

- (1) Personally I feel that you have to take into consideration and know what the peace treaty of Trianon, the second world war, and the agreement of Yalta did to the Hungarian people. It embittered them. Especially when we look at history we see the Hungarians defended the West against the East. Both the Trianon and Yalta agreements and treaties were ~~a~~ detrimental materially and morally to the Hungarians. Hungary always belonged to the West. It belonged to Europe and not to the East. However, according to the Yalta pact Russia gained ground in Europe. The East advanced into Europe. Thus also Russian Communism advanced in its world conquest which it will not stop. As to how much Hungarian people do not like Communism is witnessed in the fact that out of the embitterment the Hungarian people broke out against Communism, the basis of government in Hungary. It would be most profitable to let the Hungarian people decide what kind of basis or government they want to live under. In this matter there is no agreement. In fact agreements are limited to hours and months. The third world war is inevitable. It will come. The Soviets do not keep any agreement only as long as it is to their advantage to keep it. Russia is only a physical force not a power that will listen to discussion. Even the ideology should not remain.

(2) There are two parts to the answer: 1) the armed resistance, and 2) the peaceful demonstrations. The latter happened at the Petöfi circle debates and other places throughout the nation. Out of such discussions there would never have been any real change except the kind that occurred in 1953 under the relief that Imre Nagy allowed for small business and gave more freedom, less state enterprise. More orders were received from state enterprises by private business. In the Petöfi circle in August and September 1956 through the newspapers and radios the reflected change that was coming was controlled so that the one party would have only a change of names. There would not have occurred a real change in the aim of the government.

However, people looked for more and more in changes, as the Hungarians say: "Evés közben jön meg az étvágy", that is: "Appetite comes during the meal", and on October 23rd a person could hear these demands. There were more Hungarian flags flying, fewer red flags. The tone of discussions was that we should be less of a satellite and more independent and the Communists were coming around to allowing men to take over who would permit such changes in this spirit. An elite guard was already named on October 23rd to step in. But when Gerö spoke ^{at} the evening of October 23rd which I heard at Cegled I felt that things are not in their place in Budapest. A person could feel that some relaxation would be allowed in some places but

the governing idea would be the same. Gerö had just returned from a visit with Tito who although a Communist has a national Communism which is dictatorial. But Tito does not allow the interference of other states such as the Soviet. Expecting something of this sort in the Gerö talk, the talk which Gerö gave was the same old thing, that is that the workers are the rulers of the country and that there is to be only a one party order. This brought out a great opposition in the countryside. One must understand that the countryside had lived its own *routine* life and was dropped out of the industrial uniformity of Communist organization around the capital. We in the country lived a quiet life. Even the district Party secretary who came out to visit the countryside or the local Party secretaries had to take into consideration the town people. Frequently the local secretary apologized or excused himself and the Party before the people for a certain order or ruling that had come down from above and which ruling was against the life of the countryside. On October 22nd the people were looking toward Budapest to see what was going on there and to discover how the countryside could connect itself to the events of Budapest. I was a mechanic at the Cegled tractor or machine station and when the news of the fact that Imre Nagy had become Prime Minister came over the radio I was out in the fields *with a* tractor and ploughing.

The local peasants were in a small house listening to the radio and every time I came near the house they asked me to come in. I said that I was busy and when I made the next turn they would ask me to come in again. Finally I did and when the news of Imre Nagy came over the radio I said that he will be a good man for us. There will not be anymore TSZOS ~~are~~: They began to make plans about how the land will be divided up, who will own what, and so forth. Already at that moment the ~~directivized~~ ^{collectivized} farm had come to an end in the mind of the peasants and when the news came that Imre Nagy had asked the Soviet troops to come in to restore order in Hungary these peasant men reacted immediately in opposition to him by saying: "Down with him, we do not want him." The ~~TSZ~~ ^{TS, CS} Party secretary even said: "Now I don't have to be the Party secretary anymore." They were all hoping that the ~~direct-~~ ^{collectivized} ~~ivized~~ farm would come to an end. 24 hours after October 23rd we were not very happy that the great crisis had reached the alföld because this countryside had ~~been~~ lived its own onesided monotonous quiet life. In the countryside everyone knew everyone else. There was no anonymity as there is in the city of Budapest. In the countryside, however, it was also the youth who were first to say: "Down with the Russians." But it was a little difficult in the countryside to throw in slogans and use slogans. We discovered that in the other cities

of the county the same demands, however different in wording, but the same in content were proclaimed. This news came on the 24th on the last train from Szolnok. Then by auto on the 27th of October when it looked as if the Soviet troops were going to interfere we went around to the different cities to check what was happening. The point of view of the Hungarian army was strict. They were neither for nor against the Revolution. I had an interesting talk with the city commander of the Hungarian army who was very rude. As I left a sergeant came after me and he began to cry and to say: "I am very sorry about all this and about you. It appears that we very soon might ~~receive~~^{receive} an order to fire on you people. But we cannot deny an order." Then I told him to come over to our side and later many Hungarian soldiers did.

+ There would never have been a Revolution in Hungary if the 1945 *Coalition* Government Program could have been put into a fact. The trouble started when the Communist Party in 1948 *forcibly* took over power and control of the government. They said their power is based on the will of the people. But they did not have the backing of the people.

(b) On the political level first all those individuals and groups that were persecuted and deported, tortured and sentenced by the Communists hated them. Secondly the bringing into existence of the iron curtain, that is

separation of Hungary from the West, and the constant reference to the Soviet übermensch and that the only saving idea or salvation comes from the East and the Soviet. On the economic level the fact that the land reform was not carried out ~~out~~ to the fullest and had changed over to the collective farm, the prohibition of individual enterprise and that the state enterprises worked with deficits, that the economy was not adapted to the national situation, and furthermore that Hungary exported below cost to the East. On the cultural level only the directed art could flourish, anything else was pushed into the background. On the intellectual level creative and artistic endeavour was restricted. The school policy of the Communists eradicated the Western modes of education. Education was Soviet influenced. For example, my sister in school would not have learned where London is. They did not teach her that. But they taught her about

Azerbaijan, and other things of this sort related to the geography of the East. On the social level people of all former social backgrounds were moulded together against the regime as a reaction to the regime. The limitation of ^{free} religious practice, directed literature, the restriction from Western literature and technical advance. All heaped together constituted the ground for the Revolution.

(bi) Everyone was happy and laughed about it. When they heard of Stalin's death they smiled as they listened to the

radio. In fact at the office where I worked the joke was one individual would go up to another and in all seriousness say: "Please, accept my sympathy. I know how sad you are that your father died." Everyone felt that the political circus would be over now that the dictator had died and the dictatorship would come to an end.

(biii) No one approved it. People felt that Tito had also "given in".

(biv) This proved before everyone that even the 20th Congress is not absolute authority, that is the word because at a later date the 20th Congress can be changed, too. People saw that the Communists at the 20th Congress viewed things with disapproval. Everywhere, the Congress said, the terror had to lessen. In carrying this out the AVN in Hungary could not condone certain moves against the population such as entering a house without a court order. Deported persons returned home. The pressure did not lessen, only the terror. Now in Hungary people received more food, consumers' goods, more pay but somehow a great terror still hung over them. (Now the Communists in Hungary after the Revolution are working under a principle of the full stomach, that is people live on their stomach and if their stomachs are full they do not think. If Hungary is able to ^{bridge} ~~pass~~ the economic ^{crisis} ~~crisis~~ I feel the West has lost the Revolution because the ^{DULLES} ~~DULLES~~ idea was that terror builds its own

force for freedom. What will the West do then if the Communists succeed on this basis.)

(bv) We have a great sympathy for Poland. But after the Poznan ~~riot~~ ^{riot} when there did not occur a great Russian interference we during the Revolution interpreted this and thought that the Russians would not interfere in Hungary either. After the Berlin ~~riots~~ ^{riot}, however, in Hungary our attitude was that we could not do anything.

(bvi) No, it did not help the Revolution and none of these changes helped. We attributed no importance to it, merely thought that the 1953 Imre Nagy regime is back.

(bvii) The Rakhi rehabilitation was important because people at the same time wanted Mindszenty be allowed to come out from his restriction. Will there be plural parties in Hungary?

(bviii) At that time we felt Gomulka was doing what the people want. However, now I see no changes in Poland. Personal changes in Communism do not bring changes in the regime.

(bix) At that time 25 percent of the working population was ~~dismissed~~ ^{laid off} from the factories. A new rationalization system was introduced in 1954 by reducing the industrialization. Many people committed suicide during this time. Many of the enterprises got rid of the older men and those men who have poorer abilities. The dismissals of such large groups of men caused the leadership of various enterprises and plants torments in their conscience. In 1954 I was

working in a experimental factory as a bookkeeper or assistant to the second in charge of the plant. When this rationalisation or order for dismissing people came out the officials sat down and went through the some 400 names of individuals who worked in the plant. Going through the list once they ended up by not being able to make any decision as to whom to dismiss. This torment went on for days. In fact my boss even got the group drunk once and the dyed-in-the-wool Communists began to speak freely, under the influence of liqueur spoke their true mind. Some of them had to be put into taxis and sent home. They were so drunk that it showed that these men from the various ministries were not Communists in reality at all. However, after the committee meeting one week they still had to dismiss over one hundred of the workers.

- (c) The Imre Nagy period was a "NEB" period. During this time the Hungarian artists, painters did the kind of canvasses that they wanted, no longer influenced by the Communist direction. Even I started a new venture, put my capital into it and started a small business of button manufacturing and also building a small mechanized toy auto. All of this was lost when the Nagy government came to an end.
- (d) Everyone felt some change was to occur. People saw things happening in Poland and also the fact that Gerö was going to Tito.
- (e) This is a very difficult question because for the peasant

the question of the writers is indifferent. For the workers it is of little or no formal significance. For the reading public the role of the writers is a little grotesque because the group of writers is made up of what one might call defeated and dishonoured politicians or those who were discredited. From the Communist part of view the writers were to play a role of lazlovetö, reducers of the fever. But they had no leading role to change anything. Look, for example, at Tibor Meri who wrote a ballad to Rákosi and then tried to say that he is important, a leader of the Revolution or assisted in bringing about the Revolution. No, one cannot say that people respected those who took part in the Petöfi circle. Those who were leaders of the DISZ in fact Zoltan Tildy was brought into the picture only for show just as Mrs. Rajk was. Today how does Tamas Aczel have ~~the gall~~ ^{the gall} to write in a paper in London when he wrote odes to Stalin and praised the lot of the workers who in reality were impoverished. Practical results would not have occurred in Hungary if the situation would have depended on the writers. They said what the politicians could not say. The politicians hoped that through the writers the situation could be eased over into circumstances which would still have them on top.

(f)

Yes, there occurred debates in the newspapers. They also began to report automobile accidents. Up until that time

a socialist city could not have accidents. Also in 1956 the ~~the~~ ^{TS₂C₅} newspaper agent now had to sell subscriptions to the individual members of the ~~the~~ ^{TS₂C₅}. Not as previously when the subscription agent would come out to the office and say that the collectivized farm had to order a copy for each of its members. This kind of forced subscription occurred after 1953. In 1956 the agents could not get any subscribers for the paper among the people and previously when the 150 copies arrived for our collective nobody ever read them. They merely stayed in the package in which they arrived and each time the agents arrived the president of the collective paid him for the subscription order out of the general funds. This was no longer so in 1956.

- (g) There were now Western reports in the newspapers. For a time there had been the suppression of the gipsy music and the written song, mïdal, as terms referring to folk music. One had to call these folk-music. Later the mïdal came back again. Also the Petöfi circle complained ~~people~~ that people should be allowed to dress more leisurely and people who dress leisurely are not capitalists.
- (3) We have talked about this in ~~previous~~ a previous question.
- (a) The Revolution would not have brokeed out at all if Gerö would not have said what he did in his radio talk. He offered and promised the people exactly the opposite of

everything which they expected.

- (b) The regime was very effective in its purpose of stopping any resistance where ten or fifteen people came together. But this control system was not good enough to stop a mob where 400 got together, that is 5 or 6 men on one side and thousands on the other. As long as the terror system was not carried out in public the general population found it hard to believe the stories of terror. But then during the revolution the truth became known and the soldiers saw that it was the ordinary worker, the students who are fighting against the Communist regime and its terror; it was not some exceptional group that opposed the regime, but the average worker. Also the fact that some convinced, loyal party members as well as ideological members of the party and some who had been highly paid by the regime now during the revolution saw that the gun was in the hands of the "enemy", so to speak, then they were no longer loyal to the regime.
- (c) The 15 points which the students formulated. But on October 23 there was no endeavor yet to deny completely the one party order. After October 30 opposition to the one party system was concentrated and the demand for free national elections.
- (d) I was not in Budapest on October 23, but I learned that it started, because they, the AVH, fired a shot into the crowd. There was no example of such open murder in the last 12 years. When this happened the people "boiled over" and even 500 tanks could not have stopped them.
- (e) Only in detail questions was there difference. There was complete agreement.
- (f) All those who had great profit from the regime, such as the city council,

president of the council, the tractor station party secretary. The ordinary man, no, he was for the revolution.

- (g) In Ceglád with 45,000 population, 5,000 to 5,000 actually participated in the revolution. This does not mean that the other 40,000 were not in favor of the revolution, because in this group are all the workers who did not work, but struck. The 5,000 includes those men 15-30 years of age who were more independent, had free movement and the youth.
- (h) We want a free country - One who is Hungarian stands with us - Russians go home. Other slogans such as "Long Live Mindszenty". In general, however, they were slogans directed against the Russians, that the Russians should go to hell. There were newer slogans but I don't remember them. I forgot them. These newer slogans were not divisive slogans but rather refinements of the original demands.
- (i) On October 23rd no one dared to say it but when we saw that we were stronger the Revolution was anti-Communistic.
- (j) Communism is Pábol Van Karika, that is an iron ring out of wood, in other words Communism is an impossibility. Communism is a very nice idea but it cannot be realized. It could be realized only if we were all angels.
- (k) They were not Communists. I was almost a member of the Communist Party but I missed going to the initiation because of something which interfered on that day. Although I would have been a member, too, however, if I had been a member I would have fought against the Communists just

as I did now.

- (1) What do you mean by reactionaries? They were not involved. For example, the story of my uncle in Budapest. He had been a lieutenant colonel in the Horthy army and when I went up to Budapest after October 23rd I went to his house in the morning and found him still in his pyjamas. Of course, this was still at 6.30 in the morning. I told him why isn't he out in the street taking part in the revolution? He said if he participated then he would harm the chances of the Revolution. He told
~~me~~ ^{me} I have accepted a solid front with you people. You young people made the Revolution but I am striking in the factory. I will be leaving for the factory within another hour. We do not work in the factory although we are there.
- (m) In the matter of one week normal life would have resumed. Court judgements of those people, those men who had tortured their fellow men such as members of the AVO and others would have occurred. However, court judgements merely on political basis would not have happened. Some kind of a Christian-Socialist government would have been formed. A plural party system and those things which had been developed and were acceptable to the people as developed during the last ten years would have remained.
- (4) On October 23rd I was working in the field on a tractor. On the evening of the 23rd we organized a demonstration

^C
for ~~the~~ ^{the} day of the 24th I used the day in general to inform myself about what was happening in the surrounding communities. On the night of the 24th we disarmed the police and organized ourselves. We took all the papers out the persecutor's office and burned those along with burning the Communist books out of the library. It was surprising for me how the little children who helped us knew the books that were Communist. We went through the entire library and made a fine-tooth-comb ~~of~~ selection. A decision was made on about each book such as whether or not to keep it. The youngsters said: "Keep him." Dostoyevski: "Keep him." Leo Tolstoy: His books should stay. Alexey Tolstoy: His books have to go. And so forth. The youngsters were able to differentiate very keenly. On October 25th the workers' election was held. Some fourhundred workers, more than a thousand people in a crowd. While speaking to them I slipped in my choice of words and from habit I referred to the people as comrades. They whistled me down and I was unable to go on speaking to them. They didn't care who I was. They didn't want to hear me. I got down and a friend of mine continued my talk which I not able to give. The ~~coordinated~~ ^{coordinated} workers' council was formed. ^{I was elected president.}
The work of this group was to screen all the members of the workers' councils and all the workers and all enterprises so that no workers' council would be able to slip

up by hiring someone or using someone who has been discharged by another group. I went out to the tractor station also. On October 26th there was a normal day with all the confusion that existed during those times. On October 27th the Communists almost got their power back by a number of moves. They organized the ^Nemzet Örség. We had no arms at this time but still were able to outsmart and defeat the Communists. The Communists had been able to gather arms. The head of the Communist Party in ^Q Szeged demanded a fast talk with me and my associates did not want me to do this but I went anyway and he drew a gun on me and told me that I had to do what he said. However, his hand was shaking as it held the gun. I kicked the gun out of his hand and the two boys who were waiting for me outside the door bounded in with the Communists who were there also but armed. My boys weren't, too. We gave these Communists a beating of their life which they deserved. The Party had also given out military uniforms with red-white-and-green ~~banner~~ bands and new caps. But with putting our foot down we brought all of this to an end and directed the organization of the Nemzet Örség ourselves. On the 27th we got in contact with the Central Revolutionary Councils in Budapest. My cover name was Amerikai, that is American. On October 28th new Russian Forces had entered Hungary and they were stationed on the road to Szolnok along the road from the

91 kilometer marker to the 97 kilometer marker. In ^C ~~the~~ the Russian commander at the barracks said that he would not interfere in the Hungarian events as long as his barracks were not attacked. With regard to the Hungarian army barracks by November 4th we would have had the barracks on our side. Our infiltration and taking over the barracks was scheduled for the 4th. Also we planned then to use the canon ⁷ which we would have received to hit the tanks on the Szolnok road between the 91 to 97 kilometer markers. During that week I also received a lot of "milk" at my door, large milk cans delivering arms. The only way in which we were able to move things. The head of the Hungarian barracks, Csehi, was a scoundrel and did not want to have the Revolution. He was out to subvert it. He was in the pay of the NKVD. On October 29th I handled problems at the tractor station. The workers' council with the directors met. The workers kept running into our meeting interrupting the directors' meeting with reports from the Radio Free Europe broadcast that they were listening to out in the repair shop. This struck me very funny that here in this room which just a few days ago had been occupied by the Communists, Such a thing could never have happened that a worker interrupt a directors's meeting with news from Radio Free Europe. The directors on that day decided to dismiss a bookkeeper who had been a very weak person, weak in char-

acter and had worked for the Communists. But I said that I would be personally responsible for him and that they should keep him on the payroll because he had a sick wife and child. I later talked to him and told him to stay out of all politics, not be muddled in anything because, I told him frankly, that he had been fired but I spoke up for him and even if he does not think of himself he should think of his wife and child. The next morning I was surprised to see this bookkeeper waiting for me at the streetcorner and he said he had some news for me. He said that the Communists had called him last night and that the Communists in town had held a meeting and that in one of the attics they have stored arms. I once again repeated to him to stay away from the Communists and not to get involved in anything. But he said: "If I had not gone to the meeting I wouldn't know about the arms". I told him the arms are safe where they are in the attic and we can handle the Communists but that he should take care of himself and his child and wife. He was deeply impressed with this. Now that I have left I understand from others that it is he who has taken upon himself to see to it that my children - since I am divorced - got to a friend's place who would take care of the children. On October 30th I handled problems concerned with the workers' council although we worked late into the night at the tractor station since I was the manager of the station now.

On October 31st I went up to Budapest from ^C ~~S~~egled. It was a beautiful day. I specially saw American flags on certain cars. First I went to my mother's house. In that section of the city all the AVH had been picked up and she along with the others expected a new happy era in Hungary and in their part of town, Nagyteteny. I also went up to Matrahaza where the chief engineer of our tractor station was on a honeymoon. ^{had} ~~He~~ gone up there before the Revolution but he could not leave it because the resort was surrounded. No one could leave. He had called on October 25th and 26th by telephone to find out how things were. We told him to just stay where he is on his honeymoon and enjoy it. On October 31st in the afternoon this chief engineer had started out on foot to ^C ~~S~~egled with his wife. He was very concerned about the tractor station and the people who worked there. In ^C ~~S~~egled I found the chief engineer later. Here I must insert that at the tractor station before the Revolution it took at least two weeks to fix a tractor on the part of the mechanics or maybe even longer. This all held up the bringing in of the harvests at important times, the planting and everything and when the Revolution broke out just about every piece of the equipment was on the floor being repaired. Nothing was out in the fields and the mechanics came to me when I had asked them to repair everything so that the vegetables which were ready to be picked ~~could~~ required certain machinery and other machinery was needed

in the fields. They kept asking me: "Do you know that the Revolution is victorious?" And I kept assuring them it was and then they in the matter of two days repaired all the tractors and all the other equipment in the shop. Thus the work in the fields could be carried on and not slowed down. Now a person could see that these men wanted to work, they had a desire to work. The Communists had been kicked out and there was an entirely new spirit prevalent. On November 1st I went to the Dudas headquarters. There I ran into a very close friend of mine who was an assistant of Dudas. This friend and I went to school together for years. On the maps which were in the headquarters the men there could see that the Russians were merely reorganizing their forces around Budapest but they could not do anything about it. Dudas came into the office to the telephone while I was there and I overheard a conversation he had with someone. He said that he didn't have time to talk about politics while the revolutionary fighting was going on. Now was no time to get involved in small political matters and now was no time to talk about political parties. I also understand that some people had come to him as a committee to ask for his support, that is that he support their political party. He shouted at them and told them this is not what he is fighting for. The fight is still going on. He was such a brave man. The boys around him lived and died for him. He went out

into the streets alone in an automobile without any body-guard. He didn't want anyone with him. He was such a dare devil. From the Dudas headquarters I accompanied some of the men in a jeep looking for AVH men in a certain section of town. *I believe I* hit some of the AVH men and we rounded up some and brought them back to the headquarters. They were treated very well and given the same food that the rest of the men had and the Dudas associates would tell these AVH men: "See how well we treat you in spite of the way you have treated us". On my return to ~~Szegled~~^C I saw that the Peribegy air port was now surrounded by the Russians. When I went to Budapest the Russians were not there yet. New Russian forces were on the road also as I went back to ~~Szegled~~^C. Things had changed in the matter of one day. On November 3rd during the night around ten o'clock I went around the vicinity of ~~Szegled~~^C by auto to see the position of the Russians. The Soviet forces were going around in circles always moving. They were not leaving and we kept checking their positions. They would go down one road and turn and then double back again or go in one direction while another group would come to the spot which the first group had left. Then on November 4th at dawn when the Russians began to come into ~~Szegled~~^C I ran into the Nemzetörseg headquarters. The Nemzetörseg had been organized to maintain peace and order in the community and not as a fighting unit. They

could not require anyone to fight but we called upon volunteers and said that we would try to do what we can to oppose the Russians. All the young people were for this. The Hungarian soldiers under the command of a 1st Lieutenant *there* were not allowed to help us. The Hungarian soldiers said that they cannot do anything but they did give us arms, ^agránades, as their units stood in the square at ^c~~Szegléd~~. We also went out to the distillery where arms had been stored and surrounded the place and disarmed the guards. We took all those arms back to the empty water tower that had never been used (it was one of the products of the Communist construction) and we put our arms there. We also hid arms at various other places. Thus we merely prepared for some fighting that might take place at a future date. We were not the kind of a town that could oppose Russian tanks because all of our buildings were only two stores high. They would have shot us to pieces. We couldn't get at them. With this most of our resistance ended. On November 5th I still talked to the president of the city council of ^c~~Szegléd~~, a Communist, and he said, he was pleased with us and that we had not abused the Communists and he asked us to work with the Communists, cooperate with them. On that same morning the other members of the revolutionary council went to the city hall and I did not go. These members of the revolutionary council were all arrested. At my house the AVH and soldiers were waiting for me. My child brought

me my papers. On November 6th I slipped out on a tanya. I was not safe to be at home. And then on November 7th I started for the West from ^CSegléd walking to ^PZilivörös-
var. This road that a few days before I had travelled by auto seemed so strange now. Then I got a ride to Csoma and went on to the ~~car~~ ^{Andai} bridge.

- (b) I saw Hungarian soldiers join the Revolution at the Tisza Kalman Square.
- (c) No, but I did hear of them and I can understand why they were carried out. One merely needs to think of all the inhuman torture that these AVH carried out against the Hungarian people. At such times when people take their revenge against such torture this revenge cannot be halted. Even during the Revolution when the AVH at one spot in an underpass were cornered they captured a defenceless group of Hungarians and made them stand as a shield, a human wall protecting them, that is the AVH. If the Hungarian Revolutionist would shoot at the AVH they would first hit and kill the defenceless people. Also when the Hungarian people discovered at the Danube headquarters of the AVH the tremendous meat grinder used to grind human bodies and pump the ground human flesh out into the Danube. This made the Hungarians sick to their stomach and revenge was the only thing they could think of.
- (ed) All of our group is arrested. They had been reported as "very sick" and taken to a "hospital".

- (f) My assistant in the revolutionary council was an ordinary tractor operator who had attended 8 years of elementary school. The president of the city council was selected because of his prestige and the respect he held in the community. He was a pharmacist, an old man whom all respected. The young people especially wanted him to be mayor. Thus it is quite an error when people criticize the Revolution and say that the young people did not call upon the older ones to help them. The executive posts were all filled by young people or skilled men, the young intelligentsia that had changed its thinking, reshaped its thinking. It was a reformed intelligentsia which had new values.
- (7) I know only one revolutionary group. That was the one I came in contact with, the one that had its headquarters in the Szabadseg ^{Székely} ~~Székely~~. This was called the Magyar Forradalmi ^Ttanács.
- (a) No, not among them.
- (b) Very good relationship.
- (c) Yes, in Budapest the students realized that their demands must not only be negative but they must come forth with positive demands to what they want and they began asking around what should these positive demands be. While I was there I told them to go to see those men, the workers in the factories, who would be able to give

then specific things concerning demands. The students went immediately. They did not reject such a suggestion. The students were very agreeable to have others, older people, give them advice. They knew, they themselves could not do this alone.

(d) Yes.

(8) In ^CSegléd the Russians behaved extremely well. Those who had been in Hungary a longer time were these soldiers. They had worked in the summers in the fields during the harvest on the collective farms. There they had also lived with the families, the Hungarian peasants. They knew the ordinary Hungarian man and they knew that he was making this Revolution. The Lieutenant Colonel in charge of the Russian tank company at ^CSegléd refused an order which came to him to fire on the Hungarians. He told us that he would not interfere and would not fire except in self-defence. Later this commander was taken away and killed. The new group of Russian soldiers that arrived in ^CSegléd went about the city suspecting everyone with guns ready to shoot and walking around with mine detectors.

(b) There is a Russian student here in Munich. He had been in Budapest. But I feel that the role of Russian students was not very significant.

(c) I heard about the Korean students. They appreciated our

situation more and gave us a hand, I understand.

(e) I heard about certain Russians joining the side of the Revolutionaries. The specific situation of sympathy that I ~~consider~~^{consider} is the local ~~factory~~^C ~~company~~^{factory} tank company and the behavior of their commander mentioned previously.

(f) Tremendous influence. Everything that bore the stamp of government was under the Russian direction. During the Revolution on political level this influence ended.

Now Russian influence is even more complete. I understand that at Kecskemet Russian judges are bringing sentences against the Revolutionaries.

(g) By radio. During the first days of the Revolution a committee of ten people was delegated to listen to the various radio stations. We used the radio at the Communist control house in ~~the~~^C ~~factory~~^{factory}. It would have been better if we had not listened to the Western radio broadcasts because we interpreted them as giving us a wider picture than was the real case. I also gathered my information by going to various communities around the country in auto.

(a) Very little. The last Szabad Nép was sold on October 25th in ~~the~~^C ~~factory~~^{factory}. The first Revolutionary papers appeared on October 26th or 27th for one or two issues. There was really no newspaper in ~~the~~^C ~~factory~~^{factory} that continued. The ~~the~~^C ~~factory~~^{factory} Revolutionary youth newspaper published one sheet

- of demands. They ^{asked} ~~wanted~~ the population not to do any stupid things, that is break the normal laws of order and humanity. These papers also talked about local events.
- (b) About certain defence measures against the AVH which was reported to me from the Budapest Revolutionary Council. General reports came to us from the Forradalmi Nemzetörseg Bizottság, also from various district Revolutionary Councils through their own delegated representatives. Some of these Revolutionary Councils ^a dealt only with the AVH or political organizations. I also came in contact with many personal acquaintances.
- (c) Yes, we regularly listened to the ~~radio~~ foreign radio broadcast from the West. In fact we had a service group of ten people listening on schedule. In fact they listened to the broadcasts from all over the world and picked up local broadcasts. Incidentally in Budapest special radio monitoring groups were formed to listen to the local, American, French, Turkish, and Russian programs to see how these peoples and others throughout the world were interpreting the Hungarian Revolution and what we could interpret from that. We also listened to Radio Free Europe, the Hungarian Budapest broadcasts where we could hear the shooting around the station.
- (d) The Voice of America and BBC. The VOA because we thought America could help us and the English broadcast because

they would be objective.

- (10) Up to the last moment all the Party leaders, that is the upper leaders waited for some Party direction. They tried in every way possible to save the reputation of the Party and name of the Party. After that they had no opportunity. So also the Party secretary in Cegled was waiting for direction from above as to what to do. For example, when in Cegled and in the other parts of the country was evident that the Russians did not want to move out of the country ~~was~~^{at} all - this was still during the Revolution after October 23rd before the 4th of November - all the various workers and their shops went on strike. So also the railroad men struck. However, in the meantime the farmers had gathered in a crop of perishable goods to be shipped to Budapest. These were already at the railroad yard to be stacked into box-cars and taken rapidly before all of these perishables rotted. The railroad men did not want to put together a train and take these goods to Budapest. The Communist Party committee heard of this. This Party committee had been given an armed guard by our Revolutionary group so that the committee should not be harmed during the days of the Revolution. Then this committee on October 30th went out to the railroad yards and tried to convince the trainmen to send these perishable goods to Budapest. They were

trying to get a point for themselves in the Revolution. The Communists convinced the railroad men and the goods were already being put on the train. At the same time the Communists were putting a large sign with their own workers' party flag on the steam engine which read that this food is for Budapest from the Communist Workers' Party of Cegled. In the meantime we in our office, the Revolutionary headquarters heard about this and went out immediately to take things into hand. We had a difficult time to make the railroad men understand why everyone was striking and how ~~shaxit~~ the strike should be carried out. We explained to them that perishable food must go and only such things. There would be no passenger travel or any other service. We also immediately took off the Communist flag and their sign. We put up our own flag and our own sign. Later we also had a meeting in the cultural house in Cegled. Over a thousand peasants arrived at the meeting, all of them dressed in waxed boots. The first time in years that I can remember peasants putting on their boots and waxing them, getting dressed as nicely as they did. Here again at this meeting which the Revolutionary Council conducted the Communist Party tried to disrupt the meeting. (It is interesting to note at this point the attitude of the Hungarians which in a sense explains some thing of the value of the Revolution, that is that ~~is~~ against the

common danger during the first days all the Hungarians were in agreement. In Budapest and the other places there was no difference between the people whether one was a doctor, a worker or something else. Everyone did what he could in the hospital or on the street. But after the first victories the second attitude of the Hungarian people began to creep in and take over. When everyone after the first victories began to look around and to see what he could get out of all of this there were organized many different kinds of parties and fractions, the Sziv Garda, the Social-Democratic Party, the Smallholders Party, and many others all saying that I am the true party, I am more representative than the other parties and I ~~will~~^{have} 15,000 members or some such number when they had no membership whatsoever yet.) On November 14th when the Russians were united our strength in Hungary was divided. We had no opportunity during the free week to put our strength together. The trouble was that the Hungarians used much energy for useless divisions.

- (a) Every Communist organization of control and government organization ended but it was not said by us that this organization or that organization is not needed rather we put new officials in various offices. As for example, when the persecutor's office was cleaned out, that is the files, and we ran things ourselves we put

a new persecutor in who was elected by the larger committee.

- (b) They ran for their life as pointed out above.
- (c) In Budapest 50 percent of them was disarmed and joined the Revolutionary Forces. They sympathized with the Revolution. Many were opportunists. In Budapest many of the police were members of the Revolutionary Council and were in the Revolutionary headquarters. In Csolnok the police were completely disarmed and ~~brought~~ ^{en block} at ~~Csol-~~ ^{Sz} nok the police joined the Revolutionary Forces and took part in the Revolution. However, the police themselves kicked out the major who was a Communist. At another place all the police were run out whereas at Nagytétény only some were sent away and others were allowed to remain police.
- (d) The AVH continued to work in self-defence but they did fall apart. However, the offensive unit of the AVH was had sent into different parts of the city its men with short wave sets to maintain communications in Budapest. For example, an AVH man who had been a schoolfriend of mine in Budapest was sent to my mother's house with a short wave radio set and thus to keep in contact with the AVH from such *distant* spots. However, the AVH expected the Russians to interfere.
- (e) The courts did not function at this time. Those who were jailed were jailed and we told them that we'll deal

with you later. We have no time now. Just sit in jail until the courts operate. ~~Waxdixmoxwax~~ In Cegled we did not want to set up a people's court because so much injustice occurs on such a basis during the heat of Revolution.

- (f) The army was in a state of confusion and fell apart. The nearby barracks proved it that the privates did not do anything. At the Cegled barracks on the morning of November 4th at dawn when the Russians came in the soldiers had their guns standing ^{ing} in order in the hall with their sleeping doors ~~closed~~ ^{locked}. Thus the boys could not even get out to get their guns. The Russians disarmed them very simply. The military officers feared their positions and knew that this would be the end for them, there would be no future for them if the Revolution succeeded. For example, at the Ministry of the Army Hungarian armored cars were standing in front of the building and the officer gave them the command to assemble for announcement of an order. Promptly the soldiers obeyed, got out of their cars, came to the officer to receive their command, and during this time the Russians arrived, held their guns on the Hungarian soldiers who could do nothing at that point. This was stupidity but it was a way in which the officer disarmed his own men. Also many of the Hungarian officers who were new men in the army and who joined the Revolu-

tionary Forces hindered rather than helped the situation because they did not even know how to read a map nor give directions concerning firing of artillery or locate a particular point for direction of fixing artillery.

(g) The government and the ministries disintegrated. There weren't any. Those who felt they would not be taken in- to the new government left. Not one of the Communist boys was to be found in the agricultural division of the ministry when I went up to Budapest. They had been kicked out of office just as we had kicked out the Communists in Cegled. Many of these "Csibéss" (street arabs) who were in the government are out here in Germany.

(h) In many smaller places the local city council remained such as in Alberti, however, additional members were added such as the Reformed Church minister, the Roman Catholic priest, and others who had been kept out previously. In Cegled we ran the entire city council out and we started with a clean sheet after the Revolution in all offices. In Cegled when we were trying to select the new local council a fellow comes in with a ~~band~~^{band} and a tri-color rosette. He wants to interrupt us and say that we should take in our tri-color flags off the streets and put out ~~the~~^{black} flags in the morning for the dead Revolutionary young men of Budapest. He appeals to the Hungarian patriotism of the crowd and almost disrupts the meeting. In fact he said he just got back from Budapest where he saw all this fighting.

I suspected that he had been sent by The Communists to disrupt our meeting and I grabbed him and took him out of the meeting and began questioning him as to when he arrived in Cegled and how he came and I took him to the road where he said he came through by auto and it was evident when we got there that he did not come by auto. He had been in Cegled all the time but had been put up to this task. I told him to get out of my sight and not to show his face again.

- (i) The peace priests had the Revolution succeeded would not have had a bright future under Mindszenty. From the civilian point of view the trusted clergy in the communities were taken into every civilian or Revolutionary council activity and they were very close to the people during the twelve years of oppression. They had lived the same kind of life as the rest of men in Hungary. The Christian spirit was very desirable at home and the clergy through its preaching presented the inner spirit of Christianity which would have blossomed out after the Revolution and showed the West something new.
- (j) None at all. No organizations were formed, perhaps some individuals tried some things.
- (k) The workers' council. This was a very healthy thing and inside of this was the plant managerial council. It was also formed the federation of workers' councils in the cities and nationally. Also the nemzetörseg.

This would have remained the next to the police organization after the Revolution. It would have been a kind of FBI interested in internal affairs. Then there were many other organizations such as Sziv Garda; a Catholic young men's association, and *others*.

- (1) The workers in open election, however, considering the shortness of time the workers' council and the managerial group in ~~some~~ ^{parallel} ~~best~~ ~~operation~~ cooperation ran things in the enterprise. Many felt that the Tito kind of workers' council pattern should be used. One man said that it actually existed in Yugoslavia. It was said that there was a *igazgato tanacs*, a directors' council inside the workers' council in the Tito form. This directors' council was controlled by the workers. Anyway, this is what we had.
- (m) A plural party system on the basis of a mandate for parliament.
- (11) Yes, from morning to night and night to morning.
- (a) Yes and no. However, something would have developed, would it have been successful, that would be good for Hungary, a new mentality, a uniting of the East and West characteristics. From the West would have come justice, maintenance, and law and some of the social content of Communism ~~which~~ which is good but which was applied and executed so harshly by the Communists.

- (b) Yes, if everything would have been limited to the Hungarian borders and no interference.
- (c) Very much. We always felt Hungary belonged to the West and felt that since Hungary had once or twice done a few things in behalf of the West - these are undeniable facts - that it could be expected that the West would help Hungary now just when Western propaganda of RFE kept telling us how much better life is here in the West and we are living so badly in Hungary and since we asked the UN for help. We did not want American soldiers under an American flag to arrive but wanted the UN Forces under the UN flag to arrive and then to allow us to decide the kind of government we want and to say that we do not want the Russians in Hungary. It is very sad that the idea of coexistence does not allow us to speak against the Russians.
- (e) I never saw him personally. I presume he started to work out a program of plural parties in November. In fact the countryside already had plural parties. Nagy did not deny he was a Communist and it looks as if he listened to the population and not to his advisers. However, he would not have been Prime Minister after an election. What they are going to attack him with at the trial now is not true. He could have come to the West as Prime Minister but he did not leave the country. His role was very serious and difficult. He and his men were removed and degraded in 1953 and then he reached the point where the Communists

brought him back again. Nagy could have got to the American embassy himself for it was closer, 500 meters away from where he was staying, whereas the Yugoslav embassy was two to three kilometers away. Nagy sent Mindszenty to the American embassy but he himself did not go to a Western embassy to indicate he was true to himself and he was not an opportunist.

- (f) Szigeti in Győr, Dudas had a great role, Zoltan Tildy a much smaller role, Maléter not a great role at all, Anna Kéthly, Bela Kiraly, and Kövago. Imre Nagy had a significant role. The following men did not have a great role in the Revolution but later would have had very significant roles: Mindszenty, Ravasz, bishop of the Reformed Church, and Bishop Ordass of the Lutheran Church.
- (g) In the first position together the youth and the workers. In the second position the intelligentsia. In the third position the peasants and soldiers, and in the fourth position the remainder.
- (h) It was natural to expect the youth to take this part. In Budapest the students were in the fight under number first and second just as much as the working youth.
- (12) On November 6th.
- (a) I had no other choice but to leave. I had no chance to live and stay longer.

- (b) Yes, I discussed it with the members of the workers' council.
- (c) The boys told me to hide out on a 'tanya' and with a short-wave radio set I kept in contact with them. They told me that the whole Communist group is back and that it would be best if I left. I agreed to meet one of them in the city and we agreed upon where we would meet. I gave the key to the safe to one of the boys so that he would destroy the contents of the safe before the Communists could break open the safe which contained damaging information against each of us. I went to see my children. It was a sad parting in a sense leaving this big circus.

(1)

(a)

I attended gymnasium from 1940 to 1948 and received my maturity certificate.

(b)

To a state school, the Allami Második Kerületi Főgymnasium (State Second District Catholic Gymnasium). *Katholikus*

(c)

Yes, a trade course giving me a certificate in diesel motor mechanics, also a course in accounting with a certificate, courses in enterprise law as well as industrial safety and planned economy, a special course in equipping a factory with capital goods, and before I went to work in industry I spent one year at the Budapest Reformed Theological Seminary. This was in 1948.

(e)

When I received my maturity certificate I spent one year at the theological seminary. Desiring to continue my education elsewhere this year at the seminary was not accepted. Then I became a diesel motor mechanic. So I was placed into various jobs and had to take various courses required by these jobs. By 1960 I would have had to finish my course in architectural engineering since a non-degree man could not continue after 1960 a job even if he displayed talent and ability.

(2)

Es.

(a)

If I could not get into the university and in 1956 I still had not been accepted, no matter what kind of position I had reached in my work by 1960, I would have had to leave

that particular position because I did not have the schooling required by the state for that kind of a job. Also my getting into the university was a question of origin. My sister wanted to be a pharmacist but she was allowed to be a chemist. Life was extremely directed. For example, if you wanted to be an architect then you were told to be a lawyer and so forth.

- (e) If I would be given the opportunity, yes. The question was would they let me into the university.
- (3) Marxism and Leninism, even in trade school and the non-university courses. At seminars and lectures attendance was checked in political courses.
- (c) Plain stupidity, marhaság.
- (4) In the trade schools and in the training of persons in certain skills to supplement those areas where Hungary had sufficient and large deficiencies. They felt the competition from the Czechs and others. Otherwise education was so devised ^S and ^{so as} not to allow men to start to think. For example, at 11 o'clock at night in the city of Budapest there would be a rush hour traffic. The various evening school courses, trade school courses, were out at 10.30. The peak of the traffic would come at about 11. At 9 o'clock also there was heavy traffic in Budapest with people hurrying to various schools and

some of them going home. At 11 o'clock as in my case frequently as I went home I would fall asleep, I be so tired. By the time I got home my wife and children were asleep. They didn't see me during the day nor at night. Family life was non-existent. Family ties were thus broken as it did occur in my family.

- (a) Good results in courses were important because this was attached to the kader sheet. If a person wanted another job a good record was important. The emphasis upon social questions and social justice was basic. This is to be taken for granted.
- (b) It was very effective and had results but only to that point where people did not see the *real* injustice in the country. Many children said to their fathers that you, dad, are responsible for having lost the middle class contact with the mass of people. The youngsters heard of the great Soviet having reached such tremendous production, building great electrical tractors. This all fascinated the youth. However, then the youth as they got older saw that their fathers and the workers were more tired, they were more used, and more looted than before and production records were a bluff. After the youth started working for himself there were fewer Communists among the young people. The working youth saw the great *oppression* and the great injustices. Some children did report their fathers to the Communists for

listening to Radio Free Europe, however, it ~~was~~^{WAS} the university students who revolted. At the age of 14 the young people on the average broke through this false picture that the Communists gave them. At the 8 years of school in the gymnasium the students did not have an opportunity to think for themselves and they had no

Up to 1948 everything was calculated to appeal to the students to win their approval for the Communist system. Not even the professor were allowed to discipline students. After 1945 the professors were to speak nicely and not punish the students for infractions of rules.

(e) We did not like this ethical kind of preaching. When my sister studied she did not like the limited teaching. The children did not like the fact that they studied only about Russia and the East. They asked: "Why only study Russia and its achievements, its inventions, and discoveries?" No other nation, not even Hungary, they were told, had any great inventors, discoverers. Every writer was made out to be a Communist. However, at home they heard other stories. This meant that our Hungarian feelings came out. the students also saw the future they had before them as to how little they would be paid. Those who wanted to be teachers saw only poverty. Those who received their maturity would be a number in a factory as in the ~~bookings~~^{Phalanx} chapter of ~~Madách~~^{Madách}.

(1) Most effective up to 14 years of age. For example, the

beautiful railway system that was built in miniature for the *Pioneers*. The Communists allow the children to believe that they were running the entire miniature railroad system and talked to them of how proud they are of these children, that they would be responsible later for the railways and they would have to care for the property of the state, thus instilling in their mind all the state was doing for them. However, when the youngsters were asked to assist the North Korean students and the North Vietnam students with contributions the Hungarian students and youngsters saw that these Korean foreign students got better housing, new buildings in Hungary whereas the Hungarian students had much less. This the Hungarian students resented when they had to help these foreign students.

- (5) My father had received a doctor's degree in law. Both my parents were middle class background and both my grandfathers had worked in government ministries. At the end of the war my father was secretary of the National Social Insurance Institute.
- (a) He was put on the "B" list and put on pension in 1945 with a 180 fets pension. Previously during the war he had been the director of the division for national manpower.
- (d) Yes, but not regular help. I didn't think much about it for I was a boy then.

- (e) Yes, we had a house, also a villa on the Balaton and a four-room house in Buda.
- (f) Rather good.
- (g) Three members. My sister was born when I was almost ten which then made four members in the family.
- (h) My father died in 1955 and after his death my mother had to work. After my father was put on the "B" list and pensioned he wrote poems which expressed his hate for the Russians. Previously while in government service he was a good civil servant. He did his job and did not criticize the state. He felt that he had his own work to do. My father sent me to school. During the summers I went ~~through~~^{to} the fields for the reaping and thrashing season. Frequently before my father got sick I would come home from school and argue with him about the great advances that the Communists had promised. Although he always was a liberal minded man which indicates from the fact he was ~~secretary~~ secretary of the National Social Insurance Institute and was responsible for a great many advances there he was greatly disappointed in my youthful ardour for the fascination that the Communists used in order to lure the children. My young sister became an excellent student and helped the family a great deal.
- (i) From 1950 on I maintained a separate household being married in 1950. We had two children, however, I was divorced in 1955.

- (k) Disadvantage.
- (6) Yes.
- (a) I am not.
- (b) From 1950 to 1955; then divorced.
- (c) Two children.
- (d) 6 years old.
- (13) No, but as I continued my education there were certain things that I saw differently than my parents.
- (a) No.
- (b) No, but they did try to interfere in my choice of ~~time~~^{mate} in my marriage. They wanted me to marry someone from our former social and economic background.
- (c) No, not exactly. While I was in the gymnasium I did come home with some very progressive ideas which disappointed my father. However, when my father became very ill I did not talk politics to him anymore. My father was conservative, I was progressive.
- (d) No.
- (e) Yes, the family had long traditions and made it clear that I should marry someone from our social origin.
- (14) It was a harmonious family relationship balanced even when my father was not the bread-winner anymore.
- (a) A very close.

- (b) Generally a typical family.
- (c) Sports, horse riding, sailing, shooting, water sports.
- (g) My parents tried to rear me to be an independent child. For example, when I was 12 years old I won a national essay contest in literature and history. I didn't have to study much, studying came easily. This was a great disadvantage to me later in some of my courses.
- (15) In our family there was a loosening of family ties between my parents and myself but fortunately this straightened out. However, nationally I would say they loosened.
- (a) No, family members became strangers rather than close-knit units in general.
- (d) More loose in the town and city.
- (e) Yes, many changes took place after 1945. First the neglecting of rearing children to respect their parents and the separation of children from the family. The Communists now kept saying also that under the pre-1945 regime children had been given out privileges and rights on the basis of their family names rather than having approved themselves individually. This is not true because in pre-1945 already the young professors had brought this kind of treatment to an end. These young professors in the gymnasium did not give me anymore chances whereas the older professors did because of my family name and the fact that they knew my grandfather. I re-

ceived low grades in the courses where I did poor work. My sister now under the Communist system had to study very hard to prove that she was not a degraded child of the middle class.

(16) Yes, strongly. Yes, the *haystacks* could talk a great deal about this. In fact the Hungarian Communist papers began writing about this, that the number of illegitimate children was getting too high. In the DISZ the boys and girls studied Marxism and also studied about free love. Quick marriages were very common, just as the problems of these marriages were equally as common. Daily six courts in Budapest dealt with divorces and handled 25 divorces a day. Just imagine how many divorces that means a year. The judges, too, had a production norm which they had to keep, that is not allow too many divorces and sometimes when he was getting too near his norm he had to deny divorce for such persons who should be divorced. Then these people lived in separation anyway. There also came a ruling concerning the approval of abortion and the state gave money to the person for this abortion.

(b) Very many changes in the form of a family. For example, a woman was in the same room in the hospital as when my wife had given birth to the baby, the other woman had a baby also and my wife was unable to reach me by telephone

to tell me not to bring her any gifts nor our baby any gifts because this poor woman next to her would be hurt if she saw all the things being given to my wife. The woman in the next bed lived in a one-room basement and she had no clothes to put on the baby when it would be taken home. She and her husband had not prepared for the baby at all. In fact ~~that~~ at that time the husband was out drunk, drinking the money the government had given the family, 400 frts, for the purchase of diapers and baby clothing. This was the time when the government wanted to increase births. Then when the government discovered that the 400 frts in many cases was not used for babies the state began giving out diapers instead and clothing. The people even took these diapers and clothing and sold them in turn in order to make some money on the articles and neglected their children. When this practice was discovered the state marked the diapers so that they could not be sold by parents. During this time abortion continued to increase. Having children caused great economic problems.

The relationship between boys and girls changed a great deal because girls can jump around a lot and boys will leave one girl after another. The equality given women has brought this about. Respect for elders is not present anymore. Corruption in behavior in the youth has brought this about.

- (e) Officially there wasn't any, however, half-officially there was prostitution in Hungary in the last years. Social diseases have increased even though no prostitution. In the factories especially in the food processing factories there were constant blood examinations. In some cases the sick women would work under cover, not denoting her sickness, that is social sickness, because if she were found out her sentence would be so great in a court that she feared reporting her sickness. As a result large numbers of men were *diseased* by such women.
- (f) Outwardly the Communists said they were more strict but in practice they were not able to be strict. The Russian and other satellite films did not emphasize sex and they didn't even have any kisses in them or hardly any.
- (h) Previously the illegitimate child was stamped. This is not so now. It is not recorded as illegitimate in the records.
- (i) Yes, to the hurt of the womanhood. Now they are unhealthy, *and* overworked except those women for whom things went well.
- (17) It has loosened and fallen much. See above question (16).
- (b) This is a very serious question. For example, when I was taking course in enterprise law they gave us hundreds of cases where stealing and theft were involved. It was surprising to learn that a specialized division ⁱⁿ ~~was~~

the courts had been set up to deal with this problem. We were told to examine why a woman stole wool goods, a stocking for children or why a man stole something which he would in turn use in his home and thus the emphasis was upon the motive which ~~was~~ recognized ~~was~~ that people were not being paid enough. In fact I stole in order to get enough screws for a miniature auto that I built for my son. I did not have the 80 frts with which to buy such. As also people stole leather in order to re-sole their shoes. A great deal of embezzlement went on also.

- (18) The director in my enterprise. At first we were not friends but since 1950 on we are very close.
- (b) He is older but of the same social origin.
- (c) Our ~~wives~~^{wives} came together and as a family we spent time together. However, we did not go to the theater together. We were in public only in such places where our entire division of the enterprise would meet.
- (d) Yes, very much.
- (f) I think so.
- (g) I look at someone as a friend if he remains a friend through good times and bad times.
- (i) I did not have too many friends. I was not able to see these people whom I would call friends except at rare ~~occasions~~ occasions and they were such who held the same

attitudes as I did.

- (k) No, those who were really friends did not have any secrets, and I was clear about the fact that a man sometimes could not do anything other than become a member of the Communist Party, that is he was forced into it by some circumstances.
- (19) The Communists actively affected religious life but the reality of religious life is not evident or practiced and is not the outward religious life.
- (b) My role in religious life is zero. I am not a church-going man although I read the Bible and pray, but I do not recognize the need of the clerical services in all of this. However, I would have required my children to go to church. However, perhaps my father is in error ~~and~~ when he taught me. He said that he could pray in bed also and did not need to go to church. This is the opinion of others, too, in Hungary.

For those individuals who have no opportunity to read, to learn and study, for such people their closest spiritual support is a minister, and if such a man has inner problems he must outwardly go to the clergy. Yet I recognize that the only control over our moral life is religion, that which has come to us out of the Bible. We find here an ethic which cannot be surpassed and the Bible wants to give people an ethical means for living. The church keeps men in that ethical frame in which Christiani-

ty is found. If this does not exist then men haven't anything to fear and then comes the rule of Communism where all ethics are eliminated and gone. I haven't lost my faith ^{but} ~~that~~ out of all the contrary teachings in the church and all the contradictions I have left the church. I have witnessed within the church all those *battles* that men can get into as they fight one another and this I could not digest. This was the arguments I had for leaving theological seminary. However, if the church comes to an end there will be chaos and Communism will be victorious.

- (20) Yes, Communism has limited the activities of the church.
- (b) Until Communism is not sufficiently strong enough to eliminate the church it will tolerate it but as soon as it feels they are strong for this it will eliminate it. For example, the Communists took down the Regnum Maria Church and on its site built the Stalin statue. The youth have been confused by the references from Lenin that the clergy are bad and that the clergy are trying to accumulate money for themselves and so forth, ^{that} ~~and~~ they are not interested in people but are selfish.
- (c) Only such names as Tildy and Bereczky and others who for their own life assured for themselves a minimum of freedom. I did not know peace priests. Whether they are sincere it is hard to say. Is he as a peace priest fighting for peace officially, that is as a soldier officially on

the opposite side fights for war or is the peace priest trying to get something for himself.

- (d) The Reformed Church was hit rather hard. It was poor to begin with. The Roman Catholic Church had been hit by the Communists because of the international character of the Roman Church. However, the Roman Catholic Church had more peace priests as result of a greater terror. The Reformed Church had fewer peace clergy under less terror.
- (f) A person can go to church if he has the time. The state did not approve it. Many went to demonstrate outwardly that they did not accept the state ideology.
- (g) Yes, some people were told that the Communists do not approve their going to church. The city Party organization would contact the enterprise or plant where a man worked if he attended church. One very serious question was a church marriage. Many people went to distant churches where no one knew them in order, ~~to marry~~.
- (h) See above.
- (i) It is difficult to say the youth did not go to church at both the Reformed and the Roman Catholic Churches. Generally attendance age was 35 and up. I am not able to say which group went more, whether it was the worker or intelligentsia or peasant.
- (j) The churches rather adapted themselves to the situation and circumstances and not necessarily to the regime as churches wanted to keep the people. The Bible hours were developing very nicely in the Reformed Church.

- (k) Less. Very much less. This requires a long answer, however, the Communists ~~know~~ ^{know} education and constant regulation through seminars effecting the whole of life brought about some results. Thus people had less time to deal with the church today.
- (l) None at all. Passive, from those whom I talked with but I am not a good judge. There ~~were~~ ^{was} no *prophet* in the country who could say what was to be done, only what was bad.
- (21) Some technical occupation.
- (b) Increase his knowledge and skill and have a good ~~general~~ ^{general} education. However, before the Revolution I would ~~have~~ not have said anything, I would not have given any advice.
- (c) The worker class.
- (22) ^{In} The best situation the Party functionaries, 2) intelligent-
 sia, 3) workers, 4) peasants. In the worst situation the fifth group, so-called the rest, the former ruling class and former middle class.
- (a) Into the fifth group under the rest category, egyéb.
- (b) I had no ambitions. I was completely clear as to the role of the middle class.
- (23) The same as listed in question (22).
- (d) Yes, just as before and even now. The Revolution swept

away the walls though every social strata has its own grievance picture against the next group or strata.

(e) Greater equality than before the Revolution and before the war. There was more unity now.

(f) Good.

(g) Yes, we experienced this. The contact is more leisurely. In the Revolution boys became very courteous toward men. Before the Revolution the style was rude. Good manners were not possible for the kind of life we lived. However, after the Revolution the niceties occurred. The rush of the circus before the Revolution made people impolite.

(h) The son would say: "*Ne hüjéskedj apa!*" and would stand in front of his father with his hands in his pocket. The style of language is different today in Hungary. The former emigres tell us so. They recognize a different style and shade being used.

(24) The Germans. This was the result of the war, the Russians deporting them and putting considerable pressure upon them.

(a) I don't know of any others.

(25) The answer to this is rather a muddy or confused thing. But basically it affected the Jews rather well. It is an extensive problem, however.

(a) They had no particular behavior or attitude toward the regime. Everywhere in the regime they were very skilfully

built in and employed.

- (c) Yes, I had many Jewish friends, those little Jews who were little when the Nazis persecuted them. They were more Hungarian than Jews. They opposed the regime.
- (d) I know of many who fought together with the Revolution. Then there were many Jews who fought alongside the AVH and the Communists because they had received privileges from the Communists during the years prior to the Revolution. However, one can say in Hungary there is no Jewish question as such anymore. Both the Jews and the Christians, at least the leaders, have rethought and re-evaluated their positions and thus the Jewish question as such doesn't exist among the thinking people.
- (e) This is a long answer. In the Nazi times the adults viewed the Jews with hatred. I was a young boy and my parents and I did not share this kind of an opinion. The general public looked upon the Jews as the new wealthy strata of society and the Jews frequently were the employers in Hungary and as such they were of the other side of the fence from employees who in general everywhere have complaints and certain prejudices against employers. However, this anti-*Jewish* situation was not serious until the Nazis came into Hungary and in particular came into the government. What I know about the situation I know from my father who told me that in the government they tried to stop any persecution of the Jews, how-

ever this attempt to stall and oppose such persecution ended when the Szalasi regime came into power. One experience I had on the streetcar some time during the second world war was as follows: I boarded the streetcar and little later a Hungarian Nyiles in uniform boarded the streetcar, too. I was in my Levente uniform. The streetcar was rather empty. However, this Nyiles went up to an elderly Jewish man who could be recognized by his dress and said to the Jew that I want your seat. The man got up and gave the seat to this Nyiles and the Jew occupied another seat. Very soon the Nyiles got up again and went over to the Jew and said: "I want your seat". The Jew got up and gave him the seat very quietly. This went on for five or six successive changes and finally I went over to the Jew and told him that he should occupy my seat. This Nyiles then followed the Jew and told him again that I want your seat. At this time I stood up and I told the Nyiles that that is my seat and he would have to ask me rather than the Jew. Out of this there was a scuffle between myself and the Nyiles fellow. I was beaten up a little bit. However, the illustration is an extreme case. Then after the liberation it was said that the Jews had represented the capitalistic system and yet the Jews got government positions in spite of this view of the Communists. In the AVH the officers and leaders were mostly Jews but

later in the mind of the Hungarian people this fact became insignificant that the officer of the AVH was Jewish rather the fact was that he is an AVH officer and he is cruel as a man. The Jews came into a good situation. Some of the Jews I talked to said: "This Communist system is unbearable. I can't do business alone or privately and there is the terror." But this view was held by everyone not merely the Jews. The ordinary man, the worker and peasant had greater resentment toward the Jews. The village peasant looked upon the Jew as the local shopkeeper who would *foreclose* on the peasant's property if the peasant not pay his bills at the store and this created a certain amount of prejudice but in my view whether it is a Jew or a Christian who owns the store and unpaid bills are not met foreclosures will follow. The ordinary man, the worker and peasant in Hungary, sometimes had held the view that ^{it} is necessary to eliminate the Jew and then we won't have any trouble with them.

During the Revolution when I became the workers' council president we kicked out the director of the TSGCS. However, when we got around to the manager whose name was Robert Weiss, I told the council that we could not kick him out although he was a Communist, too, and he was not trained for his position, however, we would keep him on in the tractor station as a mechanic and if he could prove himself worthy as a tradesman then he could stay on in the

job. If he did not prove himself and his abilities as a mechanic then we could kick him out on that basis. The whole reasoning behind this was that if we kicked out Weiss a Jewish question would be made out of the situation. Then it would be said that we kicked him out because he was a Jew. I had to leave the city for a while during the Revolution and during my absence the council kicked him out of his job anyway. When I returned I told the ~~man~~ man that they had done wrong but there was no way in which to correct this anymore. Later when the Communists came back into power they picked on this very incident and said that we had persecuted the Jews.

During the Revolution there were some Fascists, Nyilas, Horthyists who did try to make a Jewish question. Some of them had been young men in uniform during the Nazi rule in Hungary and they had enjoyed their uniform and prestige of that time and had been indoctrinated into a certain pigeon-hole kind of thinking which they still held.

We who think normally in Hungary said that there was no Jewish question. Furthermore the Revolution could not help it: if a Jew was an AVH man or a Communist functionary. If the AVH man or functionary would have been a Christian he would have been killed just the same and they were.

(g) I think less now. This judgement I make on basis~~es~~ of

talks with my father since I was a boy during the prewar times. If you would go home, that is to Hungary today you would not find a Jewish question such as is talked about in the West today and as we are talking about now. At home the Jewish question was a side issue. It was not important as it is or seems to be important in the West.

(h) If it depends upon me they have the same status and the same rights as I have. I will not hit a Jew or harm him because he is a Jew.

- (1) Yes, very much. I was so interested that when I had very little money I subscribed only to one periodical Társsadalmi Szemle. However, when I had more money I ordered others or ordered them through the factory or read them in the Factory's library where I worked.
- (a) A rather large part of my interest.
- (2) At first when the Russians came into Hungary I shot at the Russians with a gun that I had but when I saw that everyone had retreated and that the Russians were also shooting back, during this time I was a youngster yet, I gave up this little war of mine. My opinion of the Russians was based on what I saw. It was a mixed opinion. One of a certain amount of respect for the very fact that the soldiers had fought in the meagerest of clothing. They did not have boots, only half-shoes, torn clothing, their ammunition was very poor, and their knapsacks were not well-filled with clothing. However, at the opposite extreme were the Germans who had ample supplies, their knapsack was full with a change of clothing, even stationery on which to write letters home and yet it was the Russian ill-equipped who won against the well-equipped German.

I attended one of the best, if not the best school of the former days in Hungary up to 1948 which up to that time retained many of its former professors. However,

at the school there were sons of not only the more well-to-do but of the lesser civil officials and even sons of workers. This ~~is~~ ^{is} I say to point out ^{that} a tremendous social change had taken place in Hungary and was taking place during the late thirties and the ~~fourties~~ ^{forties}. My father reminded me time and again that it was only the interference of war which stalled certain far reaching social changes then. The government was about to put into ~~effect~~ ^{effect}.

When my father was immediately put on the "B" list I began to wonder a little bit as to why this was. I would say I am a good boy, my father had never been interested in politics as such, and I wondered what was happening. Something did not ~~add~~ ^{add} up. By 1947 the Communists felt themselves strong enough to persecute religion and during this time every student in Budapest bought one of the newspapers which Dezső Sulyok edited and he would ~~put it~~ ^{put it} in his pocket with the title of the paper sticking out of the pocket as a silent demonstration against the regime. I believe the name of the paper was either *Holnap* or ~~Hétfő~~ *Hétfő*.

However, in my thought I was convinced more and more by the Communist slogans which proclaimed rather reasonable and very just propositions such as all men are equal, all men have the same rights. ~~I~~ I would say to my father that the middle class which had formerly held the power

in Hungary is to be blamed for letting the reins of government out of its hand by not taking an interest in the workers and other people who did not have the equal rights. Moreover the Communists said that three million Hungarian people were ~~stateless~~ ^{landless} and the lands were divided into 5 to 6 hold parcels. However, it is now that I realize that the Communists were crazy in this kind of agricultural planning.

While I had been eating the bread of my father and sleeping in his home life was easy for me and I had no problems with the world and I saw in my mind that the Communists were talking about just propositions. However, it came to me as a shock when they would not accept me in the university because I was of middle class origin. During 1949 I went to a theological seminary and this became a part of my school record and my official state record. I went there because I ~~was~~ ^{had} said that I wanted to be a psychiatrist and this was the closest I could get to the study of human beings. There were a number of reasons for my leaving or dropping out of the theological school and then I could not get a job as a mechanic but went to work as a laborer and it was then that I first met the working man who ate his lunch out of a newspaper package.

The development within me as regards the Communists was that I saw the slogans they used as being good and

right. The regime knew how to develop slogans for the youth. In fact I adapted myself to the Communist system and I was district secretary in the trade union. I received many brochures which I read. Many of them blaming the West and speaking of the great progress that exists only in the East or in the Soviet. Already while I was still in the gymnasium I brought home various pamphlets showing my father the kind of marvellous progress and ~~marvellous~~ technological advance that was going on in the Soviet. The electric tractors that are being used. This all fascinated me. Looking back at the time when perhaps a change began to take place in me very likely found its root in the statement of my father which I did not understand then and that puzzled me greatly when he said to my mother: "You will see that some day Bela will be such a Communist that he will have us hanged". I came under further influence of the Communist slogans. However, when the results and real achievements under the regime were not reached and I saw that only a few men were getting richer while others were getting poorer and the most inhuman kinds of punishment and court sentences were being given many people this all made me turn against the Communists.

In the area of foreign policy I reacted in the early days toward a lying that the Communists spoke of which said that Hungary is a democracy and Hungary cooperates with

all the countries of the world, the United States and others. This lying had a break in it when the Soviet broke with Tito and the Hungarian foreign policy had to be limited and could not be related to Tito but had to follow the Soviet line. Thus Hungary did only what the Soviet wanted Hungary to do. When the youth saw that Tito was disliked by the Soviet only because he is a nationalist we began to wonder about the whole situation and we found out that the only countries we could maintain good relationships with would be with the other socialist countries. It was a push button diplomacy, a cursing of America and the West, from Hungary which is not diplomacy and the only other kind of ~~relationship~~ diplomacy was the greeting telegram kind and the holding of big meetings.

Moreover at the election of trade union officials which was already a *pre-set* matter. I was on a number of nomination committees where we received the slate when we left the room to work up a slate. People finally said nothing at the meetings and saw that they could not speak up for what they would say would have no effect. Up to 1950 I was actively concerned with politics but later politics was only an avocation. My interest stopped because I saw that men ~~whom~~ were ^Ptopping from their positions. I saw that I would tumble also if I stayed and continued my active interest.

(a) I had no Party contact at all.

- (e) To an extent my family heritage and the Communist slogans that were sounded which said equality, work for all. I asked myself did the former regime do anything along these lines and my answer was no. I believed the Communists because of what I saw up to that time in my life, that is the difference between people and the difference between the wealthy and the poor.
- (f) (iii) and (iv). See above for the reasons.
- (h) The extensive terror and police system.
- (3) At first the Communists said that man has individual worth but I soon saw that this is not true. I saw that they were making an animal out of man, that they thought of man as an ox which would work for them as such and would be treated worse^{se} than an animal. Even independent intellectual thinking was non-existent for a person in Communism. I could not speak up against the stupidity, *dicszónóság*, which was going on. For the workers wages were seriously unequal. If a good kader got high pay, the other men even if they stood on their heads could not earn as much money for their families. I found many grievances. For example, the woman of the family had to work so that the family could exist. There was interference in the education of the children. The child would report his parent for listening to Radio Free Europe. For example, my wife's 15 year old niece got a slap from my wife at

our house one day just at the same time when I was listening to Radio Free Europe. Then she turned to me and said that she will go to the police station to report me for listening to RFE. Thereupon I gave her another slap and told her to go. But I was very much afraid that she would go to report us. Imagine what a low point was reached in Hungary when in the rearing of children we would fear how will my son grow up, will he report me to the police. They educated them against the family. I had a tremendous difficulty earning enough money to keep the family going. I couldn't even think of building a house. Then the persecution of religion did not effect me very much although I had to keep it a secret in the factory that I had been married in a church. If I wanted to go to church I did go. During this time I found religious life more pure~~y~~ and deeper in Hungary. There was a closer relationship between pastor and people. People are more sincere and more convinced Christians. Very few people could leave their jobs for a vacation in a factory if they had any kind of position of leadership or administrative position. They did not go away because they feared their job that while they were away someone would push them out of their job, that is, *kitár*, or they would be kicked out of their job while they were away.

(a) (vii), (vi), (ix).

(b) (iii), (ii), (viii).

- (c) (x), (v), (xi).
- (d) (vi), (ix), (iv), (xiv).
- (e) (iii), (xv), (iv), (viii).
- (j) It is difficult to find anything that would answer this question. Perhaps one could say that the Communists did try to help the housing problem. They tried to build more houses. Maybe we can say we saw a little more red-white-and-green used on holidays and sometimes the Communists gave some rights to the workers. In the last few years when there were grievances the workers' councils were able to receive decisions against the enterprise and they did try to provide a certain amount of entertainment. But this was always socialized or collectivized which we hated. For example, if I wanted to go to the Balaton and my wife did not work in the same factory I would have to go with people from my factory and thus in a sense I would go with Mrs. [REDACTED] and then when my wife went she would go with Mr. [REDACTED] because she worked in another factory and they went at a different time.
- (4) In the hands of the Soviet and the servants of the Soviet in politics.
- (f) Very strong. Three times as much as before.
- (h) Up to 1950 many of the former civil officials were retained even in the police and the army. But after that these were regularly displaced and systematically new men

whom the Communists had trained took over.

- (5) They demanded the youth to be member of the organization but membership did not mean anything really except maybe that the membership was important if the individual wanted to become a member of the Communist Party.
- (d) Up to 1951. After 1951 I was a member of the trade union.
- (e) From the time the DISZ was formed to 1951. I was an organizer in the DISZ in my district. I was on the merging committee that brought together the MISZ and the APOSZ which became the DISZ.
- (f) It was a responsibility of the group to support the Communist Party. The idea was that the DISZ would help the Party and state. The DISZ membership meant regular participation in cultural things as well as political training. There were nature trips also. A person had to accept offices if offices were given to one at a meeting. A member had to read the daily newspaper, be interested in foreign and internal news. (It's interesting that every plant official or any government official had to read the Szabad Nép every day in practice before going to the factory so that he would be well informed because if an inspector or someone came from a ministry and asked him something about politics and he could not answer this would not go well with him. Moreover sometimes the factory men would be able to get certain things of the ministry

merely by using certain things that appeared in the newspaper.)

- (6) Communist membership was a great advantage. A person needed the recommendation of two people who had known him for at least six months. But the securing of this recommendation for Party membership was a great deal of worry on the part of the two men who recommended him and also on the part of the man who was asking for the recommendation because none of the three men were sure how things would shape up in the next few weeks as regards each one of them and perhaps one of them might ^{get into} trouble in the Party and this would carry the rest of his friends down also. This caused a great deal of hardship among friends, too. When such a recommendation was asked it broke up good friendships when the recommendations were refused. If a Party man was able to be kind of a grey person, he could get significant positions and move ahead in a factory or some other place. People were investigated and sometimes were said they are saboteurs or they would trouble with a leader whom they followed. Party membership also meant that frequently the family life would be broken up. Party membership also meant that the man had to produce more in the factory, reach a higher norm, be the super-excellent. He would have to attend twice as many seminars and all of this was hard on the nerves.

- (a) In a factory or in any group the Party secretary had to keep certain proportions and certain quotas among the workers, the intellectuals, so many members of each of these categories. If the Party secretary needed members from a category he would work hard to get his quota and tried to convince certain people to become members. It was easier then to get into the Party. However, the Party secretary would not go over the quota and was not allowed to go over the quota in categories within his plant. The Party sometimes would oppose some people for membership because they would say this fellow was seen in an espresso with a woman who is not good for him or that he does not buy enough opera tickets, does not participate enough, he does not visit the plant library enough.
- (e) His way of talking, the style, and the usage of Party words was evident. At certain times there were certain Party fashions such as the use of persze for a period of time and the wearing of a cap that Rákosi had worn. Every Communist wore this cap. Also the Party would interfere in the love life of a Party member. The Party secretary would call in Mr. X and would say that Miss Y is not liked by the Party because she is not a Party type of woman.
- (f) See what I have said previously. A Party member could not achieve anything in life nor even build a house but

he had to pay high union dues, 40 frts a month, one day of wages, and there was a progressive fee.

- (h) Yo, almost. This I have described previously.
- (r) The Russians directed it from the top down. On lower level orders were received from above. Even the lowest functionary could not do anything or achieve anything independently or according to his own ideas. Frequently at meetings the Party secretary would have to read whole pages of printed material, talks, in which he stumbled over words being unable to pronounce words that he had never seen before. This all was humorous to those who were a little more educated.
- (7) No.
- (8) About 10 percent.
- (9) At the level of youth organizations even less than 10 percent, hardly any, although the attention devoted to the youth was greater by the Communists and at first we youths thought Communism is what we wanted, just as I thought so, but we stepped back from it. One difficulty be found was that we could not resign our membership ~~as~~^{or} step out of the DISZ when we wanted to just like a Party member could not resign his membership very easily. The Party had the members tied to the organization or went into a long investiga-

tion questioning the member who wanted to resign. However, those who left the DISZ or any other Communist organization made a prestige question out of it. This became important for the individual. Another consideration to take is that the youth did not have anything else to do in Hungary but to be a part of these organizations and they had to do something ~~mm~~ along organization level. Youth liked to organize things and to organize something. Yet this did not mean that they were in favour of the Communists. It is significant and important to note that the elementary school students, the 12 and 14 year old students in Cegléd started the Revolution there because they refused to listen to the lectures of their teachers and they took all the Communist pictures and things out of the class-rooms.

(10)

(b)

The AVO was formed first, partly as a political and internal security force. Then it was reorganized and made into the AVH. At this time the AVH took over the border security and became a terror apparatus. It guarded all the important factories, the radio stations, internment camps, staffed these camp prisons, and ~~con~~^{con}ducted house searches.

(e)

Into the blue AVH some of the Hungarian boys were recruited through regular draft or recruiting process. The

green AVH was completely recruited and this was for the border. However, the officers of the AVH were not recruited in neither the blue nor the green. They were specially selected. Thus that one can say only the officers of the AVH opposed the Revolution.

- (j) The AVH stuck its nose into anything and all things. The police were to be an equal or an organization on the same level as the AVH, that is one not above the other, but the police were in fact subordinate to the AVH and they could not appeal any grievances they had against the AVH. Moreover it took a long time to convince and to teach the police officers to respect and to salute AVH officers. The AVH demanded this.
- (k) Complete harmony, however, the Party had more power. The AVH is the police arm or executing arm of the Party. At the lower levels of the districts or Party councils the AVH is more powerful than a Party secretary. However, at the top level the AVH is subordinate to the Party.
- (11) In 1948 a very close friend of mine and a lot of others were deported. Also my god-father was imprisoned for 10 years.
- (d) In any case those who were a part of the former regime in Hungary or the descendants of that regime, the aristocrats, civil servants, and others, and middle class people. However, to be truthful I, too, was just as liable to be

arrested as the ordinary worker because if some kind of a mistake took place at the job the workers and even I in administration could be and were immediately suspect of sabotage.

- (g) No, my god-father who had been in prison 10 years upon returning home - I was the second person to see him - would not say a word at all about where he had been and what had happened to him. It was only a year later that I found out that he had spent three years at the Reesk prison. When my god-father was home even for some months and the doorbell rang he would jump and ask who is coming with a fearful look in his eye. It took a long while for him to get over this fear.

- (13) Swallow everything that the Communists say and tolerate whatever happens to you. Do not talk.

- (c) I say no, because as long as a person is not in trouble that individual has contacts and friends. But whenever a person is in trouble these contacts begin to wonder how much trouble will I have if I help this person.

- (d) Perhaps it mollifys the consideration on the situation but it cannot be denied that someone is not of worker origin.

- (f) It was a popular saying in Hungary "keep your mouth shut you don't get in trouble".

- (14) Yes, after the time that Tito was no longer a good boy those who had been friends of the Tito way got into trouble also in Hungary. A terror began. Then there was a certain change in the situation, an easing of the terror under Imre Nagy but when the old regime was back those who had criticized the former regime of Rákosi, even if that criticism was technical criticism in the factory, that individual got into trouble. During the last year, 1956, house searches could be made only by court order and this was kept and there was an easing of the situation.
- (15) A strong influence everywhere, in agricultural production and ~~many other~~ other areas. A tremendous number of advisors especially when the Russian advisors left Yugoslavia these advisors did not go back to Russia but they stayed in Hungary and thus our number of Russian advisors increased. The army had innumerable advisors. The Soviet who at maneuvers made notes as a full command and after the maneuvers in the command offices dictated the judgments and criticism of these maneuvers which later got to the ministry. It was on the basis of all of these Soviet advisors that changes developed and took place in the Hungarian army.
- (a) The strongest was in the industry, the weakest I do not know. However, one may say that influence was about the

same in politics and in the army little less strong than in industry.

- (16) In no way at all.
- (c) You couldn't be sincere or trust any one even one's best friend.
- (f) Could not talk about much, sometimes even the most innocent remark which one thought was innocent got you into trouble.
- (17) Its a great risk. They will discover it sooner or later. Better not do it.
- (b) No. Even one bag of flour hid on their haystack me^{an}t years in prison and after a number of peasants were arrested this way they said it was not worth it. In fact premium awards were given to people for finding mistakes at the harvest and inspectors were looking for just these things. They would receive 3000 frts for each error they discovered or each attempt to steal something.
- (18) The strength of the regime was in the very cleverly built up terror organization where the executors of this terror were under a terror also, that is that if they did not carry out terror they would themselves be eliminated. The weakness of the regime was in its telling of lies for so many years and finally the regime lost the trust of the

people and the leaders themselves knew they were lying and they were not trusted. Knowing this they came under a kind of inferiority complex and in order to have their orders carried out they increased the terror.

- (19) On one day, I don't recall the time, the 5,000 Csepel auto workers went home simultaneously. There was no advance preparation. ~~They~~ ^I remember they had not received their pay or something of this sort. The entire factory officialdom was dismissed for not having educated the workers well enough. Also in 1951 one factory after another was burning each day and people were convinced that it was sabotage. One day the *tool* factory, the next day the Wolfner shoe factory, and everyone was waiting for his own factory to burn down or to have a fire in it.
- (b) The workers opposed the regime like any other group and each group on its own level.
- (c) Every man who got a comfortable life, a good house, plenty of money through his job which came as result of the Communist Party, however, these were individual cases.
- (1) The trend of the time brought it on, required some kind of outlet for intellectual endeavour.

- (1) Up to 1949 I was in school, to the end of 1950 I was a laborer, and then a tractor operator. In 1951 I was a soldier. From the end of 1951 to the beginning of 1956 I worked in one place, a research institute for tool and machines. At first I was a statistician, then I became head of the business division, and finally I became head of the new building maintenance and furnishing division for the factory. From 1956 March on I was a tractor operator.
- (a) I was in charge at the tool factory of buying all the equipment as well as building new parts of the factory or new divisions.
- (e) I was well satisfied with my work. We all were in the research factory. It was one big family. There were 400 men working there. However, it was disappointing in 1954 when 80 men had to be dismissed and in 1955 30 more had to be dismissed because the government cut back on the employments in the factory. Even in this case we did everything possible to get new jobs for the men who had to leave our factory. This was a catastrophe in our life at the factory. The factory was an experimental factory. Most of the men were engineers, 200 of them, then 200 workers, about 50 administrative officials, then 50 others who were secretaries and cleaning women and so on.
- (f) Previously I have talked about this (section R) and throughout the interview.

- (3) Yes, I liked my work very much. It was something different almost every day. There was a great comradery and friendship among the colleagues. We did much for one another. Every one liked one another. The workers also liked the administrators. The one man that everyone hated was the AVH appointee.
- (d) Rather good. The pay was rather good, too. There was no rush in the work or hurry work because it was experimental although there was a tempo maintained. Workers received 1,300 to 1,400 frts which was not bad compared to other factories where they received 800 or 900 frts. We also had a *cafeteria* built in the factory.
- (f) 11 hours a day, 8 hours of which was official, 3 hours so to speak for love of the work which needed to be done and had to be done after hours. Sometimes I stayed in the office three nights a week.
- (g) 6 days a week, officially from 7 o'clock to 3.
- (o) The job was of a middle paying job, however, I could not participate in the vacation or frequently even in anything else that came with the job, though we did receive the medical care insurance.
- (4) Generally ~~xxxxx~~ the men who worked in the factory had their maturity degree, had finished industrial technical schools, their age was just a little over mine by the average, 50 percent of the men were from the middle class.

- (b) There was an excellent relationship between everyone. The factory workers helped one another. However, this was not general in other factories.
- (f) It was a rather tolerable situation. They made loans available and things of that sort but as far as pay raises or strikes nothing happened. In general people knew in the factory where things were needed and they would happen because of the good will present.
- (i) Yes, but it did not mean much at our factory.
- (l) Generally yes although they impared and sometimes caused hardships in the work and this was usual and occurred often. We had to tolerate it.
- (n) The workers group.
- (p) Yes, one man who had been appointed to be in the factory. We knew who he was. We knew no other informer. We also had a secret manuscript file of government documents. Sometimes very stupid things would be kept in there or orders through that service stating that the factory should prepare its list for vacations.
- (5) It was very difficult to change jobs because they would begin to ask whether or not a fellow is a good kader and so forth. Up to 1952 there was a tremendous migration of workers from job to job since workers were dissatisfied with their jobs. After this such voluntary leaving of a job meant that a man could not get another job for six

months. Such voluntary leaving was made very difficult. He would not get sick benefit for one month and so forth. Other means by which one could leave the job was by common understanding for a transfer which was the best method where both of the enterprises agreed to a transfer and the worker did not lose any of his privileges. A transfer from factory to factory needed the approval of the ministry but from factory to a tractor station in the country needed the agreement only of the two places.

- (b) I would have done what I did because I liked it very much. It offered me a great deal of mobility. I did many things that were difficult as far as organization, engineering. I planned buildings, railroad stations, apartments, bought land and built resorts for the factory.
- (e) I would want to travel a lot, have a large library, a nice house of my own in which I would have a machine shop, and I have interest in music.
- (g) I would not want to influence them. However, I would want them to do physical work for one year after they finish their school, and I would not give them any assistance from home though keeping an eye on them so that they learn to stand on their own feet in the world and do hard physical work.
- (6) For my father and the family things became worse and worse. In my case when I married I had kind of a middle existence.

- (7) 800 to 900 frts and out of this 10 percent for deductions, 10 percent for transportation, 10 percent for utilities, rent, and heat, 50 percent for food, 20 percent for clothing and entertainment.
- (8) To be applied.
- (9) It was hard to get housing. Társas^bérlet was a sharing of one apartment. A person could pre-empt a room if he found out that your apartment had a room ~~by~~ which could be reached by a private entrance, by not going through say, the other two rooms in the three-room apartment. This caused a great deal of nervousness in the house, people rubbing elbows so much.
- (10) It got worse and it had a deficit each year. It's bad.
- (c) Taking into consideration those plants which could not be achieved because of the second world war which intervened it was good. There were planned development of the factories and modernization of agriculture.
- (d) In our objective way one would say the country got richer because there are more factories but these factories have prerequisites for natural resources which are not available and thus the factories had no value like Stalinvaros.
- (f) This existed. It was full of risks. The MAS^zSEK was ~~t~~ valued highly but he did nothing more than merely repair

things. He could not make new objects. He had very little material from which to work and could not make new pots and pans or anything of that sort.

(g) Somewhat down as compared to the previous years.

(11) It had a great and serious role.

- (1) The radio regularly and newspapers but this was the domestic Hungarian radio and newspaper.
- (a) The RFE and Voice of America which I did not hear regularly at all.
- (2) Each work day I got up at 5 a.m. to go to work while travelling 45 kilometers to my job. I would read a newspaper or a novel or a trade book or do various other kinds of work which were involved with my studies. At 7 a.m. I was at my work. I worked until 5 or 6 o'clock and would get home between 6 and 8. Then my supper was followed by washing up, bath, and if possible a little work around the house but rarely, and then to bed very quickly. Generally once a week we went to visit my father or to some other place, to the opera, a visit to a friend, theater and thus got home at 12 or 1 o'clock and the next day would begin all over again.
- (a) Szabad Nép, Nép Szabadság, Társadalmi Szemle, Béke és Szabadság, Statisztika, Közgazdasági Szemle, Szamvitel, Ujitéklapja, Popular Mechanics which I had ordered for our factory.
- (g) Yes, at the factory library which was the second largest factory library in the country. I ordered many periodicals and materials from foreign countries frequently so that I could have them available for my self.

- (3) Yes.
- (b) Films that came from the West could not be taken off the screen, that is or off the theater schedule for a long time. People would go to be entertained by humorous films. It is interesting to note that the kiss came back into Hungarian films during the time of Imre Nagy. The Soviet films would not have man and woman kiss at all.
- (e) Yes.
- (4) Yes.
- (e) Balzac. I liked him very much. Aron Tamási, Emile Zola, Desső Szabó, Lőrinc Szabó, and János Arany whom I liked best among the poets.
- (5) Yes.
- (6) Yes, Radio Free Europe, Voice of America.
- (d) I had no possibility to control or to check the reliability of the broadcasts.
- (7) Yes. Not a regular source.
- (8) We had to read it. It had the government line in it which we had to know.
- (d) We could not establish what was true and what was not but we distrusted everything.

- (e) There were no particular broadcasts or radio, nothing.
- (9) This was our individual attempt. It depended on the individual.

- (1) Perhaps one should say that we should make Hungary like the Revolution wanted it but even there there were some things that could not be resolved. I would say change the foreign policy of Hungary, make it an independent country, independent of all Slavic influence, also be independent of Western influence, allow the collective farms to continue where the people wish them to continue but not to oppose independent private agriculture nor to subsidize farming to the extent that it would undermine private agriculture. Out of Stalinvaros make a canning factory. In fact the Revolution wanted this. Begin to make business contacts with the West, secure experience in the West in engineering and technology. We should not let the West interfere in our export trade and control it, we should not make business commitments to the West which would tie down the country. I would say keep the class struggle so that no one particular class will suppress the other class or be over the other class if you understand what I mean. Give a more significant role, an important role, to the trade unions. The workers' councils would have been a transition to private enterprise in Hungary.
- (a) In the cultural area there have been made great achievements and some of these should be retained. But not in the same way the Communists did it, that is of budgeting money only for Eastern culture. Next keep the collectives

where they should be kept or are wanted, also keep the production of books at low costs as the Communists did, continue the modernization in technology.

- (2) Yes, absolutely. But one has to be careful with the Hungarian nature and not allow each village to have a party. Already in the Revolution there were 30 Christian parties.
- (3) Yes, absolutely.
- (c) No. Some men will dislike some actions of the state but if the action of the state is for the welfare for the greater number of people these men should not be able to criticize the state. Give the government opportunity for a pure election and afterward also offer the government an opportunity to carry out its program although giving each one his opinion to constructively criticize.
- (d) No or perhaps though - since this is a difficult question - certain things might have to be limited.
- (4) Yes.
- (a) There would need to be an opposition to the government in regular channels.
- (d) In a democratic country there will be regular channels by which people are able to express their rights and then there would be no need for armed revolution except in

serious cases where no rights are given to the people and the only way in which they can secure them is by armed uprising.

- (5) Develop agriculture and export our products in form worked up to those countries which do not have enough agricultural produce. Also the ⁿBaronia motor cycle, the Gsepel autobus are good export products well designed although perhaps yet now the material is somewhat inferior. There are many other practical and good things for export. The locomotives especially the electric locomotive is an excellent and leading locomotive. I would say reduce the tool factories generally except those one or two kinds which are unique to Hungary. The Swiss, German, and Belgium tools are better and cheaper, no need to have Hungarian tool factories. Also to develop the bauxite mines and then the processing and production of aluminum at home which would be sold abroad. Then to take the water out of the oil wells and bring the production of oil up. The coal production has to be conserved. Develop the home industry, little shops. Also to develop the hotel and resort business and make a new network of roads for foreign tourists, expand the rail network with cross lines so that the rail is not all centralized to Budapest.

- (6) I don't know why these other countries nationalize those industries. I don't know whether it is better or worse under this system in those countries. However, whichever system would be better in Hungary and which would modernize, for example, the coal mines that system should be used.
- (b) I ~~can't~~^{don't} know of any which should be given back.
- (c) Yes, it gives an *impetus* to everyone.
- (e) The state has not much profit out of the monopoly. It's administration is top-heavy. I would say try to eliminate it.
- (8) The Soviet socialist kind of planning is stupidity. It doesn't work.
- (9) It is difficult to find anything. The state has a voice in almost everything from education on to the way steel pipe is made.
- (10) Absolutely. To pay taxes and I would recommend a progressive tax.
- (e) The representatives elected to office should be the voice of the electors. The civil servants should keep the laws and the government should aim to offer a good life for the citizens.

- (11) It got worse.
- (12) There are more movies to see, more things to hear but it has a kind of a stupifying significance although these things cost less.
- (13) I don't know.
- (a) Yes, better.
- (b) Worse than prewar.
- (14) Spend more but the quality of goods is poorer.
- (a) Yes.
- (b) Perhaps yes.
- (15) Since 1945 yes. There were no factories or they were bombed out after the war so they could not work.
- (16) The workers should take part in the administration of the factory to the extent that they should be shareholders of the factory and thus they would be concerned in the growth of the factory or industry.
- (d) First adequately trained men and skilled men should manage the factory.
- (17) If they, that is the people, really want the collective voluntarily and if the income is realistically good then

they should be kept.

- (c) Keep them where they are desired and where good management exists.
- (h) The one who wants his land returned, yes.
- (i) No, not this way.
- (l) Yes, in order to make the land better offer fertilizer, provide good animal stock, mechanization, and develop the forests.
- (m) They should be divided up in a few years. Each TS~~2000~~ should have its own tractors and the individual farmers should own their own tractors.
- (18) The agreement that was made between the church and state, if it would be kept on the part of the state, it is a good agreement. That is to the extent that the church should end its financial dependence on the state and depend solely on the church membership. The state should allow freedom and practice in religious education in the schools. The churches should have as many schools as they want. However, the wealth of the church should be limited in some way so that they cannot own large landholdings.
- (f) This depends on where I would be and the kinds of schools that would be available.

- (19) I would say that the Communist Party continue. I would not do anything in particular in general to Communist Party members, however, I would judge and investigate certain ones.
- (d) They are no problem at all. They will take their place in the other organisations that come such as boy scouts and so on.
- (e) I would let them go back to their from where they came and some of them would put before the court to be charged with their crimes.
- (f) They should be screened extremely well because many of them were scoundrels.
- (g) The Revolution said that those who left the Communist Party during the Revolution should be given another chance. I say the same.
- (20) When Hungary became a Christian country, the Turkish wars, the fight for independence led by Kossuth, cultural achievements and significance in particular under King Mathew during the Renaissance, and a great many individuals in the last few centuries, among them painters, musicians, engineers, inventors, and writers, doctors, mathematicians such as the recently dead von Neumann.
- (21) Absolutely.
- (e) The peasantry, yes, but the workers are kind of an inter-

national group and have no special traits or characteristics.

- (1) Yes.
- (22) The Teleki government which we all remember. It did much.
(f) Significant.
- (i) It was a kind of a period of transition and of development.
- (23) Only one thing is needed. Retain the Hungarian consciousness or the Hungarian idea. I don't think we can get back the borders of King Stephan but I do feel that we should get back the Hungarian populated territories. However, there should be made in the Danubian area a confederation for economic cooperation. Some of the areas populated by Hungarians have important natural resources which should come back. Slovakia itself needs Hungary in order to produce its economy and have a better life, the Ruszinsko area provides a natural border for Hungary and is a natural border. In the Transylvanian area the population now is 50 percent Magyar and 50 percent other. Perhaps this could be made an independent Transylvania or put Northern Transylvania back to Hungary. The *Bacska region* would be needed by Hungary for agricultural reasons only and I would feel should come back to Hungary but here the population has been changed in such a way that there are not many Hungarians there at all anymore.

- (d) Yes, between the Slave and the Hungarians. Personally I hate the Rumanians. I see similarity, however, between the Hungarians, Austrians, and the Bavarians.
- (24) There are only two ways out or two things I see in the future. Either Hungary will be swallowed up by the surrounding countries in the next few hundred years or second the world powers will return to Hungary the Hungarian populated areas so that Hungary once again may have some natural resources and maintain itself. In the last few years Hungary has become very much internationalized.
- (25) They are regular men although they are backward in certain things. I have talked to Russians and one needs keep in mind that there are great differences between the population.
- (26) I respect it as a philosophy. I have read Das Kapital, however, I think Marx was a man who belonged to a higher class and he saw the injustices in the lower classes of society which he wrote in his Kapital. However, this discovery he made was merely a discovery that other people had made and he ~~had~~ wrote it down. What Marx wanted to do can be done only on the point of a bayonette.
- (e) He is a good Yugoslav politician who rides both Marxism and capitalism. What he is himself I don't know.

- (h) It is hard to put each of these things together, in practice rather difficult.
- (i) Not yet. Never I think.
- (27) This is stupidity. This whole talk about national Communism. National Communism as such consists only when there is one exception, whenever there are two exceptions then Communism will not exist at all anymore.
- (e) No.
- (28) He was pushed to do certain things which the Revolution wanted. He was a Hungarian man and his Hungarian patriotic feelings rose to the top. There would have been a kind of a coalition government later.
- (b) Yes, until the elections.
- (29)
- (a) Good.
- (b) This is not a problem for Hungary, perhaps for others bad.
- (c) Bad. It is not needed.
- (d) Bad. It's stupidity.
- (e) Bad.
- (f) We should have it. It is good.
- (h) It is good. We should make no problem about them having a little more land.

- (i) What should I say about him?
- (j) Bad.
- (k) Bad.
- (m) Who knows?
- (n) He was in jail too long and did not know what was happening and therefore his statement during the Revolution.
- (30) The Smallholders and the Social-Democratic Party. This would go on for a time then the Social-Democratic Party would be reorganized to some kind of Christian-Socialist Party, a workers' party which would be a large party. The other part of the Social-Democrats would remain under Kethly. This would be a small group. The Smallholders Party would lose leadership and prestige if it does not get rid of the old leadership.
- (a) I don't know.
- (31)
- (a) Less.
- (b) Less.
- (c) Less.
- (d) Less.
- (e) Very much less.
- (f) Middle or even.
- (g) The Party members a little better, Party functionaries a very good life.

(h) They lived well.

(i) More.

(32)

(a) Better for the workers, the small landowners, the kulaks, the intellectuals, the business men, and industrials. Not good for the Party members and not much better for the civil servants.

(33)

(a) Coincide.

(b) With a little education there would be no conflict.

(c) Conflict.

(f) Conflict.

(g) Conflict.

(34) I was afraid that American capital will tie Hungary down economically.

(35) Those who fought with the regime in the Revolution.

(36) I have modified some views but not changed any.

- (1) During the conversations I have asked you a number of questions. I don't think I can ask any now.
- (a) I think it's a good thing. It was helpful for me to go through this interview and for the Project it will be useful as well as for those who are studying Hungary.
- (d) In general I think the answers will be sincere and true answers, however, I would be careful about the Jewish question which needs to be weighed extremely carefully and not allow Hungarian sanguinism to get away with much.
- (2)
- (a) Yes.
- (3) No particular suggestions.

Interviewer's Portrait of the Respondent:

This man - one who had been an ardent follower of the Communists discovered in his own life and the life of his family, in the factory, everywhere around him, that the Communists had beautiful slogans but did not carry them out nor did they achieve the results that they intended and thus slowly he withdrew from the Party. His answers are long but qualified so that he did not want ever to give a general answer but said the situation is more complicated. His answers are trustworthy and accurate.