

- (1) There is one thing which the West ought to realize in connection with the revolution that against overwhelming force one just cannot. On the 24th of October we believed that if we can hold out till Saturday help from the West is bound to come. We felt this instinctively. In the past the West did ~~immediately~~ intimate that we are not abandoned to our fate. We must just hold out with tenacity and patience. However, there is one positive achievement of the revolution. It did shake up the so-called peace block. This is ~~it~~ its sole positive aspect.
- (2) The revolution started when it started. It had no antecedents. Had somebody suggested at 8. p.m. on the 23rd in Parliament Square that there is going to be a revolution we would have laughed into his face.
- (2a) No, there was no incubation period. It was spontaneous combustion.
- (2b) If anything contributed to it it was the activity of the Petöfi ~~circle~~ <sup>Kodaly's</sup> circle, the work of the writers, ~~and~~ <sup>Kodaly's</sup> piece called Zrínyi's Szózat. The Poznan events, the East Berlin rising were both ~~probably~~ probably deterrents in as much as they showed us that the revolt cannot succeed. I think the 20th Congress had very little to do with preparing the Hungarian revolution.
- (2c) Rajk's ~~reburial~~ <sup>reburial</sup> may have had a ~~small~~ small psychological effect. But it was no real turning point.
- (2e) The writers did contribute to it in that they were the ~~yeast~~ yeast ~~in~~ in the ~~dough~~ dough.

- (2f) Irodalmi Ujsag occasionally cost as much as 10 forints on the streets. Two hours after its publication it was sold out. Not each issue ~~but~~ but particular issues. I only read Irodalmi Ujsag. I cannot judge the other publications.
- (3a) The revolution was a matter of psychological ~~and~~ coincidences. A point usually comes when one just explodes. In Hungary everybody exploded on the 23rd.
- (3b) The controls were not all that efficient. The peasantry was won over after 1945- and then alienated again; because they were driven off the land and could not pay their ~~taxes~~ compulsory deliveries. The workers too were alienated. "Reactionaries" were just too overwhelming numerically. You will understand this if you imagine that you have a ~~great~~ Dane - you have a ~~big~~ <sup>whip</sup> - you turn away. He bites you though you are still holding the whip. The dog knows that he will be beaten to death afterwards. But you are turned away and he bites. This is the best analogy for the revolution too.
- (3c) The people who demonstrated were hoping to squeeze out some concession or other. I suspect they would have gone home had half of their demands been met. There was an attempt to wring out some concession and then go on from there step by step.
- (3d) Because the AVG ~~shot~~ <sup>shot</sup> at the crowd.
- (3e) People's aims were not specific ones. They wanted things to move in a direction. A direction is different from

goals. They all felt that if we start moving in the right direction we can sort out specific things between ourselves afterwards.

(3f) Those who had vested interests. Really only a tiny group. In addition, in the case of the AVO it was not only vested interest. They knew that it is not only the pay but also their life which is at ~~the stake~~ stake.

(3g) Not in sentiment, There were fence sitters and cowards. But inwardly everybody felt the same way.

(3h) Out with the Russians, - we will agree about ~~after~~ things afterwards. As you see there were no real slogans. People did shout things like Down with Gerö, Down with Piro. But this did not really matter. The meaning was clear. Once the Russians are out, everything will be swept away. (Negative - out with the ~~Russians~~ Russians. Positive - We will have a chance to sort things out amongst ourselves.)

(3i) ~~or~~ Obviously.

(3j) Most of us regarded Communism ~~xxxxxx~~ and evil as identical.

(3k) I have not come across such cases myself but I suppose it was so. Remember that many Communists had been Arrowcrossists before.

(3l) Yes. It was a complete ~~xxxxxx~~ <sup>cross</sup> section of the nation. The "reactionaries" were a small section of the participants, just as they were a small section of the nation. ~~xxxx~~ Incidentally, the true "reactionaries" were far too broken in spirit. The aristocracy was destroyed in

both body and soul.

(3m) This is an academic question.

(4) Who can tell? I would rather not say. I would rather not go into details. I did participate in the rising but I don't think it's wise to gossip about it.

(4a) Yes.

(4b) Yes, we had several soldiers in our own group. They brought 3-4 submachine guns a piece. They played a very useful role in showing us how to handle the guns. Besides, a few of them were extremely heroic.

(4c) Yes, once. They pulled somebody out from the entrance of a building., stamped on him and strung him up. I just did not mind at all. It seemed like killing a poisonous fly to me. But there was ~~xxxxxx~~ another case too. On the first ~~xxxxxx~~ night of the fighting 2 fellows tried to penetrate our group. We detected that they were AVGs. They had military boots under civilian clothes. Also they could not show their personal identification papers. This was suspicious. We established who they were, by threatening to torture them by their own methods. So they came clean. We disarmed them, and shut ~~shaved~~ them up in a room. The girls made ~~x~~ us some black coffee, we took some ~~into~~ <sup>in to</sup> them to show how we Fascist murderers treat them. On the 29th I met one of them dressed up in ordinary police uniform. (They were freed when we had to give up that particular building on the morning of the 24th.)

- (5) Not applicable
- (6a) A mixed group. All sorts of people were in it. It was in a state of flux all the time. Before we got arms there were about 1500 of us. When the guns came <sup>there were</sup> 200, and when we first got into action, there were only 18. This sounds disappointing, but it was true. All kinds of people were with us young workers, student girls, soldiers, students, hooligans.
- (6b) See a, no information
- (6c) Not everybody was admitted. We occupied a building and as anyone entered we checked them for arms and papers and satisfied ourselves of their bonafide. Then they could join us.
- (6d) Most of them were ~~temporarily~~ temporarily taken prisoner on the morning of the 24th. One Russian guarded us. They could not search us because there was neither time nor ~~xxxxxx~~ <sup>men to do</sup> it so some of us had hand grenades and pistols left. The Russian guard was asked to put up his hands and let us go. He was glad to ~~xxxxxx~~ oblige and get away. Then we dispersed.
- (6e) See 4b.
- (6f) Formally the discipline was nil and yet in effect there was Spartan discipline. Each group had a leader, he became a leader by accident. Actually because he was elder, or more experienced, or a better shot. What he said, was law.
- (6g) I know nothing of our own leader. He was a worker, and

I suspect previously he was a member of the intelligentsia.

(6h) Teddyboys.

(7) Nobody even knew who is in the next street. How can you tell which group had greatest authority or greatest say?

(7a) No information.

(7b) Complete harmony. In fact, there was complete identity. One cannot really talk about "relations" between identical people. Both workers and students were equally gentlemen regardless of status ~~or~~ or birth.

(7c) Not as groups.

(7d) Not applicable.

(8) The Russians were far better, infinitely better, than the AVGs.

(8a) On the whole, the ones we fought in October were much better than the ones who came in November. The October ones ~~was~~ had been contaminated by their long stay in Hungary and Austria.

(8b) No information. <sup>However,</sup> ~~never~~ I met ~~many~~ a very famous Russian pianist who was on tour and got stuck in Budapest. He was going to play Liszt. I ~~took~~ <sup>talked</sup> to him in the lobby of his hotel. He was ~~frightened~~ <sup>frightened</sup> and upset ~~not~~ <sup>but</sup> sympathetic. He said they would do the same under a foreign ~~occupancy~~ occupation.

(8c) No.

- (9) Mainly by telephoning acquaintances from call boxes.
- (9a) I know next to nothing about newspapers. I was in too much of a rush. Besides, I did not think it worth while to read papers, - we never knew which side the paper was really on. But leaflets, yes we read those. on the first night of the rising, 80 000 leaflets were sent to provincial towns by commandeered cars.
- (9b) See 9.
- (9c) Not the Hungarian radio. The BBC, yes. Occasionally Voice of America, and, out of curiosity to see how they are exaggerating, I ~~listened~~ <sup>listened</sup> to RFE.
- (9d) Telephone calls to people I knew, and word-of-mouth were important. Other media less so.
- (10) The Party totally collapsed. ~~State~~ The State only partly so. The AVG hung on grimly, they are really very good, probably better than the ~~Russians~~ Russians.
- (a) See a.
- (c) The police as police ceased to ~~exist~~ exist, but large numbers of ~~exigment~~ policemen, or people dressed up as policemen, were to be seen about.
- (10d) See a
- (10e) The court building in Marko street was shot up, and by the Russians too! One particular court room, the one where ~~were~~ the most secret and important cases ~~were~~ <sup>used to be</sup> heard, was totally destroyed probably by accident. I don't know why.
- (10f) In the army it varied from unit to unit.

(10g) I don't know.

(10h) I don't know.

(10j) I don't know.

(10k) Yes, the revolutionary councils. But I have no first-hand knowledge of those.

(10l) I don't know.

(10m) This is impossible to say. Where does the rolling ball stop ~~stop~~? Obviously, there would have been much controversy and bickering among various political parties, but what of it? Unanimity only emerges under very great stress.

(11) Yes.

(11a) Useful to whom? On a long view it was probably useful, both for Hungary and ~~the rest of the world~~ for the rest of the world. For Hungary, because <sup>in the event</sup> of a round table settlement we <sup>shall</sup> have an impenetrable case to present, - <sup>in fact</sup> ~~in fact~~ it is already presented, it has been <sup>presented</sup> ~~presented~~ by the rebels. On a ~~short~~ short view only the West gained, Hungary lost very heavily ~~indeed~~ indeed.

(11b) No.

(11c) Yes.

(11d) Anybody's guess. Why, of two old men ripe for the grave, does A die and not B?

(11e) I just don't know what he did under duress and what of his own free will.

(11f) I don't think personalities mattered a great deal. One only knew of them, of their names, by accident. There



was no frontal combat in which one could know who does what. The nation as a whole was the prime actor. Once in a century we Hungarians contrive to unite, October 56 was such a case.

(11g) I would put the youngsters first, and the workers second. But really everybody under 26 was in it. <sup>Everyone</sup> ~~Everybody~~ of those. A few older workers too but that was less important.

(12) In 1954.

(12a) When the revolution was defeated, and yet there was still a chance to leave, I went.

(12b) Yes. First with a friend and his wife, and with my sister. In the last moment with each of my acquaintances. Many of those also came.

(12c) No. There was no choice.

- (1) I have ~~looked~~<sup>knocked</sup> about a great deal.
- (1a) I consider myself an actor.
- (2a) I was, for some time, ~~xxxx~~ a navy ~~and~~. Then a lathe operator and at the same time a part-time student. During one summer I was a tally clerk at the threshing in the country and I also worked as an extra and as a part actor at the film studio, also at the theatre.
- (2b) See a
- (2c) See a
- (2d,e,  
f,g) See a
- (3) (Lathe operator) This was not an uninteresting job. Because all the people who worked there were chaps who were refused university admission. It was an ETH (Board of Manpower Reserve) school for skilled workers.
- (3a) I liked the company there. There were about 300 of us. All class enemies. To join this school was ~~xxxxxx~~<sup>a means</sup> to be in Budapest. Many of us there needed an excuse to be able ~~xxxx~~ to stay in Budapest. I was there from the middle of 1954 to the end of 55.
- (3b) The director. He almost drove us to murder. Some fellows staged an "accident", but the tool missed him.
- (3c) This job was the worst paid of all I had. Also standards were terribly exacting. To be able to stay at the school

at all, we had to live up to those standards. The school was supplying ~~sketchy~~ <sup>finely</sup> machined parts for export orders. Eventually all pupils but three left under one pretext or another. They just could not stand it for too long.

- (3d) The technical standards were very high. Each of us had his ~~own~~ machine and ~~our~~ <sup>his</sup> own instruments. There was ample working space and everything was ~~is~~ very modern indeed. On the other hand we had no goggles! Imagine working on a lathe without goggles. On the average 2 people a day had to ~~we~~ go to the eye clinic because of eye injuries.
- (3e) I went by bus. It took me 20 minutes each way. The Budapest buses are quite good, in fact really good.
- (3f) 6 a.m. to 2. p.m. with half an hour off for lunch. That was 4 days a week and then 2 days a week there was school, craftsmanship and such like.
- (3g) See f
- (3h) Yes, if the norm was not met. There was no extra pay for overtime, only the stipend of 120 forints a month in the first year and 210 forints a month in the second year plus ~~free~~ free tuition.
- (3i) Yes some, but I don't exactly know how much. I know that there were three weeks of unpaid vacation in the summer. Also there was sick pay, pro rata.
- (3n) The ~~workshop~~ <sup>speed-up</sup> operated all the time. We were supposed to be apprentices learning the trade, learning to do more every day. Actually we had to do more and more every day. This was already allowed for in the production plan.

- (3a) There was medical care we had it just as anybody else who was employed at ~~xxxxx~~ <sup>all.</sup> Every worker, no matter where he worked, was entitled to free medical care. Also there was a literary ~~xxxxxx~~ circle, a band, and an orchestra, and a folk dance group at our school. Our club was full all the time but the ~~xxxxxxx~~ literature, the music, and the club life which we provided for ourselves was not any merit of the state. We ran it in our own time. We also had a wall newspaper, where we put up seemingly innocent things with a concealed meaning. We all understood and enjoyed ~~g~~ such things.
- (4a) See question 3
- (4b) With superiors the tone was an extremely unhappy one ~~sarcastic~~ sarcastic biting. I mean they were sarcastic and hostile, and we reciprocated as best we could. There was much deliberate wrecking of tools "by accident".  
Once  
~~was~~ 18 lathes were virtually wrecked on one day. Everybody in the lathe room was in it, so there was nothing they could do about it. There were no reprisals.
- (4d) With workmates there was almost complete freedom of political discussion. There was only one possible spy but he left after a few weeks. Also, there was an external member in our dance group ~~and~~ an AVO girl. But she could not do anything either. We were classed as workers. We were doing manual work with machines, so we could permit ourselves certain liberties. Of the non-students there, the storeman was an ex-officer, his ~~xxxxxxx~~

handyman a former civil servant, in short everybody there was "reactionary" ~~xxxx~~ <sup>except</sup> the director and a couple of old tradesmen who anxious to ~~xxxxxx~~ please. They were on the other side.

- (4f) My only personal experience of the union was that I was made to pay dues twice. I mean on 2 occasions altogether. Then I stopped paying. I don't think the union did ~~xxxx~~ anything at all.
- (4e) There were no Party people at all.
- (4l) Yes, the director who was a fool in technical matters. He once tried to speed me up and I had to work a lot extra, to put right what he ~~xxxxxx~~ spoiled by his interference.
- (4n) Nobody, except the few tradesmen teachers mentioned above.
- (4p) See d
- (5) It was a really tough proposition to change jobs. Clever pretexts were needed.
- (5a) I would have left that job anyway. When I did leave I left because I saw an opening in theatrical work. It was a mad work-shop anyway. Can you imagine a work-shop where everybody has a text book or a dictionary on his bench while the machine is running? These people <sup>to be</sup> all wanted something else. They were stubbornly preparing to be something else.
- (5b) I sat several times for medical, and once for dental entrance examination. I had no chance. I wanted to be a

doctor. I turned to acting because under Communism the whole life is pretence and make-believe. Why not do it professionally? I would have become a doctor if they had let me because my father was one too. From early on he allowed me to watch his work. I was really quite good at ~~ex-~~<sup>x-</sup>ray diagnoses. That was my special ~~hobby~~<sup>hobby</sup>. My father was an outstanding ~~ex-~~<sup>x-</sup>ray man.

- (5e) Travel, travel, travel. See the world know other people, <sup>their</sup> see ~~the~~ customs. My ideas on this were the same before leaving as they are now and I know that I will travel by hook or by ~~knack~~ crook.
- (5g) Having no children I have no views on this. I never thought about it.
- (6a) There was a change from very good to 3 quite atrociously bad years between 45 and 47. Then my father was again permitted to resume his work. From then onwards, we were relatively better off, but absolutely, that is compared ~~at~~ to pre-war, and ~~as~~ compared to standards of similar people abroad, we were worse off.
- (6b) We always had adequate food and rather less ~~adequate~~<sup>adequate</sup> clothing. In clothing we could only afford the bare minimum but even this was better than average. Also a daily cup of coffee, a pair of shoes a year, and ~~and~~ if all went very well a bicycle or a radio.
- (6c) Fair in comparison ~~to~~ to what others were getting.
- (6d) Of course, I was exploited. I was providing good work for ~~practically~~<sup>practically</sup> ~~practically~~ no pay at the MPH school. I define exploitation

as the retaining of more than a fair portion of profit. The rest of the profit should be passed on in the wage. More than 100% margin on cost is exploitation.

- (7a) (i) nil. (ii) in summer work, 1500 forints a month. (threshing tally clerk, 7 days a week). (iii) 120 forints. But in 1956, when I was doing casual theatrical and film work, I made about 2000 a month on the average.
- (7b) In 1956, better. Average ~~fm~~ of population made between 1200 and 1300.
- (7c) My father, my step-mother, my elder sister and myself were all working. My ~~xxx~~ small sister not. My elder sister was a chemical engineer and my step-mother was and is my father's assistant in the hospital.
- (8) See extra form to be supplied by respondent.
- (9a) I don't think we did any queuing since 1946.
- (9b) All the time everything was to be had if one had money. Perhaps oranges or other odds and ends were scarce in an absolute sense, but in everything else, the rationing was done by the price. The prices, of course, were creeping upwards all the time, but so were most incomes.
- (9c) Impossible to say, Coffee ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> always bought "black" because ~~was~~ <sup>it</sup> was cheaper on the black market than in state shops. People were getting it in parcels from abroad and sold it at cheaper than ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the regulated price. But virtually everything else could be

conveniently bought in the state shops.

(9d) I have no clear recollection.

(10) My impression is that everything was just going nicely downhill. Reserves were being dissipated - I am mainly thinking of reserves of soil fertility. The land was cruelly mined, also the forests were not maintained. Reserves of slowly acquired skills from pre-war ~~xxx~~ were also being dissipated.

(10a) It was quite unhealthy. An oversize industry was erected on a zero raw material base.

(10b) The Russians robbed us left and right.

(10c) I have no first-hand knowledge. From what one hears I suspect it was a much sounder one.

(10d) I have already answered this.

(10f) Maszek ~~xxxx~~ existence was a <sup>precarious</sup> ~~xxxxxxx~~ one. <sup>It</sup> ~~That~~ was the making of hay while the sun shone. A Maszek could lose his all over night. Anyway Maszek was an insignificant proportion of ~~xxx~~ economic life. I gather though that Maszek <sup>sprung</sup> ~~xxxxxx~~ up like mushrooms after the defeat of the revolution.

(10g) 1956 was definitely better. 1951 was the trough. From then onwards material conditions of life were ~~xxx~~ much more bearable.

(11a) No they were not decisive. They provided a background, an undertone, but people were saying: "If <sup>things</sup> were other than ~~xxxx~~ what they are, I could make a good



living here. The trouble is not that we are inherently poor, but that we are bound hand and foot." The general poverty was ~~merely~~ <sup>merely</sup> ~~merely~~ one aspect of the impossibility of choice but the crux of the trouble should be put more comprehensively. It was really Communism. Once that is ~~ga~~ given, one thing leads to another. They cannot be separated but, they are all <sup>part</sup> ~~part~~ and parcel of one and the same thing.

- (1a) Somewhat irregular elementary schooling. Then between 1946 and 54, gymnasium.
- (1b) Between 46 and 49 church school, then state.
- (1c) See a. Then I went to the NIH school and parallel with that, to the Róssahegyi school of acting. This was Róssahegyi's private school. There were about 35 private pupils altogether. Some of them paid <sup>fees</sup> the talented ones did not.
- (1d) See c.
- (1e) Elementary school and gymnasium was the normal thing to do. Then as I could not get to my chosen university course, I went to the NIH school. No, I mentioned before that I should have liked to attend medical school. My actual choice of the theatrical school was a second best.
- (2d) <sup>above</sup> Rather ~~about~~ average.
- (2e) My chances were about average. The average could not get to ~~to~~ what university course they ~~prefer~~ preferred. I was no more unlucky than they were, but I was unlucky enough. For instance, at one medical entrance examination I attended, I obtained a five (best mark) in biology. Then, in physics, they put to me a question in astronomy. It was a trick question. A doctor does not need astronomy. I was not prepared for such a question.
- (3a) In gymnasium I think I rather disliked history because it was slanted.
- (3b) Yes we did. I think 3 hours a week.

(3c) No

(3d)5 Yes

(3e) No

(4) It is one thing what the government wanted and another thing what the teaching staffs actually carried out. The ministry's aim of course was to win over the youth to win it for the ruling clique.

(4a) This is hard to judge. On the part of the teachers the stress clearly was in the maintenance of decent scholastic standards.

(4b) Rather ineffective. It produced the wrong sort of reactions. Nevertheless I think some ideological influence did seep through. I think we have a bias towards egalitarianism now. If one man has more wealth than another, this does tend to irritate a bit most of us.

(4c) They violently and vocally hated it.

(4d)4 If in the majority of the cases it became more intense as time went on.

(4h) See b

(4i) I would not know.

(5) My father was a leading x-ray specialist attached to a large provincial hospital. He also had a very small private practice. He had difficulties with his screening (igazolas) after 1945, he was even imprisoned for a short time, but was readmitted to the profession afterwards. He was then shifted from one hospital to another several times.

- (5abc) See question 5
- (5d) Before 45 we had 3 servants. Later that is after 1950 when my small sister was born we had a charwomen. I cannot see why one should not have or ought not to have domestics, if their wage is paid out of properly earned income?
- (5e) Yes, a villa at the Bkleton, a villa at Best and a house at a provincial town whose name I wish to withhold. Also a shooting lodge in the mountains. (Interviewer's remark: Reason to disbelieve this statement.)
- (5f) I think we were definitely better off than most people before the war.
- (5g) Four.
- (5h) My mother died when I was 14. My sister became a chemical engineer. My father remained a doctor. As to myself you are learning all about me. My father and step-mother lived in a certain provincial town. My sister and I lived in Budapest, but we lived separately.
- (5j) I only include the "close" family, that is father, mother, brothers and sisters, and the grandparents. I don't think relatives really matter.
- (5k) Definitely detrimental.
- (6) Not applicable
- (7, 8,  
9, 10) Not applicable

- (11) Yes. I don't think family intimacy changed at all during the years. It is as close as it has ever been. No outside influence can really change it, <sup>at most</sup> ~~xxxxx~~ it strengthens family ties. It did so in our case.
- (12) Yes.
- (12a) Mostly matters pertaining to the future of Hungary: What are the chances of a turn for the better?
- (12b) No change in this. We were as frank as pre~~ix~~ 1944. Don't forget Hungary is not Russia yet!
- (13a to f) No there was no trouble. I think I was always in full agreement with my father.
- (14a) My father was the best friend. It is hard to conceive of greater intimacy than that between us. When I was in Budapest and he in the provincial town, we met as often as my and his time and money permitted, but we always remained on very close terms. My sister I saw daily which should be untypical. Generally there was considerable indifference on the part of children towards their parents but not ~~sk~~ the other way round.
- (14cde) See a
- (14f) See f
- (14g) Completely. I was never even made to do my home work.
- (15) I cannot really say. I have no first-hand experience of pre 1945.

- (15e) Yes at any rate the upper <sup>class</sup> ~~category~~ can no longer provide Fräuleins or Mademoiselles for their children. But I don't know of any other obvious change.
- (16) Not having known it I cannot really compare pre-war with postwar. But in the last few years, it very much depended on social strata. Amongst students, relations were outwardly fairly free but not really lax. In reality not much happened under libertarian appearances. Among working girls the state of sexual morals was perhaps rather poor.
- (16a) The time at which people marry depends <sup>on</sup> when they contrive to get something to marry on. I am thinking of income and accommodation. One cannot bring a wife into a furnished room. My sister is still unmarried because of this. In-  
sofar as people are up against housing, the <sup>time</sup> ~~age~~ of marriage is probably later than it would be if housing conditions were more decent.
- (16b) Perhaps courtship is a bit more informal nowadays. I don't think marriage is.
- (16e) I think it's widespread in Budapest but not so much in the provinces. There is less of a market for it there. But there is tremendous prostitution, and I mean open-air one, in mining towns and at large new construction sites. Girls working there prostitute themselves at night. Prostitution, of course, was prohibited but I have no evidence of serious police attempts at ~~enforcement~~ enforcement.

- (16f) I don't know.
- (16h) There are more abortions than illegitimate children. Abortion is a widespread practice among married women too, because families don't really know why and how to breed children?
- (16i) Women had certainly more job opportunities but this change is dearly bought. Women's ~~xxxvxxxv~~ <sup>vocation</sup> is to be the <sup>pivot</sup> ~~xxxvxxxv~~ of the family and a working woman is almost bound to fail in this, However hard she tries.
- (17) I think general morals deteriorated <sup>as,</sup> as much if not more than, sexual morals. Stealing is not now considered immoral if children need clothes. Today a worker will steal tools or material from the work shop, or a sales girl will steal butter from the counter in the foodshop.
- (17b) Yes stealing is quite frequent but one steals from the hated state, not from private individuals. We only steal back what the state takes away from us, and probably not all of it.
- (18) My closest friend was a school mate of mine. ~~Rxxxx~~ Afterwards he became a driver in Mavaut (long distance truck service). His father was the police chief of a provincial town before 1944.
- (18ab) See question 18.
- (18c) 99% of the time we sat in an espresso and talked and talked. This is a very general pattern among the young in Hungary today.

- (18g) A friend must be a friend, that's all. This is not further definable. It means loyalty perhaps. A friend is more than a wife or possibly anyone. One can have one friend or perhaps two but not more.
- (18i) I did not belong to any very intimate circle. But they were like-minded chaps, offsprings of the dislodged ~~intelligentsia~~ intelligentsia.
- (18j) See g.
- (18k) I never really considered this. It is rather inconceivable. But if he had been acting under serious pressure (wife, children) then I would not have minded it. Actually, however, I knew nobody personally who was a Party member.
- (19a) Roman Catholic.
- (19b) This is my own business
- (20) Communist policy ~~was~~ <sup>misfired</sup> in this respect. It became a gesture of resistance to be religious. This does not mean that the religious experience was a real or a sincere one.
- (20a) The Protestant priests were really the better ones. There were no Protestant peace priests! The Protestant priests talked from the pulpit much more vitally and directly. Their ~~own~~ sermons were more intelligibly ~~and~~ anti-regime.
- (20b) For the Communists, using religion for their own ends (peace priests) was the next best thing to stamping it out. Of course, they would have preferred <sup>to</sup> ~~stamp~~ ~~it~~ it out altogether.



- (20e) I did not know any ~~peace~~ <sup>peace</sup> priests personally. I suppose many priest s were branded ~~peace~~ <sup>peace</sup> priests because of personal animosities or grudges, who were not really ~~peace~~ <sup>peace</sup> priests at all.
- (20f) Fairly freely. For instance, Party members' wives would go but it was bad form for ~~g~~ a member to go, and for a soldier it was ~~si~~ definitely unhealthy. But they did go sometimes. I even saw a Russian soldier once in a Catholic church.
- (20h) My own business.
- (20i) Probably peasants more regularly than non-peasants. But apart from peasants ~~churchgoing~~ <sup>churchgoing</sup> ceased to be a social occasion, a matter of ~~habbit~~ habit. Nowadays if someone goes to church he goes either because he is really religious, or because he wants to show that he is ready to defy the regime. I want to add that in Debrecen the university students were strictly supervised whether they did attend church or not, and if they did so, this was later held against them.
- (20k) I am sure that religion means much less to the present generation than it did to our parents. We operate on the help-yourself-principle, not on help of God.
- (20l) The Mindszenty trial certainly ~~strengthened~~ strengthened anti-regime feeling a great deal, and so have the trials of certain other priests. But I don't think the church, or churches were actually trying to, or were ~~z~~ successful at, fostering opposition. What people understand is force, and the church has no force.

(21) This really depends on whether I am to suppose that the regime will maintain itself, or not. If yes, I would recommend languages. The Highschool for Foreign Languages. He could ~~xxxxxxx~~ train to be an interpreter there. Then he could get abroad and would get better pay and less political interference. He would be sent on missions abroad as an interpreter for delegations. If on the other hand the regime is not to be supposed to perpetuate itself, I would recommend any profession depending on the person's own inclinations. One would be as good as another.

(21a) See question 21

(21b) He would not have been promoted anyway. If he asks my advice, this implies that he is a bad kader, so he will be made to do the work, and the good kaders will get the ~~xxxxxx~~ promotion.

(22) The best off were definitely the artists and sportsmen. The worst off were the deportees, even after they were ~~xxxxix~~ released from deportation. The scale I would construct would ~~beginx~~ begin with artists ~~xxxx~~ at the top, then doctors in private practice, engineers, good kader functionaries, MTS leaders, skilled workers, teachers, peasants depending on how much they can cheat (if they don't cheat then their position is quite intolerably bad just nowhere in the scale), then unskilled workers many of whom

(22a) I would class myself as an artist but not being and a good reader my own position was not so good.

(22b) I should have chosen the group I was actually in. It was the best under my own circumstances. Ours was a good crowd, nice chaps. We wrote prose and ~~ixkixixixix~~ poetry for our own ~~exxsumptiix~~ consumption. We had the same interests and understood each other.

(23) There are now no classes as such.

(23a) Class means something which ~~no~~<sup>no</sup> longer exists at home.

(23b) The change in this respect is of course far reaching.

(23c) It is a good thing in principle but in practice it produces absurd results. There are differences between clever and stupid men and between pretty and plain girls. There are differences between people which will eventually ~~become~~ be reflected in class ~~differe~~ differences, unless this is artificially suppressed.

(23d) Not today. Instead of class background, it is the views which divide people. There are no wall around or between classes but there <sup>are</sup> walls around most individuals, except ~~wixixixix~~ within the family. Another thing which leads to the dismantling of class barriers is that people have neither money nor time for social life and therefore they cannot exclude other people <sup>from</sup> ~~from~~ their social life. But people still do play bridge. <sup>h</sup>at is cheap and absorbing.

(23e) Definitely more equal - equals in misery.

(23f) Greater social equality is, on balance, a good thing.

~~His~~ The new Hungary, if it does come to pass, will be a healthier one for it.

(23g) Everybody retained what breeding they received. There are now more people with no breeding floating visibly on top, and ~~therefore~~ therefore the average picture in terms of manners and so on is much worse.

(24) I don't think there is any difference in the treatment of the various minorities in so far as they exist. The nationalities are no longer ~~an~~ <sup>a live</sup> issue in Hungary. We all ~~we~~ have a much bigger issue to cope with.

(24a) The Jewry is generally despised because it is almost identical with the ruling class. It is running with the ~~here~~ <sup>here</sup> and hunting with the hounds.

(25) The Jews saw a chance under Communism to pay back for 1944.

(25a) They regarded Communism as a means to regain or more <sup>than</sup> ~~more~~ regain their former positions.

(25c) Yes. Those particular acquaintances had my father imprisoned, though no charge could be made out against him. He had to be released.

(25d) They withdrew into shelter to wait and see.

(25e) There was general contempt for their opportunism. "Nevertheless nobody touched a Jew during the Revolution.

(25g) Anti-Semitism definitely ~~increased~~ increased. In 1945 many of us were pro-Jew. Today we no longer feel guilty for what was done to them in 1944. The debt is repaid.

(25h)

If Communism maintains itself then their future is assured. If not I expect they will change allegiance soon enough to save their skins. But I believe we will cold shoulder them. There is likely to be a cold boycott against them because of their behavior under Communism. Small Jews are ~~xxxxxx~~ <sup>allright</sup>. I have nothing against them. But there is now in Hungary a presumption of collective guilt; this is because of the Jews' role under Communism. I personally would not <sup>judge</sup> ~~judge~~ them collectively; I would judge them individually.

- (1) I have always <sup>been</sup> interested in politics, but never actively, only as an onlooker.
- (1a) Politics were a secondary matter for me.
- (1b) Hardly at all.
- (2) I think I became politically conscious in about 1948. From then onwards my ~~feelings~~ feelings were always quite decisively anti-regime.
- (2c) See question 2
- (2b) No.
- (2e) I just felt general hostility. I don't think I can give any single reason: just the whole thing. Besides, I have seen the Russians in 1945.
- (2f) I was always against the regime and there was not much change in this attitude.
- (2h) This question is falsely phrased. There was always as much passive resistance as was possible within reason, <sup>within</sup> or ~~prudence~~ prudence and safety. But people will not stick their necks out if the outcome of doing so is beyond question.
- (2i) I don't know.
- (3a) I don't think there was any one single factor. I don't think one can distinguish between those things. I just felt general disgust. However I think if a single grievance would have to be named, violation of civil rights would cover everything. This contains within ~~itself~~ itself everything else. If civil rights are not safeguarded,

if they are abolished, everything else follows more or less automatically.

(3bode) See a

(3j) No. There were no compensating factors. Anything and everything which emanated from the regime was misery and humiliation. The slogan of our own group during the Revolution is characteristic enough: We said, "we won't bargain."

(4) The answer is: Moscow.

(4a) Because all the strings were held there and pulled there.

(4b) I don't know.

(4f) I have no personal experience, and therefore cannot compare. But most people, older people than I, complained a great deal about it, therefore presumably ~~ix~~ it was pretty bad.

(4h) All sorts of people, probably a cross section which was not worse than the nation from which it was drawn. But it is not the particular people who made the conduct of government detestable. <sup>It</sup> ~~ix~~ was the laws which they had to carry out which made them detestable. The laws bred the bureaucrats. Everybody was bound to become one.

(5) I was a DIZ member in a perfunctory way.

(5a) Yes. The disadvantage was that one had to pay monthly dues. It was a small sum, but a net loss.

(5b) One hardly knew one joined. In school the collector came around and collected the dues. If one did not pay, he had to pay it out of his own pocket. Later, at work the monthly dues were just deducted from one's pay. But it

did not amount to anything.

(5c) I suppose one could have refused to pay. But it did not really matter.

(5d) See question 5

(5e) In 1950. The whole sixth form at school became a member.

(a) ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ Most people who held important jobs. Party membership was more or less necessary to retain those jobs.

(5b) This is hard to conceive of.

(5c) I don't know. I did not know Party members well enough.

(5d) I believe because they saw that practice always ~~xxxxxx~~ clashed with the nice humanistic theory.

(5h) No

(5r) Moscow.

(7) Yes, I was a ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ boy scout till 1947. Then it was dissolved.

(7c to

m) Not applicable.

(8) Perhaps a tenth but I may be overstating it.

(9) The explanation is easy. If one wants to get somewhere, one must saddle up <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ horse. <sup>people</sup> DISZ was one. Once ~~xxxxxx~~ noticed that they can get away with a certain ~~xxxxxx~~ degree of opposition, they used the DISZ ~~as~~ as a vehicle of that opposition.



- (10a) No, this is a more general thing. It is a general sense of the presence of terror. Very few people can help being aware of it even if they themselves are not being actively terrorized.
- (10b) The AVO's main duty was to ~~fix~~ forestall potential resistance, if need be by ~~the~~ <sup>all</sup> level methods. Of course, the medieval methods were combined with modern psychiatry. An example of AVO methods which impressed me most was the placing of a piece of cotton wool soaked in water ~~into~~ an empty room. The man who was interrogated was told to blow it round and round the floor. If he fainted they brought him to and he had to go on blowing it round and round. Also ~~the~~ bells and water were favorite means of breaking people. I think everybody can be broken if these methods are being persevered with.
- (10c) The AVOs were mainly recruited from careerists. People who wanted to make good. This is much the same thing as if I advertise for professional criminals, and assure them of immunity from the law. Thus they would have it both ways; <sup>they</sup> ~~the~~ would have the spoils and they would be in complete command of the situation, threatened by nobody. In the beginning many AVOs were Jews thirsting for revenge for 1944. Then their ranks ~~were~~ were diluted, by ordinary criminals and sadists. Not that the Jews themselves <sup>not behave like</sup> ~~did~~ sadists there. They and the gypsies were the worst.
- (10d) All the policemen were just ~~pariahs~~ pariahs, they were just like postmen and firemen. They had no privileges at all.

- (10k) There was very close contact but I believe ~~that~~ the AVO had supremacy. Without the Party you can still have the AVO; it can still retain power. The Revolution proved this nicely. The Party absolutely collapsed, ceased to exist. Yet the AVO carried on under cover, even if it was not complete master of the situation.
- (11) Yes quite a number. Most of them because of attempted illegal crossing of the border.
- (11a) Yes; one case illustrates well the pointlessness and futility of these arrests. I had a friend who was a POW and returned from Russia in 1947. He was taken off the train as they arrived, he was put in prison, and then after a few months sent back to Russia. Eventually he came back in 1954. No one knew why this was done the way it was. He did not do anything. The thought the most likely explanation is that a POW roll was short one man somewhere in Russia, and therefore they just ordered one replacement from Hungary.
- (11d) The middle class and the bad leaders were the most liable to be arrested.
- (11f) The prison personnel were sometimes approachable, mainly the cooks and trades people there. It was worse in the women's prisons, because the woman warders were worse than the male ones. They are often Lesbians.
- (11g) I have heard things about Kistarcsa (internment camp). It is characteristic that some people I know asked for a deck of cards to be smuggled in to them.

They worked by day, and played bridge by night. They needed something to relieve themselves. The guards could never detect this. There are always ways of smuggling things into prisons and camps. One ~~was~~ chap, for instance, had 6000 cigarettes smuggled in to him during 5 months. His whole cell smoked all day. The warden often saw the smoke, but could never find <sup>the cache</sup> ~~the cache~~ of cigarettes.

- (12) Not applicable
- (13) No sound advice is possible. This is very much a matter of luck. But obviously it is better to lie low.
- (13a) I don't think so.
- (13c) Personal connections may ease the position, but they don't provide any immunity from the basic danger. If one is in, personal connections or bribes may secure better treatment for oneself, but they don't prevent one from being pulled in.
- (13d) I <sup>think</sup> ~~think~~ so. It secures leniency for oneself but this does not always work out that way.
- (13f) It does not necessarily help to keep one's mouth shut, because of the dogma that "Whoever is not with us is against us" - those who keep mum are presumably "against us".
- (14) Not that I know of. Not a great deal.
- (15) Moscow held the power of decision, the Hungarian task was

that of execution.

(15e) The Russians took eventual execution of their decisions for granted in every field. Therefore there was no great difference in their direct participation in the various ~~fix~~ fields.

(16) Obviously not. What a question.

(16c) This varies a great deal. One does it by "feel" with decent people one can be frank.

(16d) This depended very much on the person one was talking to. Minor irritants could usually be discussed with anybody, unless one wanted to pass for a good kader. But major policy matters were a delicate thing. Also it was best not to talk about things Russian.

(17) Yes one can usually ~~execute~~ circumvent official orders. Their observance is not automatic, but contingent upon the punishment or reprisal attached. One observes or ignores these orders according to one's judgment of the chances of getting away with it.

(17b) Yes the peasants can cheat ~~xxx~~ by understating their ~~xxxxxx~~ crop yields. But if they are caught the tally clerk is punished together with the peasant.

(17d) One must secure the desired new job through some friend or some connection. And then get oneself dismissed at the old job, so that one's workbook is ~~xxx~~ handed out. One must build up a case by periodic sickness, by poor work performance, or by the pretext

of bad communications, bad transport between home and the place of work. Also if the old job is manifestly unsuited to the qualifications of the person concerned and he finds another job more in accordance with his qualifications, then his old place of work is bound to release him.

- (18) The paramount cohesive force was Russian military strength its direct effect is obvious. Its indirect effect was that many people thought they were backing the winner, however much that winner was hated, by siding with Russia and Communism. They felt they were being realists by siding with Russia.
- (18b) The main disruptive force was that nearly everybody was <sup>his</sup> biding ~~xxx~~ time, waiting for a chance to strike a blow against the regime.
- (19) Opposition was ~~ubiquitous~~ ubiquitous, but it was below the surface. It was expressed ambiguously, if at all.
- (19b) The intelligentsia. It is hard to establish primacy in these matters. The intelligentsia's opposition was perhaps more efficacious because they were cleverer in giving practical expression to it.
- (19c) The good-for-nothings.
- (191) I don't <sup>know</sup> ~~xxx~~ much about it. I suppose it was a spontaneous growth, once the AVO relaxed a bit, some such growth was probably inevitable.

- (1a) The radio, mainly the BBC to which I listened regularly. Also I always heard anything of importance by word-of-mouth.
- (1b) Newspapers were the least important. Western leaflets, ~~xxx~~ RFE leaflets, were not only unimportant, they were a positive nuisance and a source of danger.
- (2a) I read <sup>Uj hang</sup> Irodalmi Ujsag, ~~xxxx~~ Szinhaz-Mozi, Sportujsag. ~~xxxx~~ ~~ixrxkdx~~ quite regularly.
- (2b) These I read quite regularly.
- (2c) Because they were more or less free of politics of ~~xxx~~ their kind.
- (2f) The ~~xxxx~~ newspapers were even more stale and stupid than the regular newspapers.
- (2g) Yes I used it to see an East German illustrated paper, which carried fashion and theatre items mainly. Occasionally I also saw a stray copy of ~~xxxxxx~~ the big American papers. The Foreign Languages School used to get the American papers officially, and then they were passed from hand to hand. We mainly looked at the pictures. There were also many cuttings and whole newspapers sent in by emigres <sup>in</sup> ~~xxx~~ the West in private mail.
- (3) Almost daily. (See also b)
- (3b) This varied a great deal. I could not avoid seeing many Russian films. They were technically fairly competent, (color). ~~xxxx~~ Some of them were very Hollywoody and glossy. The other sort of Russian film was just stale

propaganda.

- (3c) Yes, I like <sup>the</sup> Italian neo-realist ones best. I also saw some French ones and Czech films, Czech films which were next in order of quality.
- (3e) In 1956 every day. As a student of theatre, I had free admission. Going to the theatre was part of my study.
- (4e) Upton Sinclair, Thomas Mann, the classics, Laszlo Neoth  
(I ~~never~~ never took the trouble to find out what ~~Neoth~~ <sup>Neoth</sup> is like. I heard he ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> too much committed to the Marxist side. I felt hostile towards him.)
- (5) Yes, for the music in broadcast.
- (5b) Yes I had a large Blaupunkt Super, with 5 wave bands, which was smuggled in by a Russian soldier. I bought it very cheap. I had it combined with a tape recorder. I had a friend who was a radio engineer and he rigged it up for me.
- (6d) I have no factual basis for judging and reserve my <sup>news services</sup> judgement. However, their ~~news services~~ were ~~very~~ definitely competent in terms of speed. Often one could get the news there before it broke in Budapest.
- (7) This went on all the time all over the place. What were espressos for?
- (7e) Everyone knew pretty much everything that mattered within <sup>a</sup> few hours of its happening.

- (8) A negligible proportion.
- (8d) Here thought tells you ~~xxxx~~ these things. One knew by logic what one cannot believe. Also if we read "We have won the battle of coal" and there was no coal to be had, then we knew what to think of the news item in question.
- (8f) See question 2e.
- (8e) I did not regard anything as quite reliable. There were always too many ~~xxxx~~ false rumors floating about. I generally took ~~xxxx~~ wait-and-see attitude.
- (8g) I never read it.
- (8h) Ditto.
- (9) Yes, those who had not yet tired off it. He had not yet given up waiting for some favorable turn.
- (10a) No views.
- (10b) Don't know.
- (10c) Just stupid fairy-tale. It is in the same class as flying saucers and people from Mars. We all laughed our heads off.
- (10e) A very silly, very thoughtless thing, very damaging to those who were foolish enough to pick them up. The point is that those leaflets served no useful purpose whatsoever.
- (10h) Invited them, ~~xxxx~~ that is all.



- (1a) I would like to see the artificial support given to culture during the <sup>best</sup> last 10 years or so retained. It would be a good thing if the state would keep on subsidising books, music and the theatre, - but not the same books and not the same theatre - I would also like to see the controls or limits on private property maintained. ~~Not~~ <sup>I am</sup> thinking so much of the size of wealth but its origin and its use. I see no reason why one should not have 10 million forints but no one should have  $\approx$  100 000 acres. In the first case the man may be an artist or somebody who earned his money by his own talent and exertions. In the second case it's inherited privilege of excessive dimensions. I would not want to abolish inherited privilege within reason, e.g. 100 acres. As far as industrial property is concerned I would like to have dispersion, rather than centralization of property in a ~~few~~ few hands.
- (1b) I think my reply to ~~a~~ represents the general consensus. Mind you, the dispossessed great land-owners who stayed at home would say the same, - but the emigres out here would say the opposite.
- (2) If there was a United Europe, there would be no need for parties. But we Hungarians could probably not ~~live~~ live without a lot of parties. I believe 2 great parties are needed, one government and one opposition, but not a lot of parties.
- (2a) Yes.

- (2b) No. I would not acknowledge any exceptions. I would have this apply to Communism and Nazi Fascism as well.
- (3) Entirely. No restraints on this can be accepted. Freedom of thought and speech is too basic a right to admit of limits.  
 At the same time every one should have the right to reject what the other ~~say~~ fellow says.
- (3c) No
- (3d) Prohibition should extend only to cases where there is a clear violation of national interest. But these cases can only apply to deeds ~~not~~ not to thoughts. Actually, however, I think violations of the national interest are usually taken care of by the civil and commercial code of law.
- (4) Completely.
- (4a) Very much so.
- (4b) If the clear majority of the population is in favor of the overthrow of the government, <sup>an</sup> armed ~~uprising~~ uprising is obviously justified. However, since the question of whether there is a clear majority against the government can only be tested by the machinery of free elections, it follows that if the government forbids, or <sup>impossible</sup> makes impossible the holding of free elections, there is a presumption that armed uprising would be rightful.
- (5) I think industry should be pruned. If there is no iron

ore  
~~xx~~ basis in the country, one should not build blast -fur-  
naces. One should concentrate on the making of radio val-  
ves. Also the exploitation of people ought ~~xx~~ to be stop-  
ped. But if the present regime ~~xxxxxxx~~ <sup>were</sup> overthrown, this  
would be automatically accomplished.

- (6) Yes, I am in favor of nationalization within limits. If  
certain industries are in the hands of the state, <sup>their</sup> ~~xxxxxxx~~  
use can be regulated according to the national interest,  
according to <sup>the</sup> general good, not according to ~~xxxxxxx~~ pri-  
vate profit. It may be in the public interest to run basic  
industries at a loss and only the state can do such things.
- (6a) Basic industries ~~xxxxxx~~ should be state-owned. Elsewhere  
in other sectors there should be free competition between  
state initiative and private initiative. Without the com-  
petition the consumer has no safeguards of quality.
- (6b) No. My answer is a flat no. It would evoke too much anti-  
pathy. But the old owners should get something, for instance,  
they should get a state loan to put them on their feet.
- (6c) It depends on the rate of profit earned. Half of it is  
~~xxxxxxx~~ all right.
- (6d) Yes
- (6f) All monopolies are bad except the state monopolies because  
monopolies stifle competition. But the State's monopoly  
profit can be diverted to good purposes e.g. to invest-  
ment. The basic industries should be state monopolies.
- (7) Covered by 6.

- (8) I am generally in favor.
- (8a) It is a right principle.
- (8b) It was never given a real chance in Hungary. We were not a planned economy, we were just an exploited colony.
- (8c) Planning should extend to the basic industries. It should not extend to light industry and trade. The direction of basic industries is for <sup>too</sup> ~~the~~ vital<sup>e</sup> matter for the whole nation. One cannot take risks about it. Light industry can be more flexibly treated. Agriculture is also vital for the people's needs. The state should calculate the basic food needs of the nation and make sure ~~and make~~ that those needs are met by domestic agriculture. This need not mean that the peasants must be compelled to grow wheat when they would sooner grow rice. The state could and should give special incentives to peasants to make them conform to the state's plan. Peasant land-owning should not be tampered with. Agricultural collectives just will not function. They are contrary to human nature, and particularly to peasant nature.
- (9) Yes, the area of basic human rights should be taboo for the state. As I am thinking of the freedom of speech of thought of travel, and of organization. Organization is, I think, a basic human right. If other people will join me in no matter how ~~far~~ foolish a purpose, they should not be prevented from doing so. If many want to join me, perhaps my purpose is not quite as foolish after all. There should be no a priori decision as to

what people may organize for.

- (10) So long as the legislative body and the executive of the state is freely elected by majority vote, all people owe loyalty to the state and must conform to its laws.
- (10a) Yes, even if taxation is discriminatory as far as a group or a person is concerned. <sup>If</sup> Taxation is imposed by majority decision, the minority, which is discriminated against, must obey it.
- (10b) Since wars are a permanent feature of human life, soldiers are needed. This is tough luck but it is so. I don't however, think the three year service makes sense. Military service should be for a reasonable period. If it is, it is quite a good education.
- (10c) See question 10.
- (10e) The government must observe its own laws and must make others observe them.
- (11) Medical care has certainly become more accessible. There is not nowadays such a thing that somebody cannot afford basic medical treatment.
- (11b) There are differences - "Better People" will get more courteous treatment from the doctors, but the treatment will be of the same standard. They get more courteous treatment because they are more courteous themselves.
- (12) Yes. The movies, and ~~the~~ even the theatre is very cheap

~~indeed~~ indeed. Incomparably cheaper than out here in the West.

(12a) Not applicable

(12b) To the full.

(12c) People in small villages have little ~~of~~ <sup>or</sup> no opportunity but the rest of the population enjoys these opportunities equally.

(12d) They don't have time to go at all, but they still contrive to. They squeeze it in somehow.

(13) I think the diet has become worse, and plainer too.

(13a) It is much the ~~same~~ same. People always get the necessary minimum somehow but it is difficult to go beyond that.

(13b) Much the same.

(14) People economize more on clothes but they are not indigent, they just dress more simply than before the war. They need fewer sorts of clothes. But our trailers are much better than those in the West.

(15) Undoubtedly.

(15a) Because of the general momentum of progress.

(15b) Particularly in machine building and engineering. We are definitely keeping pace with the rest of the world in terms of quality. Our industry is working with atrocious materials, but the workmanship and the design is as good as anywhere. With the materials we have it is a marvel that our ~~manufactures~~ manufactures are as good as they are.

(15c) So far as it goes, it is advantageous.

(16) Strangely  
~~xxxxxxly~~ enough there are workers who know how to manage things though generally speaking they are apt ~~at~~ to have only sectional knowledge. They find it difficult to take an overall view. I think there should be as much consultation between manager and his skilled workers as possible, but the top management should not be entrusted to the workers.

(16a) Their function properly is the representation of wage earners' interests.

(16b) Totally.

(16c) It should not be compulsory at all.

(16d) Plants should be run by the clever managerial type. This type is selected in the ordinary course of events by competition.

(16e) Responsibility should be to the owner. If the owner is the state, then to the state.

(17) My opinion is as unfavorable as can be.

(17c) They should be abolished. But of course peasants should not be prevented from voluntarily associating. Voluntary cooperatives may<sup>be</sup> the means to overcome the disadvantages of fragmentation.

(17f) Yes. There should be a 500 to 1000 acre limit to arable land, and forests should all belong to the state.

(17h) There were no kulaks at all.

(17i) Flat no.

- (17,1) Yes. Agriculture has been so much run down by the ~~re line~~ <sup>take</sup> that it will <sup>take</sup> decades of state help to put it back on its feet.
- (17a) It is not a bad idea. I think they should be retained but they should not discriminate between the user-customer. I think they should be kept in state ownership if it turns out that the state can ~~xxx~~ <sup>run</sup> them more cheaply.
- (17c) Yes.
- (18) I think the state and the churches should not be mixed up. Religion is a strictly private matter. It is wrong to officialize it.
- (18a) See question 18.
- (18b) It is wrong to ~~discriminate~~ discriminate. Neither of them should be <sup>the</sup> "state religion".
- (18c) Yes, <sup>because</sup> the clergy has no income, yet the service and the churches must be maintained to give everybody a chance to practise religion if they want to.
- (18f) State school.
- (19) One should examine their record individually according to the criminal code. ~~xxx~~ Party membership alone should not be regarded as a crime. But the specific record should be ~~xxxxxxx~~ scrutinized.
- (19b) They should be tried for high treason but there would be no chance ~~xx~~ to try Kadar. He would be torn to bits anyway.
- (19e) See ex 19.



(19f) I would let the drafted AVO go. But the professionals ought to be tried by the ordinary courts, and severely too.

(19g) What a question! What should be done to the fire brigade? But I think one should have a close look at police chiefs.

(19h) The ~~are~~ AVO people put on civilian clothes or ordinary police uniforms and hung on.

(20) The founding of St. Stephen's empire in the Carpathian basin, the holding off of the Tartars by Bela IV, the provision of a breakwater against the Turkish attacks directed towards Europe in the 16th and 17th century, 1849-49, and the 1956 Revolution were significant contributions to European history. As far as culture pure and simple is concerned, I think the introduction or promotion of Renaissance culture in East Central Europe by Vitiaz I was an important thing. Also in music you have Kodaly, Bartok, and Liszt who have definitely enriched European culture. In our long suit, poetry and literature, we are up against the language barrier, and I think that is impenetrable.

(21) I would not be game enough to try and define the Hungarian national character. But I think there is one.

(21a) Yes it does. Take 2 groups, one German and one Hungarian. The latter is inept in organization. But we'll make nice dead heroes. When it comes to organize we will

The  
organize a nice funeral. ~~They~~ Germans know how to orga-  
nize, they organize to live and they don't die for just  
anything.

(21b) Of course. After all the Russians are not European.

(21c) I don't know them at all.

(21c) There is a clear difference between the educated and  
the uneducated. The educated will be more  
quick to decide, they will ~~not~~ not ponder a great deal,  
and are incorrigible optimists. The uneducated are more  
realistic. Our ~~peasants~~ peasants will weigh up every  
angle before making up their minds.

(21f) Yes it was such the same thing, I suppose.

(22) I don't really know.

(22a) The monarchy implied Hungarian dependence and therefore  
it was bad.

(22c) Perhaps not, compared to other countries at the time.  
But in absolute terms yes, because land was the basis  
of power.

(22d) This is an academic question. History has its own <sup>rhythm</sup> ~~structure~~,  
its own stages, except for new countries which may jump  
stage on. The feudal stage belonged to that rhythm.

(22e) I don't know - I rather mistrust the explanations gi-  
ven in school.

(22f) I think there must have been much inequality and that  
was wrong.

(22g) It must have been bad enough, but cannot have been as  
bad as the present one.

- (22h) Hungary had no option.
- (22i) Between 45 and 48, we were recovering from total disaster. From 48 onwards to about 51 it was ~~going~~<sup>going</sup> down hill, between 51 and 56 it was steadily improving, and of course ~~ix~~ 56-57 is worse than anything, I understand the terror is much worse than even in 51.
- (23) I think frontiers must have some economic importance. Not a political or cultural one.
- (23a) See 23.
- (23b) I think we have some ethnic claims. But these ethnic matters ~~xxxxxx~~ are hard to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~<sup>disentangle</sup> because of the post-1945 forced relocations of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ populations. ~~An~~ autonomous Transylvanian Republic within a United Europe would be <sup>the</sup> right sort of solution for these problems. Such a solution would protect the Hungarian minorities from extinction.
- (23c) No.
- (23d) There is not much love lost between Czechs and Hungarians, but I think at arm's length we could get on with each other. (~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ See also h)
- (23e) I don't know.
- (23f) It depends on what happens to the main area of friction, Transylvania. If that is ~~not~~<sup>solved</sup> I think we could get along fairly well.
- (23h) There is too much of the Balkans in both the Yugoslavs and the Rumanians. The Czechs are more European. Perhaps falsely and on inadequate grounds, I would set

up the following scale of preference: Poles, Czechs, Rumanians, and Yugoslavs.

( 24 ) Hungarian neutrality should be guaranteed by the interested powers. The establishment of a United Europe may mean neutrality of us all. I am in favor of federation of nations <sup>or</sup> states, and the more comprehensive the federation the better. But this is only true up to Europe's Eastern frontier, that is <sup>up</sup> to the Russian frontier. Beyond that a too heterogeneous element, the Russian element, would be introduced into Europe and that would serve no useful purpose. The ~~Russians~~ Russians are basically different from Europeans, not only because they live or have lived under Communism. But short of the Russian frontier, I think <sup>a</sup> Danube Federation is not as good as ~~an~~ ~~an~~ Eastern European Federation, and an Eastern European Federation is not as good as an All-European Federation.

(25) They are <sup>a</sup> fairly stupid people. They always meekly allow themselves to be bullied. Also they are intellectual cowards.

(25c) Of course not. They don't have to be so long as they do their job well. This is a major difference between Russian and Hungarian Communism. A Russian is not being bothered with Communism if he <sup>is</sup> doing his allotted task.

(25e) In 1944-45, the Russians were feared. Today they are regarded as no more fearsome than any other soldiers. They are just disliked. But we did not forget that

they were not in Hungary because they personally wanted to conquer it. We did not dislike them personally, we disliked the role they consented to play.

- (26) I rather like it in theory.
- (26a) It is an idealist conception, and a consistent system.
- (26b) It is based on an unreal conception of human nature.
- (26c) Lenin was a mad genius who did not or would not see where all this is leading to.
- (26d) Stalin was an adventurer of format. He was neither a Marxist nor anything else, he had his own precepts to follow.
- (26e) Among the Nationalists he is the world's best politician.  
He ~~was~~ <sup>outfoxed</sup> Stalin.
- (26f) I know too little of them.
- (26g) I should not be surprised if one could be both a Marxist and a democrat.
- (26h) I don't know, I would not care to try and define it.
- (26i) I think under Matthias I. Not since.
- (26j) Both "Marxist" and "democrat" are far too flexible terms. Pito is many things to many men.
- (27) The definition defies me. Communism is a theory, which is contradicted by the Communists. Since Communists must contradict their theory anyway, there is no reason why they should not contradict it in a "national" direction. But this may mean "imperialism", for all I care.

- (27e) Yes, I suppose some Communists may well have been good Hungarians. Communism can often be the first stage in an ~~individual's~~ individual's evolution. He learns by it, and then becomes a decent man. But he is probably too old by then. This may well be the case with the "Good Hungarian" Communists.
- (28a) I think he was aiming at a half Western half Titoist sort of coexistential system with Russia.
- (28b) Yes, there was really nobody else. Even Bela Kovacs was too little known. Mindszenty was not considered a serious candidate for political office. There was no alternative to Nagy. However, his Communist ministers would have had to go.
- (29a) ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Impracticable.
- (29b) Bad
- (29c) It is just a fact
- (29d) It is a bluff
- (29e) An ~~but~~ unreal category
- (29f) It is neither good nor bad, it is a fact.
- (29g) Ditto
- (29h) It does not matter.
- (29i) An old coward
- (29j:l) I don't know
- (29m) A doubtful one - probably a decent person.
- (29n) Good.

- (30) An almost non-political republican Party.
- (30a) There is nobody. There is nobody above the surface, and we don't know who is there below it.
- (31a-1) All get less except group g. This is what is meant by state capitalism when no single class can exploit the others, and thus everybody is equally exploited.
- (32) The peasantry and the workers were both better off before 48, but the peasantry lost more than the workers.
- (33a) Yes, harmony.
- (33b) Ditto
- (33c) No
- (33d) Bad
- (33e) Very good
- (33f) There is no conflict, there may be indifference.
- (33g) Not before 1945. There could not have been harmony because the aristocrats despised the intelligentsia.
- (33h) There was no coincidence of interest.
- (33i) They got along I think quite well. The reason is that both ~~xxxx~~ large landholders and small holders were satisfied classes.
- (34) The Soviet Union is dangerous as the material basis of Communist ~~xxxxxxx~~ doctrine. It will remain dangerous up to the point where it either gets rid of Communism, or Communism conquers the world and then collapses.

The US is a young, satisfied, and complacent nation, is is not dangerous except for Communism - it may upset it.

- (35) Nobody would fight for it. Some may be passive.
- (35a) About 90% would try to. They did try in October and in November.
- (36) There was a definite change in one question. As you know, before leaving Hungary I thought the Hungarian revolt would get Western support. Now I know that even a second more desperate one would not get any support from the West.



- (1) The question I would like to put is this: "What did you feel on October 24th?"
- (1a) As a statistical exercise it is probably not useless.
- (1c) You must realize that even if the names of your respondents are withheld the summed total of a person's answers pretty much discloses his identity and hence his record. What assurance is there that these papers will not be seen by those who ought not to see them? Who assumes responsibility that they will not be?
- (2a) Yes, if the regime falls.
- (3) No.