even had to report if one wanted to spend a week elsewhere.
- (h) To a great extent they were the old civil servants. It was only the top echelons in the ministries who were Party people and didn't know their business.
- (5) It helped in getting admitted to ~~the~~^{the} university.
- (b) Yes, but some people at the university were not members. This was very rare.
- (d) Yes.
- (e) I became a member in 1952 when I was attending my first year of gymnasium. I received an application sheet, signed it and got my membership book in two weeks or so. It was a harmless thing - and it was a perfectly normal

thing for Hungarian youth to be Disz members.

- (f) I never participated in any Disz work.
- (6) It meant glory! It meant that if a person worked well at his job then he was nominated for Party membership. It meant the "selected vanguard". Generally I felt that there were different types of Party members: 1) Convinced Communists, but decent. 2) Others. Those who say that they would have lost their jobs if they would not have joined the Party are talking nonsense. However, there were people who had no political convictions, little people. They joined the Party to help support their families. 3) Careerists who joined and worked in the Party in order to get ahead.
- (a) A principle ~~holder~~^{of a} secondary school, or the holder of any other leading job had to be a Party member. But it was not demanded of him to be a convinced Communist.
- (f) Because they realized the lies and the ~~de~~^{de}lusions of Communism.
- (h) No.
- (r) In Hungary the Central Committee ran the Party. We were the sister Party of the Soviet Party - I mean, actually it was the Soviet Union which ran the Hungarian Party.
- (7) I was a member of the iron workers' trade union in 1955-56.
- (g) In effect the mass organizations did nothing but collect

- membership fees. The meetings were dull and became increasingly duller, and the fact that the leadership had to follow orders from above didn't help matters any.
- (1) They *ambled* along. The Disz functioned quite well in some factories, for instance, but in the secondary schools and universities there was no interest in it. Of one thousand Disz members only 40 were active. This was true of all the mass organizations.
- (m) Personally I always thought that the trade unions should protect the workers. Since, in Hungary, the trade union was identical with the state, and the state was the work-giver, the effect of this was that the trade union actually protected the work-giver, the boss, and ^{not} ~~the~~ the worker. The trade union couldn't protect the worker against the boss because the boss was the state. The workers felt that the trade unions were farce.
- (8) About 20 percent.
- (9) The following reasons contributed to the revolt of youth:
1) Communist education did not affect us. 2) The ambitions and energies of youth were not given an outlet: We were not allowed to travel abroad, etc. 3) Hatred of the Soviet. Furthermore, the Disz was never a really powerful support of the regime; it was merely an empty shell.

- (10b) The AVH was part of the Ministry of Interior, established to assure order in the internal political life of the country. It had a variety of departments, an observation department, etc. It had many *civilian* employees of whom one didn't know that they were AVO agents. Many of these were used in factories as *agents* provocateurs.
- (e) The officers were ^uvolunteers, I believe. Otherwise they were recruited like ordinary soldiers.
- (j) The police was not a political organization. Police-men didn't like the AVH. The police were not Communists; they defended order, etc.
- (k) The Party and the AVH ruled the country together. It was probably the Party which made the decisions which were carried out by the AVH.
- (11) Yes.
- (b) A friend of ours was arrested in connection with the Grösz trial. He was amnestied. Another was interned because his father had been a cabinet minister before the war. He also was amnestied. My uncle, an army officer before the war, was imprisoned until 1956. He was imprisoned at Vác and said that he learned Greek there. There was ~~a~~ very pleasant company there; the place was full of political prisoners. There was quite a gay social life. Some prisoners were quite stupid and uneducated

when they went in, but after six or seven years emerged as intelligent and cultivated people. Many learned languages there.

- (d) Those who participated in illegal activities (political crimes).
- (g) I don't know any details about them.
- (13) He should do everything he wants to but without attracting much attention.
- (c) Yes, it helps if one knows the top leaders in the Party or the ministries.
- (d) It is more difficult to get in trouble with a good class background; one can say that one was misled in spite of a suitable family, the father ~~was~~^{being} a worker, and the mother a cook, etc. But a good class background doesn't help if one really gets in trouble.
- (f) Yes.
- (14) Yes. During the Imre Nagy regime the terror was milder but the methods remained the same.
- (15) The Soviet Union has a leading role in Hungarian affairs.
- (e) The Soviet Union exploited Hungary economically and exploited the Hungarian economy for her own profit. Politically Hungary was completely under the thumb of the Soviet Union. I don't know in which area of life Soviet influence

was the weakest.

- (16) It's better if they don't manifest their feelings at all otherwise they may be arrested by the AVO.
- (c) One could be frank with friends but beyond that one had to be careful what one said and before whom. This is good advice and yet I didn't follow it myself. I guess it was my luck that I didn't get into trouble.
- (d) One could talk freely about almost everything except politics.
- (17) When one applies for a scholarship one can deny part of the family income to raise the amount of the scholarship. We always used to cheat on the streetcars. We had student weekly tickets which enabled us to make two trips a day using four different lines. Sometimes we used last week's ticket in order to avoid buying one this week. Or else we went into the streetcar lines' office and asked for a new ticket claiming that the conductor punched our ticket incorrectly. We made a game of ~~the~~^{de.} frauding the streetcar line with this sort of thing.
- (e) Pull would help him get into the university.
- (18) The weakness of the regime was that it didn't have loyal people in all the government positions. If one had dealings with one of these reluctant supporters, one could

circumvent the vigilance of the regime. As for strength, I don't consider the regime strong hence I can't give any examples of strength.

- (19) The peasants resisted the regime by attempting to avoid, or postponing, the payment of their delivery quotas. With regard to the peace loan people could offer less than was expected of them. That's ~~was~~^{about} the only way one could resist the regime. I was the member of an illegal student group, but I wouldn't exactly consider this a form of resistance; I thought of it mostly as a form of entertainment or recreation. These little illegal circles started when the Boy Scouts were discontinued by the regime. These circles emphasized the Boy Scout spirit. They were not trying to bring back the old regime but to train youth according to the ideals of the Boy Scout movement. We worked like a Communist cell. There were many small groups within a larger organization and we didn't know who the rest of the people, outside the cell, were. There was no central leadership. Of a group of 30 or 40 only 7 or 8 knew about each other. I became a member when I was living in Péce and was recruited as an old Boy Scout. Each small group had a different program; some went to concerts together, others had lectures on the Bible, and yet others went on hikes. We read the books which were on the index. These groups were, of course, illegal; and we knew that the

AVH could get us if it wanted to. This movement began with the young people, with secondary school students. In a gymnasium class of 40 boys about 20 would be members. Some of them didn't know about the other that he was a member. I was very much surprised to find out what a large percentage of boys belonged to such organizations. We had meetings every two weeks or once a month. The younger boys are usually more enthusiastic; when they get older they either leave the organization or else they continue as leaders. In 1954 I became the leader of a group. We went on 10-day camping trips and read forbidden books, etc. There was something romantic about this; that's what affected and attracted the adolescent boy. To counter the regime's suppression of Hungarian intellectual life professors and priests gave talks about the Hungarian past and literature, about the things which were not allowed by the Communists. In our town this group had a clerical leadership, but in Budapest, for instance, it was not clerical. Every town had a group of this sort, it was very wide-spread, although it was differently organized and run in every place. These groups were not the idea of any single person. They came about spontaneously but they were organized by various members of the old intelligentsia. In 1949 some circles in our town were stopped because of an AVO informer. Others continued and yet others were organized later. Strangely enough the regime didn't

stop these groups although I am sure that they knew about every step. Instead the regime went after an ideological resistance group at the university, the members of which were accused of anti-state activities. There was a trial of these students in 1955/56 and they were acquitted. I was quite shocked to find out at this time that there really was no anti-state organization in Hungary. This was true of us, too; ~~it~~^{there} was no question of our being an anti-state subversion group. Our group had no political aims; we didn't want the past back. We wanted a beautiful, big, free Hungary in the future. The movement had a definite patriotic tinge; we sang folk songs and placed a great emphasis on patriotism and nationalism; the Magyar folk spirit was stressed.

- (b) Everyone.
- (c) Those who were doing well under the regime.
- (1) Petöfi Circle and all the free intellectual trends started after Khrushchev's speech at the 20th Party Congress. There was a feeling of "let's debate, now we can criticize Uncle Stalin". There was a certain amount of free speech, etc. Petöfi Circle started out as a literary debating society, first attacking socialist realism, which later on went over into politics. It was a little like starting to ~~talk~~^{talk} about what picture to buy for the wall and ending up by discussing the length of the Spanish railroads. At

first Petöfi Circle was weak and later it became stronger and more politically oriented. It was started by Communist writers like Déry and Aczél.

Mefesz started in Szeged where there was a peculiar political situation. Szeged is a small provincial town, quite "conservative" politically. The Szeged youth was impatient with the inflexible political leadership in Szeged, revolted against the Disz, and formed Mefesz. Szeged had reacted less flexibly to the political changes than Budapest; in Szeged, if a Party secretary was found to be no good, he was left there. In Budapest he would have been dismissed long ago. Then the Mefesz leaders of Szeged came to Budapest and asked the students there to join them. The university of Pécs behaved very strangely; it was not on the side of the revolt, and Disz was left intact for quite a long while. I don't know why.

(m) Their aim was to stop what was politically oppressive and to bring in a purer, cleaner atmosphere, with political and civil rights.

- (1) The Western radio stations, word of mouth, and the Hungarian papers to some extent although they wrote little that was reliable about world events.
- (a) The Western Hungarian language broadcasts.
- (2a) I read Szabad Ifjúság which was quite colourful and discussed the problems of youth in detail. I also read Népszport daily. I read no periodicals.
- (g) A friend of mine used to receive some magazines from Austria; Der Stern, Wiener Illustrierte, and other illustrated periodicals. I often looked at these. I also read foreign technical periodicals at the Budapest Technical Library.
- (3) Four times a month
- (b) I went to see all the Italian, French, and English movies they played in Hungary. I also saw some Soviet and Hungarian movies. I tried to see only non-political, entertainment movies.
- (e) I went to the opera once a month. I had a subscription.
- (4) I read poetry and technical books.
- (e) That's difficult to say. I like Arany, Petöfi, and Ady but I have no favourite writers although I do have favourite poems. I believe in l'art pour l'art poetry. Some of the things I like are Arany's Toldi, an anthology

of Nobel Prize writers and I have a favourite *anthology* of Hungarian poetry which I used to read several times a week. I used to write poetry myself; it was very *coffy*, sentimental stuff about troubadours, *wolves*, etc. I read some Illyés poems which I liked very much in a new volume of his poems entitled *Kézfogások* which was published in 1956. I especially liked a poem about Bartók. I didn't read novels at all. I just read books for myself but didn't discuss it with my friends. I have no idea what sort of things my friends read.

In the club of which I was a member we used to read the novels of Father Koster, a parish priest of Kalocsa. They were very popular. He wrote about an imaginary Hungary with the ancient borders but in modern surroundings. It was a mixture of nationalism, utopianism, and science fiction. He wrote three novels about this subject, one of them after the war. The hero of his novels was the son of an aristocrat who survived the destruction of the earth and established a Hungary with the old borders, surrounded by electricity. The book dealt with an imaginary model Hungary which had been established with radical methods. It did not advocate any particular political system.

- (5) I listened to the Hungarian Radio for about two hours every day; I liked music programs and the sports news.

- (6) I listened chiefly to the Yugoslav Radio which had very good modern jazz music, and the Italian Radio. I didn't like the Hungarian language broadcasts from abroad because they left an unpleasant taste in the mouth. They were just as full of propaganda as the regime's own broadcasts. I listened to RFE sometimes and also to VOA; I didn't like to listen to the latter but I was forced to do so when it was turned on at home.
- (d) It was propaganda from the right to counter the propaganda from the left.
- (7) Yes. There ~~was~~^{were} always some people at school and at the university who used to specialize themselves regarding certain types of information. There ~~was~~^{were} always some people who are better informed. Word-of-mouth information usually concerned politics, sports or new arrests.
- (8) I considered it reliable if it was concrete. For instance, the news about sports results. Regarding domestic political news only the facts were reliable but not the degree of enthusiasm which the regime imputed to the people regarding these facts. As for foreign affairs the reliability of the Hungarian newspapers was very doubtful and they talked about it in a most ridiculous tone.
- (d) That was very difficult to decide. I believed a great deal that was not true. It depended on the person; there

were some who didn't even believe the truth because they read it in the regime's newspapers.

- (e) BBC was considered the most reliable radio station. The Austrian radio's news programs were also considered reliable. I don't know of any newspapers which were reliable except their sports news. I read Szabad Nép occasionally for the sports column on the last page and threw it away immediately.
- (f) I read Irodalmi Ujság sometimes and thought that it occasionally had some fairly good but over-politicized poems and short stories. There was another literary periodical which I sometimes saw and thought quite excellent; it was New Voice (Uj Hang).
- (9) People are curious and when they doubt something they make an effort to find out the truth.
- (10a) It was the period which put an end to the war. A single plane peacefully approached Japan and annihilated an entire city from the air; the radio-active effects of this are still felt in Japan. I have a very poor opinion of this action.
- (b) The North Koreans.
- (c) I thought it was a fairy-tale. Was there any truth in it? The Hungarian newspapers showed pictures of it, etc.
- (d) We were made to believe by the regime that there was an

enormous rebirth of militarism in Germany. The only thing the Soviet Union was afraid of in Europe was the resurgence of West-German militarism. Therefore we approved of West-German rearmament.

- (e) I saw a leaflet from one of these balloons. It was written in Czech. It was a calendar about life in the West; quite a good propaganda weapon.
- (f) We expected a continuation of this; we thought something would come of it.
- (g) It was unsuccessful.
- (h) I thought that they did some successful work for Hungary.

- (1) I would change the norm system, the system of wages, the ban on artisans and small merchants, the ban on foreign travel, the ban on freedom of press and speech. I would introduce sensible economic planning, eliminate the AVO, get rid of the kader system, allow people to change their places of work more freely, and I would allow bicycles in Budapest.
- (a) I would keep social security legislation, university scholarships, free medical care, and state-financed sports.
- (2) Yes, but I don't think there should be thirty. I would establish four, ^{five}, or six political parties. During the Revolution there was such a multitude of parties because everyone wanted to be a party leader and not because there were that many different party programs.
- (3) There should be unlimited free speech.
- (c) When I think of Hungary I feel that people should be allowed to criticize the regime freely, but when I am in a West-European country like Germany whose government I approve, then I feel that criticism is more or less unjustified. I suppose this is a Communist thing, the effect of Communist influence on me, that I feel my country should be praised and not be rated. People should be allowed to criticize without being punished for this, even though I don't approve of their criticism.

- (d) People should not be allowed to say things detrimental to their country. I used the word "country" advisedly instead of state because the latter means only the ruling group or government.
- (4) Yes.
- (b) It is justified if it comes about without foreign initiative and if it is the result of the internal dissatisfaction of the people. The interests of the majority should always be regarded.
- (5) The country's minerals and domestic industrial products should be used sensibly and profitably. Export sales should again serve the good of the country.
- (6) I am in favour of the nationalization of heavy industry. A nationalized industry can produce more if it is managed carefully and well by the state through sensible economic planning, than a private industry.
- (b) No.
- (c) I believe in private profit up to a point. I don't believe it should be possible for one person to live in luxury while the other suffers need.
- (a) I don't approve of state monopolies but I guess they are all right if they are not materially disadvantageous to me. Why not?

- (7) No. The result of nationalized light industry is the overstandardization of consumer goods, uniformity and drabness in clothes; in Hungary clothes were over-standardized to the extent that they looked like uniforms.
- (8) I approve of sensible planning; that is ⁱⁿ Hungary planning emphasized heavy industry at the expense of agriculture and consumer industries. As a result there was a shortage of the most important consumer goods. I don't know why it was done so inefficiently. Partly I suppose it was the result of putting so many uneducated Party secretaries in important posts and partly because Hungary's economic policy was not independent but followed the orders of the Soviet Union. That's why Hungary was not allowed to produce cars but had to produce trucks for export. The ~~the~~ Óbuda and Georgiu Dej ship factories manufactured luxury ships which the Soviet Union bought as *Scrap* metal. You can't talk about a planned economy in a country which does things like this. Why was it that suddenly without any apparent reason every shop was full of turkeys? Obviously it was because they were not accepted for export. Then when one could only get matches with English labels it was not because these matches were imported from England. Again they were rejected export goods. Thus Hungarian economic planning functioned very badly.

I approve of ^{planning} ~~the~~ in the way because then the production plan of factories can be decided centrally

which results in economic, sensible and profitable production. But it should be done intelligently and efficiently not as in Hungary today.

- (9) The state should not interfere in family life, in the personal feelings ~~is~~^{of} the individual, and in the way he entertains himself. In my free time I am the master.
- (10) Undoubtedly, the citizen must respect the state and should not commit treason. He must do everything to bring the country's economic and intellectual life to a higher level.
- (a) Undoubtedly. The state should assure the citizen his civil rights and his right to work. The state should create conditions of existence which ~~will~~^{will} keep the citizen loyal to the state in spite of possible hostile influences. I said this in a rather pompous fashion, but I really do believe it.
- (11) I don't know. I know that some districts have an insufficient number of doctors, especially industrial areas. I approve of health insurance but I think the number of doctors in Hungary should be raised. In Kazincbarcika there is one doctor for every ~~ten~~^I thousand people, or at least it was so in 1953.

- (12) I don't know about the pre-war situation but I know that today the operas and theaters are always full. There are two opera companies performing at the same time with relatively cheap tickets.
- (d) Yes, people have the time to attend theaters and concerts.
- (e) Movies are cheaper today and anyone who wants to can attend fairly often.
- (13) I don't know. Our family ate better before the war than now. There are more public canteens today partly because they want to "free" the housewife of the burdens of house-keeping and also in order to get people used to community feeding.
- (a) Better today than in 1946.
- (b) Better today than in 1950 because of price reductions.
- (14) I don't know. I think perhaps the average citizen dresses better today than before the war. The average clothing standard is higher today but a process of levelling has taken place as a result of which the former higher standards have been pushed down and are closer to the average. Clothes were probably of a better quality before the war.
- (a) Better today.
- (b) Better today.

- (15) Industrial production ^{has} increased considerably since 19~~5~~⁴, especially in the field of heavy industry.
- (16) Factories should be run the way the Volkswagen factory is in Germany today; that is the workers should own stocks in the factory and should have the factory in their own hands. The workers should have the right to criticize and advise, and if their advice was found reasonable by the factory management, it should be accepted and put into effect.
- (d) The factory should be managed by qualified experts who follow the desires of the workers.
- (17) Collective farming is far more productive than individual farming if the collective is efficiently managed and the peasants take it seriously and cooperate with it. But the truth is that the Hungarian peasant/^{who}works for himself, on his own land, is more enthusiastic about his work and therefore produces more. This is a characteristic of the Hungarian peasant.
- (c) Whatever the peasants desire.
- (h) This is a difficult problem. One will have to decide what the maximum limit should be; there should be a more equal division of land and hence not all the land should be returned to the former owners. Hungary should eventually have a really fair and equal land reform, something we

have never had before. The postwar land reform was not a clean business; Party members and others who were politically favoured received more land than the ordinary peasants.

- (i) No.
- (l) Yes, machinery and tools are needed to start new collectives or to help the peasant to farm his own land.
- (m) I have no opinion about this because I don't know how they work.
- (18) There should be a complete separation of the state from the church; this has never been achieved in Hungary.
- (f) Both have advantages and disadvantages. ^{Denominational} ~~Parochial~~ schools provide a very good education but seem to turn out spineless cowards. The state schools seem to be more successful in educating men of character.
- (19) Those who want to remain Communists should be allowed to do so but they should not be allowed to enter a different party. They should not be allowed to use as excuse for their deeds: "I had to do this!".
- (e) Nothing.
- (f) They should have to account *for their deeds.*
- (g) They were not criminals; nothing should be done to them.
- (h) The workers were told that Maleter came into Hungary with Soviet medals in 1945 but they countered that they cared

only about his heroic deeds during the Revolution. They were right; Maleter did a great deal for Hungary. He should be honoured. I have a very low opinion of people like Aczél. Aczél is an opportunist and careerist. He wrote an ode to Stalin and received the Stalin Prize.

- (20) We started the fight against the Purks and then in World War I we declared war on the Serbs. I don't think the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was such a contribution except it made the world realize a great many things; it was ^{a unique} ~~significant~~ event in world history and in the history of Communism, but the events following it made it look as if nothing had happened.
- (21) It had begun to disappear since 19⁶5. It was characterized by a flag-waving, sentimental nationalism.
- (e) I don't know of any.
- (f) I don't know.
- (22) None of them was good, and the worst one was the last one, that is the regime before Kádár.
- (f) There was considerable social and economic inequality before 1945.
- (i) During this period Hungary had the highest standard of living in the 20th century.

- (23) Personally I ^{don't} consider ~~them~~ them important; actually there should not be national boundaries in the world.
- (d) Yes, there is natural conflict between the Czechs and the Magyars. Under the Communists this had not been so bad although the Hungarians still don't like the Czechs and vice versa. Partly, this conflict has been artificially incited by the Horthy regime but the basic problem, and the origin of it all, is that Hungary does not belong, does not find her place, in the Slav community.
- (24) Hungary needs an efficient, well-run government which is not influenced from the outside.
- (a) I have heard about the Danubian confederation but I have no ideas about it.
- (25) They are just like any other people with human feelings. They are victims of oppression.
- (26) On the fire with it.
- (a) I dislike it all, but to tell you the truth I read very little by Marx or about Marxism.
- (e) I don't know but he is an interesting politician.
- (h) Since I don't know much about Marxism I can't ^{say} ~~think~~, but I think not.
- (i) In 1947.
- (j) I don't know, I can't define it.

- (27) It means that no other Communist state is allowed to interfere in the affairs of the country.
- (e) I think Communism and patriotism are contradictory concepts. The Communists follow the slogan "Proletariat of the World Unite". They are always talking about internationalism and if anyone mentions patriotism he is attacked as a nationalist.
- (28) With American economic help Hungary's economic life would have developed, and without foreign exploitation and with better economic leadership the standard of living would have risen considerably. Politically Hungary would have become a neutral democratic state like Austria.
- (d) Only temporarily.
- (29)
- (a) Good as a concept but bad in practice.
- (b) Bad.
- (c) Bad; the concept is bad because it incites various classes against each other.
- (d) Senseless, bad.
- (e) It is not necessarily bad; it has some advantages. (Imperialism means) The intertwining of capitalism with a number of states can be good for the economy because it means that foreign capital can come into the country without exploitation.

- (f) Not to be looked down upon.
- (g) The class which ~~wavers~~ wavers most. It is not the most solid stratum of the state apparatus; the bourgeoisie is willing to serve anyone. Bad.
- (h) The concept is bad. It is an artificial concept inciting the peasantry against each other.
- (i) Bad.
- (j) He was a Communist, too. Bad.
- (k) I don't know him. Who was he?
- (l) I have no opinion. He is too far away from me.
- (m) Bad. She is incapable of representing the interests of Hungary in the best possible way because 1) she is a woman, 2) she is a leftist Social-Democrat, 3) those around her today are semi-Communists.
- (n) Before he was imprisoned he was a worthy leader of Hungarian Catholicism but prison wore him out. He is good but only as a church leader, and not as a politician.
- (30) Christian-Socialist.
- (a) ~~we~~^{we} have no people yet; we have no leaders.
- (31)
- (a) Less.
- (b) What they deserve.
- (c) Less.
- (d) Less.

- (e) No more and no less than they deserve.
- (f) Less.
- (g) More.
- (h) Less.
- (i) Less.
- (32) The following groups were better off: The peasants, the intelligentsia, the artisans and merchants. The Party members were worse off.
- (33)
- (a) Coincide.
- (b) Coincide.
- (e) Some conflict.
- (f) Conflict.
- (g) Conflict.
- (i) Conflict.
- (34) None.
- (35) I don't know; I suppose the leading Communists, the convinced and loyal CP members.
- (36) I changed my mind about the ~~social~~ class system; when I came to the West I was thrown together with some who were not of my own ^{social} class and I realized what a difference there was between us.

(1) None.

(2a) I think I would like to visit but not to live in Hungary again permanently. I'd like to wander around the world and go home when I get tired, the way a ship returns to ~~its~~ its harbor.

Interviewer's Comment on Respondent:

A young man in blue jeans and leather jacket, rather formal manners including *heel-clicking* and an easy, casual use of slang; A People's Democratic melange, no doubt. A nice kid, but quite tense; scatter-brained, and with an undisciplined mind, from which even the most intense probing could not extract more than a few light-hearted comments. Rather an interesting *type*, with regard to political and social views, too, 10, 15 years ago a boy of his ^{and social background} type would probably have been a raving chauvinist and reactionary.