

- (1) The events of last October and November should drive <sup>the West</sup> home to ~~xxxxxx~~ that Hungary deserves aid indeed. Words are redundant. Even after the event, the economic aid from the West should help ~~xx~~ the situation. The moral ~~z~~ should be drawn that it is not enough, nor even useful, to praise Hungarian courage and tenacity, - the events in Hungary should teach the West really to care about the small nations in East Central Europe.
- (2) There was clearly an unconscious "incubation period", a slow ripening, over several years, due mainly to excessive political pressure. In the summer of 1956, this was already far enough gone, to make the intellectual leaders of the nations <sup>speak</sup> ~~speed~~ up.
- (2a) See (2).
- (2b) The main contributing factor was the first premiership of Imre Nagy in 1953/1954. People had the unusual experience of breathing and hoping again. Even the few idealists on the extreme left saw that this is the <sup>road</sup> they must take. In addition, the 20th. congress, <sup>and the</sup> under slogans launched by it, led to greater frankness all around. People again ~~was~~ noticed that they can open their mouths. It was a tremendously important change. It was noticeable not only in the Satellites, ~~x~~ but also in the Soviet Union. I was there in the years 1953/1955, and already then I saw the process of thaw.

People in the middle strata of Soviet society were allowing themselves quite unusual liberties. Details were being freely criticized, particularly economic ones, and also particular persons ~~were~~ would be attacked. This amounted to a complete reeducation of <sup>the</sup> people.

(2c)

If we can talk about a turning point at all, it was Nagy's first premiership. The fact that there could be a change for the better bred optimism, hope, and confidence in the possibility of further turns for the better. People no longer were <sup>b</sup>obsessed with the idea of ~~inevitability~~ inevitability.

(2e)

In the history of each people, it is the writers who have some instinctive prophetic foresight. Our writers were mostly humanistic Socialists to begin with. <sup>They were,</sup> ~~But~~ therefore, <sup>for</sup> the most part, supporters or at least useful fellow-travellers <sup>of</sup> the regime. Many ceased to publish altogether. This was their maturing period. They ended up on ~~the~~ the side of the nation, they became no mere "National Communists" but true Socialists, Hungarian Socialists. Dézsi and others showed clearly that <sup>al</sup> dialectical materialism does imply, and must imply evolution in accordance with the peoples' current wishes.

The dictatorship of the proletariat may well mean that the minority must be persuaded to conform to the majority wish. It can be made to conform, though not

~~was~~ by ~~hard~~, but by steady persuasion. The majority, however, can never be entire<sup>ly</sup> Socialist<sup>e</sup>, therefore the majority <sup>need</sup> must never be oppressed, and true Socialism can therefore never be undemocratic.

(2f) Yes, this was particularly noticeable in Irodalmi Ujság and Hetfői Hírlap. People did notice this so much that single copies of these papers were sold for 10 -20 Forints and were passed from hand to hand.

(3a) Well, the whole thing was proceeding according to its own unconscious time-table. The writers had prepared our youth, everybody became keyed up to the same tone. The spirit of open action was ~~spreading~~ <sup>spreading</sup>. And ever meetings and meetings, and the agenda of these meetings increasingly consisted of the drawing up of petitions. The formulation of demands on paper became a habit. Rakos's resignation suggested <sup>that</sup> ~~the~~ things were on the move and in a state of flux. By the 23rd of October the process gathered considerable momentum. There was ~~again~~ of course no inevitability about the outbreak of the revolt but for the AVO's firing into the crowd.

(3b) Well, an efficient and iron ~~control~~ <sup>fixed</sup> control system was of course fundamentally the right idea for Communists, but it was badly overdone. Therefore there was a re-  
~~markable~~ vul<sup>s</sup>ion in those who had to wield the stick. This was particularly noticeable within the AVO. There was disunity in its higher ranks.

*Thus*  
~~Thus~~ violence by evoking revolution dug its own grave. The most violent AVO officers were being kicked out by their colleagues. The regime paid lip service to the principle of persuasion, and persuasion is incompatible with violence and terror. The perversion of the principle of class dictatorship evoked its own reaction, and eventually collapsed.

(3c) *They were*  
~~They were~~ pressing for constructive ~~re-~~ forms.

(3d) Gerö's speech was a complete absurdity. He referred to "Fascist Rubble". It spread a great deal of bitterness. One incident may have been important. At the demonstration at the "BEM" statue the cadets took part in a body. The troops in the barracks overlooking the "BEM" statue were carried away by the sight of the future officers of the nation demonstrating. It was an electrifying experience for them, to see the cadets demonstrating on the side of the nation. Thus they tore the red star out of the national flag. The demonstrators seeing this at once realized that the army is ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> an exclusive ~~tool~~ <sup>tool</sup> of the regime. ~~The idea of its armed participation on the nation's side at once occurred to everybody. They at once felt that the army and its arms are allies. When at the radio building the AVO fired, retaliation and~~ *action* was a foregone conclusion!

(3) They ~~answer depends~~ <sup>answer depends</sup> on which stage of the revolution we are thinking of. On ~~the~~ the 24th, ~~perhaps~~ <sup>it</sup> perhaps the majority felt that ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> a

senseless sacrifice of young lives to fight against the combined strength of Soviet tanks and AV0. *Liszt* NEMETH felt we can't accomplish anything by fight, we can but loose our young people. On the 25th and 26th there ~~is~~ was a gradual change. More and more people went into it ~~more~~ <sup>whole</sup> heartedly and from then onwards there was no more question of turning back. Admittedly those sitting by the flesh pots were against it. But this does not mean that all party members were against it. Many I knew were with us; ~~some~~ <sup>they were</sup> party members because of the need to make a living.

(3g)

As to the question of neutrality, I heard a lecture out here asserting that October/November <sup>was</sup> "a total revolution" in which all classes equally participated. I don't think this is ~~directly~~ strictly correct. Part of the peasantry, <sup>not</sup> the kol'hoz ~~peasants~~ ones, were withdrawn. I am thinking of the MASZEK peasants. They had burned their fingers before. The kol'hoz peasants had nothing to lose, so they went into ~~the~~ it with no ~~hands~~ <sup>hands</sup> barred. After they spontaneously dissolved the kol'hozes, everybody on the land took part. The private peasants from then onwards had no reservations. The workers, of course, are much more hot-headed than the peasants. They never hesitated at all, except the privileged STAKHANOVITES who had nice flats or houses and high pay. They were rather sour about the whole thing.



- (3h) Out with the Russians: free elections. Later on neutral status for Hungary was added to the most popular ~~statements~~ <sup>slogans</sup>.
- (3i) Well, it was Anti-Russian Communism<sup>t</sup>, not Anti-Socialist. Unconsciously, however, it may have been Anti-Communist in all its forms, not only ~~Anti-Russian~~ Anti-Russian Communism.
- (4,5,6) (Respondent preferred not to answer these questions.)  
In conversation, however, it emerged that from the first day on, he endeavoured to be as useful for the revolution as possible. He possessed a motorcycle, and, ~~was~~ using his good command of Russian~~s~~, he was rushing about on the streets from one Russian group to another, attempting to explain to them the nature of the rising. He also appears to have participated in a number of armed scraps, and in the liberation of prisoners from the AVH building in <sup>3,</sup> ~~2~~ASZAI MARGIT Square and from one other prison.
- (7) The two groups with the greatest authority and prestige were the two fighting gangs in KORVIN ALLEY and in SZENA SQUARE. Because these were the best fighting groups, well armed and very ~~constantly~~ <sup>constantly</sup> led.
- (7a) Not to my knowledge. Everything went too quickly for that. Later, among the new parties, some jealousies emerged.

- (8) Not too well. In fact quite badly. In the first few days on several occasions, they were quite passive and had Hungarian flags on their tanks. They were begging for food and quite friendly; they were senselessly cruel after the 4th of November. In the strategic sense, they were well led. They always knew what points to hold.
- (8a) Before the 4th of November, I often saw Russian tanks stop, let the people <sup>board</sup> ~~bore~~ to them and move forward with our boys. This of course was good for our morale. These Russians knew Hungary, they knew Hungarian conditions too well. They were Great Russians. Later, early after the 4th of November, Asiatics and Caucasians were put in and were cruel and alien.
- (8b) There are very few of those, I don't know what they did.
- (8c) Yes, the Koreans ~~they~~ committed themselves on our side. I saw many North Korean students carrying ammunition and benzine flasks to SZENA - SQUARE. Also, I met some Polish students who did not fight, but were very sympathetic to our ~~cause~~ <sup>cause</sup>.
- (8e) I have not seen any.
- (8f) As to Russian influence during the rising, I think it is enough to consider that Mikoyan had to come to negotiate. After the 4th, Russian rule became quite direct, even in trivial matters.

- (9) By roaming the streets.
- (9a) Yes, we read<sup>a</sup> the papers ~~seriously~~ <sup>avidly</sup>. Particularly IFJUSÁG and HÖVEDS<sup>2</sup>ÉG. The leaflets were also useful in showing which way x events were moving.
- (9c) I listened both to radio Moscow and Radio Free Europe. Radio Kossuth was a confusing station to listen to.
- (10a) Collapse, I think was fairly general, but it is ~~xx~~ significant that the Trade Unions were revitalized. They became real Unions.
- (10b) The Party died.
- (10c) ~~Технологический комитет не выполнял своих функций в Министерстве  
включая: разливки нефти, хранения нефти.~~
- The Ministries continued to exist, but ~~xxx~~ no work was done there only personnel questions were being sorted out, and food distributed. They ceased to ~~f~~ function in Budapest. I don't know about the country.
- (10g) The Writers' Union and MEFESZ were the main ones.
- (10k) The Revolutionary Students' Committee and the Revolutionary Councils.
- (10l) The Workers' Councils were the exact counterparts of the Revolutionary Councils in the factories. Not only were they formed by free elections, but even the nomination of candidates was done secretly. That is no list of candidates was ~~made~~ put up publicly, but everybody was permitted to nominate <sup>one</sup> / on his <sup>ballot</sup> ~~secret~~ paper.



The election could not be rigged by the brandishing of a central list of candidates.

(10m) A multi-party parliamentary system, probably not a coalition. A coalition is only useful for a dictatorial dominating party.

(11a) For Hungary economically it was very harmful because much of our national wealth was destroyed by it. I think it gained us prestige. Our revolt overshadowed Berlin and Poznan. It must have been a great example to the other satellite peoples.

(10b) I would go so far as to say: definitely yes. But the UNO was procrastinating in a shameful way. Had it exerted its full potential influence, and quickly at that, it could have swung Russia and could have secured free elections for Hungary.

(11c) Yes - from the UNO.-, I thought its ~~weight~~<sup>moral</sup> weight would have sufficed. But had that ~~been~~ been insufficient, a show of armed strength ~~was~~ should have had to follow, and that would have sufficed.

(11d) Mainly because of the Hungarian national character. Apart from ~~the~~ CZECHOSLOVAKIA, Hungary is the most European of these States. Moreover, we are revolutionaries. We are apt to rise in the face of dictatorship and ~~oppression~~<sup>oppression</sup>. Besides, we suffered more from the Russians in 1944/1945 (Rape) than these other peoples. Nor must you forget that after the

20th congress the communist leadership in the other satellite states was quicker to <sup>d</sup>adjust itself than was our<sup>s</sup>. RÁKOSI and GERŐ were behaving less ~~flexi~~ flexibly.

(11e) He was an honest Hungarian peasant who wanted the best. He was always ~~the~~ a Communist, he is still one, but a good ~~was~~ Hungarian. I respect him greatly. He knows economics too.

(11f) LOSONCZY, he was a harsh but honest man too. LUKÁCS did not matter much then.

(11g) 1.) The youth.  
2.) The workers.  
3.) The intelligentsia.  
4.) The military.  
5.) The peasants.

(12) The 22nd of November, 1956.

(12a) I had toyed with the idea in the past. I dismissed it when the revolt seemed to be victorious. By the middle of November, however, it was clear that there is no chance of redeeming the revolution. I was a member of a revolutionary committee, and it would have been unsafe to stay. Earlier in November, I was thinking that those who are leaving are cowards.

- (1a) I returned from POW Camp in Russia in 1947. Between '48 and '52 I worked in the Institute of Animal Husbandry in Budapest. I resumed work there in 1955 and stayed until the revolution. In the intervening period, 1953 to 1955, I was a research worker and graduate student in Russia. I spent most of the time in Moscow, but I also worked at the Crimea and other places. My status there was that of an aspirant, and at the completion of my studies the degree of a candidate was conferred on me. Upon my return, I was offered the position of Head of the Sheep Breeding Department at the Institute in Budapest, which I accepted.
- (1b) I was Head of the department.
- (1d) See b.)
- (1e) Well, it was a research institute, and as such, it had an atmosphere quite different from that of other places of work. It was a serious and pleasant place to work at.
- (1f) It was up against financial difficulties all the time. We did not have all the facilities we needed. This is particularly true of equipment, instrument and scale of experiments. However, considering this handicap, it was a fairly efficient organization. Our standards were ~~far~~ ~~too~~ good.
- (1g) Well, I have already mentioned that it was a research institute in animal husbandry. I would not like to be more specific than that.
- (3) Very much.
- (3a) Because it was my profession.

The job gave me the chance to do the work I liked to do.

- (3b) My answer is one word only: bureaucratism.
- (3c) I never had any other job, <sup>c</sup>except a brief spell in the ministry. That, was perhaps a bit less pleasant.
- (3d) On the whole they were pleasant, because there was a congenial spirit among my colleagues. The lack of facilities was sometimes a little irritating. The technical level was mediocre.
- (3e) By tram. It took about half an hour each way.
- (3f) 8 hours
- (3g) 6 days.
- (3h) Sometimes I stayed on and worked late. We did not regard this as overtime. We were paid a straight salary.
- (3i) There were 5 public holidays per annum and of course the Sundays.
- (3j) Yes, 24 days in a year.
- (3l) Occasionally ~~was~~ disciplinary action was taken.
- (3m) We had no norms.
- (3n) There was a certain amount of attempted speed-up, in as-much as premiums were given according to research results achieved.
- (3o) I was entitled to first class railway travel when on the job, and as departmental head I had 24 ~~x~~ days paid holiday instead of 18. Moreover, my degree of candidate of agricultural science attracted a monthly grant in addition to my normal salary.
- (4a) There were young chaps from all walks of life. All were nice.
- (4b) Quite well.

- (4c) Yes, often.
- (4d) Very often. It was a constant topic of conversation. Not only the politics of the agricultural sector, but politics in general. We regularly discussed Western broadcasts, the more so as our director was the main source of <sup>our</sup> comments on these broadcasts. We listened to them very regularly. (Interviewer's remark: the director of this institute was a Professor from the old regime, a "clerical reactionary", who owed his reinstatement partly to respondents' efforts.)
- (4e) The main differences were that the Ministry used them as sources of information on the work of the institute and on personnel questions, and that they had separate meetings at the Institute. Occasionally, but not frequently, they were promoted over the heads of non-party ones. The majority of the research workers there were not Party members.
- (4f) The Union provided us with facilities for vacation travel, cheap theatre- and cinema tickets, grants at child-birth and certain sporting facilities. On our part, we paid the dues.
- (4i) No.
- (4j) Yes. Specialist knowledge could to some extent excuse political unreliability.
- (4k) Sometimes, Yes.
- (4l) There was a great deal of such interference, emanating from the Ministry. For instance, political officials at the Ministry wanted us to overload the shepherds.



- (Ratio of men to number of sheep.) This was incompatible with sound breeding principles. In planning, they were constantly pressing for absolute<sup>ness</sup> ~~ities~~.
- (4m) In 1953 there were a few months which were much better than both today, before, and after.
- (4n) Class origin and political conviction decided the issue.
- (4o) See (n)
- (4p) The Head of the Personnel Department and the Personnel Referents. One was quite clearly an AVH-man in disguise. They studied one's pedigree, one's friends, relatives and any connections ~~at~~ abroad. The information gathered on these matters was entered on the Kader sheets.
- (5) One could either be transferred<sup>r</sup> at the State's initiative or one could give notice at one's<sup>own</sup> initiative. The notice was not necessarily or always accepted. ~~It~~ If it was not accepted, and yet the employee insisted on leaving, then the remark ~~was~~ "left without consent" was entered in his work book. Such an entry ~~meant~~ <sup>caused</sup> difficulty in getting the next job. In factories it was sometimes impossible to leave at all. ~~It~~ This was intended to prevent competition for labour between enterprises. The absence of such competition was conducive to the ~~pro~~ <sup>pro</sup>longation of labour according to plan.
- (5b) I would have chosen the same job. I felt an inclination for agricultural science. ( Interviewer's remark: It transpires, however, that respondent chose agriculture

because it was easiest to obtain University admission to that course. Respondent ~~attended the~~ <sup>attended the</sup> University in Transylvania when a numerus clausus, imposed by the Rumanian authorities on Hungarian University entrance, was in operation.)

- (5c) Yes, I was well placed to get ahead.
- (5d) Yes, of course they do.
- (5e) I had two major desires: "to further my professional knowledge and to travel. I <sup>w</sup> should spend my time and money on satisfying these desires.
- (5f) Much the same. I spent my money on building up my own scientific library.
- (5g) If I had children-unfortunately, I do not have any,- I would like to induce them to take up some scientific career. Science is both personally satisfying and marketable all over the world.
- (6) On my return from POW camp in 1947, I started from zero-level. I only possessed what I stood up in. My own standard of life has improved very greatly since.
- (6a) Compared to pre-war, ~~times~~ <sup>times</sup>, of course, ~~a~~ <sup>a</sup> for the worse. My family had 80 acres in Transylvania. We lived very comfortably. It is very lucky that this holding was in Transylvania, because the Hungarian Authorities did not know about it and thus it did not affect my "class background".

- (6)b I could afford food, <sup>c</sup>except luxuries. Clothing was a bit more difficult. Finally, I got hold of a motor cycle.
- (6c) My own earnings were above average.
- (6d) This is a hard one to answer. <sup>Up to</sup> ~~After~~ 1952, I felt my pay was inadequate. After 1955 ( ~~return~~ from Soviet Union), I earned fairly good money, - though one always wants more, I must admit that mine was above average. Exploitation doesn't really make sense in this context.
- (7)a In 1947, I was a POW. In 1952 it was 1500 Forints, in 1955 2200, in 1956 2700.
- (7b) See (6d).
- (7)c It was much the same. These things were rated <sup>c</sup>according to seniority. Some people in my field made 6- 8000 Forints. There was much less differentiation in pay in Hungary than there was in the Soviet Union. There, a man's pay may range from 300 Rubels a month to 20,000 Rubels a month. Incidentally, some of the greatest scientists do not get any salary at all. Instead, they have <sup>free</sup> ~~&~~ drawing rights at a bank. Lyenko, for instance, draws as much money from the bank as he may need. He has an unlimited credit account. But his needs are very modest. Thus the State makes a better bargain than if it paid him his 20,000 a month. They all have their chauffeur-driven cars provided by the State.

- (7d) My wife was working on and off, according to the waves of Rationalisation which were hitting the theatre-world from time to time.
- (9) Housing conditions were extremely bad. They were probably the greatest human problem of our society.
- (9a) After the war and in 1950/1951 there was some queueing. Sometimes for milk, sometimes for meat. The average was, say, about half an hour a day.
- (9b) Very much so. Particularly in butter, milk, <sup>meat</sup> and lard. Sometimes in bread too.
- (9c) I made "black" purchases of food on country trips. Meat and lard were the main items. "~~black~~" <sup>black</sup> purchases represented about a sixth of our <sup>food</sup> budget. The rest we ~~buy~~ <sup>bought</sup> in state shops, and vegetables on the market.
- (9d) 1948 was ~~fairly~~ fairly good, perhaps the best year. There were considerable fluctuations afterwards in meat, butter, and sugar. The worst was 1951.
- (10) Economic life was of a ~~xxx~~ spasmodic ~~thought~~ sort. It was highly unstable. There were shock-~~waves~~ <sup>like</sup> exports to pay for spasmodic imports. It was all very ~~hazy~~ <sup>hazy</sup> hazard. Much food, (pork and wine) was sold to Russia. I know because I saw it in the Moscow shops. When some sudden need for a quantity of raw-material emerged, a quantity of food was taken off domestic supplies and dumped abroad, either in the east or in Russia. This led to wild fluctuations in the state of domestic supplies.

- (10a) On the whole not.
- (10b) Economic planning had an unreal character. E.g., the planning (forecasting) of milk and wool yield. I have myself had to make a submission to the planning board that the plan is 8% above ~~the~~ attainable yields. The incompetence of the people on the planning board could be clearly seen in their misuse of technical terms. Unrealistic planning led to tensions in production. There was much waste of potential production as a result.
- (10c) I am not familiar with it as I lived in Transylvania.
- (10d) I cannot say. See subquestion c.) However, I think by 1947/1948 things were going fairly well. The plan started to reverse <sup>or</sup> this development. After 1951 the standard of ~~the~~ <sup>living</sup> took a plunge. On the whole, however, I am too ignorant of pre-war Hungary to be able to compare economic developments after the war with what went before.
- (10e) Not so much on production <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ consumption-versus producers' goods, but rather on how to get greater agricultural production with the ~~same~~ <sup>given</sup> resources. I participated in a collegium in the Ministry of Agriculture which was intended to thresh out problems of production methods. F. Erdei (the Minister of Agriculture) endeavoured to strike a happy mean between the proposals put up by the Soviet advisors and our views.



For instance the Soviet advisor on milk production just flatly asserted, that we ought to pay greater attention to the achievements of Soviet biology. Such advice did not get us very far. These advisors were mediocre men. Their advice consisted of praise of Soviet scientific methods. There were several controversies, both at the collegium and on other occasions, about the Maltsev-method of soil cultivation, the Williams theory of grass rotation, and other Soviet theories, and there was much conflict within the Ministry whether these theories, however correct under Soviet conditions, were suitable for Hungarian circumstances.

(10f) The most important event in <sup>en</sup>larging the private sector (Maszek) was the <sup>given</sup> permission ~~in~~ even in 1953 for the dissolution of kochoses. These dissolutions, as you know, ~~which~~ <sup>er</sup> were partly revised later. The next wave came after October 1956 when small Maszek - enterprises were allowed to spring up in retail trade and handicrafts.

(10g) I think the economy was still going down hill. Production was probably falling in agriculture. And so was the standard of living.

- (11) Material condition, poor earnings and the non-availability of goods were clearly the main complaint.
- (11b) It may be however that dictatorial methods of government were just as important. The general personal insecurity was most depressing.
- (11c) The old intelligentsia and the middle peasants. The old gentry ceased to exist altogether by them. They had no complaints anymore. (Here follow ~~xxx~~ some salient points from respondent's experiences doing his 3 years work in Soviet Russia.) Soviet scientific standards are quite exacting. I'd think they are higher than ours. Their methods at first appeared to be hazardous and unsystematic. On learning them better it transpires that there ~~is~~ is method behind the apparent disorder. Their main fault is that in their work, they fall too quickly in love with some new theory. They embrace it unreservedly, and then reject it just as quickly and just as unreservedly. In the lower strata of society, ~~whixxis ixixis~~ the same attitude is reflected in the blind unquestioning belief in the printed word. I often told my Russian friends to use their heads while reading Pravda. They ~~try~~ were usually indignant about this and contended that there is no reason for scrutiny and thought when the whole truth is there in black and white. The ordinary Russian is really a great sucker. When a

call goes out to volunteer for work ~~in~~ on the virgin lands, they all go of their own free will, At the same time they are very interested in the outside world. For instance I attended a conference in the Great Hall of the Kremlin, where Chruschow was also present, at which (the leader of the Soviet farm delegation to the United States) ~~he~~ gave account of his experiences in America. He was very frank and very fair, and everybody listened to him with absorbing interest. He stressed though that American prosperity and advanced methods were partly due to fortunate geographical constellations and immunity from war damage for the past hundred years or so. He was eloquent on the intelligence applied to getting a high productivity per head in agriculture. He thought this was particularly true of poultry farming and animal husbandry in general. He later published his talk in an enlarged form and the book sold out within days. I also knew <sup>t</sup> Benediktov. He had visited England and was much impressed by British standards. More impressive than the Russians were the Finns and Estonians living in Moskow, many ~~of~~ whom I have met. The hatred ~~of~~ the Estonians <sup>for</sup> by the Russians was very fierce.

My fellow Hungarians there were a mixed lot. ~~They~~ Usually they were greatly depressed by what they saw in Russia.

I have known a man who was sent to the Party-  
x Academy and spent ~~it~~ three years there. At the end  
of these three years he was on the point of handing  
back his party card, and ~~was~~ only refrained from  
doing so out of consideration for his family, whom  
he had to maintain. Often there were meetings for  
the Hungarian colony in Moskow at our Embassy.  
Topical information was provided and discussed.  
A. Szobek (Minister of Foreign Trade) whom we met  
on one of these occasions, was asked in the course  
of discussion whether Russo-Hungarian foreign trade  
was being conducted on equal terms? He replied, quite  
candidly, "Well, I cannot say that it is very good  
business for us. But the Soviet Union is giving us  
so much help in other fields that this is the least  
we can do."

I think many of x our students living in Moskow were  
taken aback by the ~~un~~<sup>questioning</sup> acceptance by the  
Russians of untruth. The dimensions of the country,  
however, and its obvious power, impressed them.

- (1) I completed gymnasium in <sup>K</sup>olozsvar (Cluj) and for 3 years attended the Agricultural Faculty in <sup>K</sup>olozsvar. When North ~~Transys~~ Transylvania was transferred back to Hungary by the Second Vienna Award, I went to Budapest and completed my University course there, and took a doctorate in agriculture.
- (1b) Church - ~~szkolai~~ school in Rumania.
- (1c) No.
- (1e) My father chose the gymnasium for me. He was <sup>a</sup> physics teacher there. As to the university it was easier to gain admittance under the numerus clausus to the Agricultural Faculty than to others. Besides, I was interested in agriculture. (The numerus clausus applied to admissions of Hungarian students to universities in Rumania.)
- (2) I received all the ~~the~~ education I wanted.
- (2d) Good.
- (2e) The numerus clausus did restrict one's opportunities.
- (3) Not applicable.
- (4) Not applicable.
- (5) He was a secondary school teacher.
- (5a) No, he was pensioned.
- (5d) Yes. I have ~~x~~ no particular feelings about this.
- (5e) Yes. 80 acres, which were taken away.
- (5f) Better off.



- (5g) My mother died when I was quite young, and I was my parents' <sup>only</sup> ~~one~~ child.
- (5i) Yes, my mother-in-law and of course my wife.
- (5j) Wife, children, and parents.
- (5k) It did not hurt me, because my father did not qualify <sup>a</sup> as a class alien. The fact that he had had 80 acres of land in Transylvania was not known in Hungary.
- (6) Yes.
- (6a) Opera singer.
- (6b) Since 1949.
- (6c) None.
- (6d) Not applicable.
- (7) Not applicable.
- (8) Yes, a great deal; it was perhaps the main topic of domestic conversation.
- (8a) The general situation and particular events were discussed sometimes in terms of resigned acceptance, sometimes of anger.
- (8b) No.
- (9) Not ~~applicable~~ applicable.
- (10) Not applicable.
- (11) Yes, very well.
- (12) I have not met my father since 1944.
- (13) No.

- (14a) I spent very little time at home both because I had to travel a great deal in the country on business, and because I had to attend many meetings and conferences. This used to lead to some domestic irritation.
- (14b) It cannot have been typical- I lived 3 years in Moscow getting home for only 2 months each year.
- (14c) I spent much of my time reading, both technical literature and belles lettres. Mostly the former.
- (14d) We often went to the theatre together.
- (14e) I got home around 8 / 8.30 p. m.. Not much time.
- (14f) I should have liked to play tennis, and I should have liked to spend a weekend or two in a hotel with good food and service.
- (14g) No, seminars took up much time, often they went on till 10 p.m. ( This would suggest that respondent was a party member.) Also, one occasionally had to do social work. ( Unpaid "voluntary"work.)
- (15) Probably loosened.
- (15a) Not always unreservedly. Some of our friends were in severe conflicts as between husband and wife over e. g. , the baptism of children. In some cases, these conflicts led to divorces. In such a situation it was best to avoid <sup>touching</sup> budging on political matters at all, but this of course is difficult to do as between

- husband and wife. Political conflicts went very deep in some cases. A Deputy Minister (Andras Magyary) ~~x~~ treated his wife as a dog because she was religious.
- (15b) ~~They~~ <sup>They</sup> are more dependent on each other financially, in as much as both husband and wife must contribute to the family budget.
- (15c) Parents had too little time for children. From creches to ~~sz~~ <sup>sz</sup>, the young were drawn away from their parents in all sorts of ways.
- (15d) Yes. Even among peasants the ~~sz~~ school is a great disruptive influence on the family. In the country, it was more difficult and risky to give religious education to children, in the towns this got less ~~sz~~ easily known, it was a less conspicuous matter.
- (15e) Yes. Many parents are in a quandary in ~~sz~~ <sup>how</sup> to adjust their children's education to official wishes without sacrificing their own principles.
- (15f) In 1955 a divorce tax was introduced. I think it was 3000 Forints once for all. Divorces are probably more numerous because of the poor material conditions of life and other irritants.
- (16) Yes - looser. Also, coeducation was introduced.

- (16a) People marry later nowadays. Men don't want to hurry in this matter.
- (16b) Since most girls are working today, they are becoming more realistic which is not due ~~to~~ to the parents' influence. The children are now financially no longer dependent on the parents - they could not depend on them because the parents haven't got nothing. -  
<sup>hence</sup>  
~~since~~ they are much freer than they used to be.
- (16d) I don't think so except in so far as there is a wave of immorality after each war.
- (16e) No. It was abolished in 1949. Illicit prostitution was much less wide spread than in Moscow.
- (16f) I think they are stricter, viz. prostitution. The political preoccupation of the Communists militates against sensuality. They are too much taken up with public affairs to have time left for matters of sex. ~~More~~ Nor are they very patient toward sexual weaknesses.
- (16g) Abortion was legalized in mid-1956. I think it is being generally practiced. I disapprove of it and I think it should be prohibited.
- (16h) Yes, it has changed in the right direction. The unwed mother is not ~~now~~ <sup>no</sup> condemned for it.
- (16i) The <sup>quality</sup> of sexes has now been established, and I think it is right. It is also true however, that women are nowadays obliged to do ~~heavy~~ heavy

manua' labour

- (17) It has changed for the <sup>worse</sup> reverse. Chiefly in terms of veracity and theft.
- (17b) Yes, "social property" is more or less fair game today. In the agricultural ~~xxx~~ sector the harvest is often stolen. But in Russia this is much more general.
- (18) I have met him 6 years ago. He
- (18a) He was a fellow scientist.
- (18b) Yes.
- (18c) We worked together and wer played games together ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~. ~~xxxxx~~ after work.
- (18d) Yes, very often.
- (18f) Yes, we are corresponding. He stayed in Hungary.
- (18g) Straightness and frankness.
- (18i) People <sup>in</sup> ~~im~~ my circle of friends had <sup>mutual</sup> ~~xxxxxxxx~~ respect for each other, but there was no political unanimity of views.
- (18k) If the need to make a living and maintain his family had made him do so, I would not, I would even approve, because ~~xxxxmightxthink~~ I would think that he might be a good influence for Hungarian national interests.
- (19) My father was a devout Roman Catholic, my mother was ~~px~~ Protestant.



- (19b) I am religious myself.
- (20) This is common knowledge.
- (20a) The Catholic church was definitely more oppressed.
- (20b) No, they want to ~~extinguish~~ extinguish it by degrees. I know this from my philosophy course in Moscow.
- (20c) There were priests who felt they must find modus vivendi with the regime in order to maintain religious services in Hungary at all. I think condemnation of peace priests is ~~blatantly~~ <sup>grossly</sup> unjust and overdone. If everyone became ~~an~~ Mindszenty there would be no priests left to care for the spiritual needs of ~~the~~ people.
- (20f) Fairly freely. (Respondent married in a church remote from his home!) Admittedly, however, ~~the~~ personnel referent should not see one in church, because that would create a presumption of political unreliability.
- (20g) Very many.
- (20h) Regularly, but in a different district.
- (20j) The protestant church compromised more, - hence it could save several Protestant schools and institutions.
- (20k) Less important, because of the lack of religious education.
- (20l) Since Mindszenty was Head of the Roman Catholic Church,

and since he was imprisoned, a polarisation resulted between Catholics and Communists. Moreover the Roman Catholic church kept ostentatiously aloof from the regime.

(21) I would recommend to him to <sup>become</sup> ~~pick up~~ some technical expert.

(21a) Because it is an occupation not bound to any particular place.

(21b) I would say that familiarity with languages would be the most helpful factor in his professional advancement.

(22) Worst off were the former landlords, then the industrialists, from then on, in descending order the Kulaks, ~~then~~ the former Urban bourgeoisie, the former civil servants, and the middle peasants. The workers are culturally (~~have~~ Respondent means "fringe benefits") better off, and some sections ~~of~~ of the working class even materially better off. (Respondent means in terms of standard of living.)

(22a) The intelligentsia.

(22b) The same.

(22c) They were given much <sup>e</sup> encouragement. For instance, I as a Judo-wrestler, received a monthly allowance from the State for ~~my~~ "calories".

- (22d) This depended. Some just vegetated. On the other hand the regime's favourites ( e. g. IRAB<sup>L</sup>, NORA GOVAZS<sup>K C</sup>) enjoyed quite astonishing privileges. Generally speaking outstanding talents in the sciences and arts were very highly regarded and remunerated by the regime. The Hungarian population, too, was far more demanding in its standards and more highly developed in terms of cultural interests than ~~is~~<sup>appears</sup> theirs to be the case out here in the West.
- (23) The workers, the peasants and the intelligencia.
- (23b) There is a far ranging change. Apart from economic matters, the formalities and the niceties of social contact were greatly simplified <sup>i</sup> by it.
- (23c) It is a good thing. People are now closer to each other. The worker and the ~~major~~ engineer, the farmhand and the farm manager are equal.
- (23d) Not really.
- (23e) With the exception of central committee members and other high party officials, who live in <sup>a</sup> separate world of their own, people today are socially very much more equal.
- (23f) See c.)
- (23g) Titles and addresses have <sup>gone</sup> ~~come~~ out of fashion. This is in keeping with modern times. The intelligence and selfconfidence of workers has also increased.

- (24) The German minority suffered more.
- (24a) No. There are no minorities worth speaking of.
- (25) They reluctantly but fairly fully conformed.
- (25a) They were the politically most elastic <sup>group</sup> troop in the whole population. They had relatively few <sup>objections</sup> confusions about joining the Party etc.
- (25b) They played an important role under Rakosi. See f.)  
See Révai Gerö, ~~and~~ <sup>Vas</sup>, Parkas. Mind you, many Hungarian Jews rather hated the top Jewish Communist leaders, partly because the ~~was~~ prohibition of Jewish emigration to Palestine. In the Soviet Union Anti-~~xxxxxx~~ Semitism is a much more vital issue. The Party Academy requires, <sup>for</sup> admission, <sup>no longer</sup> ~~any~~ <sup>Aryan</sup> pedigree than did Hitler under the Nürnberg laws. In Moscow, the common people are loudly antisemitic, particularly when drunk. In the Moscow Institute, where I worked, the colleagues made a ~~px~~ ~~of~~ point of quietly tipping me off that so and so is a Jew and a hypocrite. ~~They~~ They identified Jews with racketeers. In Hungary one cannot talk about Anti-Semitism at all.
- (25c) Most of my Jewish acquaintances were too inscrutable ~~and~~ diplomatic; one could never tell their real attitude. Many of them were quietly and doggedly preparing to emigrate.

- (25)d They were mostly neutral. They were waiting for the outcome.
- (25e) This was hardly an issue.
- (26h) The majority wants to emigrate anyway at the first opportunity. Even important functionaries have emigration plans at the back of their minds all the time. They all want to go to U.S. I do not think that this is by virtue of some feeling of insecurity in Hungary. It is simply due to the glowing reports of relatives and friends they have abroad. The material standards of Western life are far <sup>too</sup> attractive for them. We Hungarians have nothing against them, nor are they apprehensive of us. Nevertheless many want to go. Of course they would be free to stay and there would be no discrimination against them.



- (1) Yes very much, although not always. My real interest was aroused after 1945, because by then it was apparent that politics are affecting my whole life too much. The direction of the course of one's <sup>own</sup> life must be carried out according to political "feel". Moreover one's intellect demands political orientation.
- (1c) I engaged in political activity of a sort before the war in Transylvania. I was a member of <sup>B</sup> baron <sup>A. ...</sup> ~~Assala~~ underground group, whose aim was to defend the interests of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. After 1947, I was often accused, particularly in Moscow, of wishing to be a non-political expert, which for them was a contradiction in terms, ~~max~~ because a good expert cannot be a - political. I was cool <sup>towards</sup> ~~against~~ the mouthing of empty political <sup>ga</sup> ~~slogans~~.
- (2)a I only arrived back from Russia in 1947, and I was engaged in getting my bearings.
- (2b) No.
- (2c) Pre 1945 I had no strong views. I first felt a real commitment early in 1953, when I strongly sympathized



The latter violated our selfrespect.

(3b) VIII. Boredom and drabness.

X. Inadequate opportunity to get ahead.

XIV. Overtaxation.

(3c) III. Inadequate housing.

VI. Fear of arrest and terror.

XIII. Distortion of facts by regime. Most of all.

(3e) III. Inadequate housing.

XIII. Distortion of facts by regime.

XV. Overwork.

(3h) One could have spoken up at "production conferences".

But even if one did voice criticism, the <sup>critique</sup> ~~critique~~ was inadequately <sup>heeded</sup> ~~heard~~ by the officials.

(3i) In speaking up one could let off steam, and receive

the acclaim and sympathy of ~~many~~ fellow workers.

This engendered a nice feeling of solidarity. In

addition, when as a result of one's taking a stand,

changes were made and mistakes ~~were~~ corrected, or

when unjustly treated persons were rehabilitated,

people felt relieved and satisfied.

- (4) The Party.
- (4c) The Central Committee.
- (4d) To make a pretence of "critical" discussion.
- (4e) To justify the regime's policy by a show of ~~consent~~ consent.
- (4h) To begin with, the uncompromised members of the old Civil Service. After 1949 the worker kaders. They were trained in express courses and few of them were competent.
- (4i) A few ~~ixyxa~~ were taken over from the pre 1945 Army, the rest were worker and peasant boys.
- (4j) Worker Kaders. A tiny fraction were recruited from the intelligenci<sup>a</sup> via party membership.
- (5) Not applicable.
- (6) It ~~me~~ ment<sup>a</sup> the serving of a probationary period, a satisfactory class-origin or, In the case of the intelligenci<sup>a</sup>, a socialist recommendation<sup>u</sup>.
- (6a) Those with sensitive or important jobs.
- (6b) Most people were reluctant until the ~~xxxxxxx~~ noose around their necks became visible.

- (6c) Depending on the function fulfilled, there are great<sup>er</sup> or lesser rights. For the higher ranks, there are such privileges as special shops where imported textiles and delicacies were to be had. The duty were strict observance of party discipline and complete subjection to it.
- (6d) Yes, at about 1950/1952 . to keep ~~that~~ their job and provide for their family. A few did so <sup>o</sup>ut of conviction.
- (6e) Membership did bring about a certain change in their character. They were no longer quite frank and open, they were more ~~close-~~<sup>close-</sup>mouthed, also more "constructive" particularly <sup>in</sup> ~~and~~ public, but also among friends to some extent.
- (6f) I would list 3 shocks of disappointment, deportations in and after 1951; the fall of Imr<sup>e</sup>s Nagy; and the revolution.
- (6g) Indispensable experts could attain quite high technical positions.
- (6h) No.



(6p) Yes, I was repeatedly invited to.

(6q) No.

(6r) The Central Committee.

(6s) Rakosi was an intelligent well<sup>l</sup>educated and far sighted man with dictatorial lead<sup>h</sup>ings. Gerö was a hard man who <sup>brooked</sup> no contradiction and was a ruthless executive. An<sup>r</sup>ras Hege<sup>d</sup>tus (the last <sup>P</sup>premier before the revolt) was a sober and cautious man, feeling his way all the time. He liked to consult experts before making up his mind. He was of a much lesser calibre than either Rakosi and Gerö. Dobi (the President) was an uneducated alcoholic. I knew him well because I was asked by <sup>P</sup> party <sup>H</sup> headquarters to call on him more or less regularly and instruct him in agricultural matters. Pog<sup>c</sup>asás (the Minister of State Farms till October 1956) sympathized with Imre<sup>s</sup> Nagy's line, but did so very cautiously. Revai (the Minister of Culture and ideological spokesman) was very widely <sup>a</sup> read and had considerable ~~knowledge~~ literary knowledge.

He was a sick man and this <sup>impaired</sup> his ability to play his ~~full~~ full part and work as much as he <sup>could</sup> have. ~~It is~~ <sup>He</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>dis</sup> ~~is~~ agreed with Rakosi in many respects. Szobek (Minister for crop collections, later the Minister for foreign trade) was a peasant from Bekes<sup>c</sup>szaba, he was a very direct man, self <sup>educated</sup> ~~reported~~ and an unres<sup>er</sup>ved supporter of the regime. He was anything but a diplomat<sup>e</sup>. Kallay<sup>i</sup> - a very clever and intelligent man with first class brains. It is a surprise how he went <sup>L</sup> ~~left~~ now. Ferenc Erdei (the Minister for agriculture) was not a party member. He was quite a good expert, he had a representative style, and could put his points across very well.

- (7) The Union of Agricultural and Forestry Workers.
- (7a) All employees.
- (7b) I don't know.
- (7g) It was subservient to the Party. It was a means ~~of~~ to maintain contact with the masses.
- (7i) One paid the dues, and they endeavoured to keep in touch with the people.

- (7m) The workers felt that the Union is not helpfull in matters of wage determination. But they did provide cultural facilities.
- (8) Perhaps 1/4.
- (9) The young were the first to get fairly fed up with untruth. Many young people educated by the regime, had opportunities for visiting the Soviet Union and ~~SAW~~ Soviet Conditions at first hand. This made them more sceptical than other age groups. In addition, I think the young are ~~more~~ more grown to nationalism. They were greatly annoyed with excessive teaching of philosophy and the Russian language. There were too many demands made on their leisure time. Their individual existance seemed to be threatened by these excessive encroachments. Thus they were ready to do something about it once they could.
- (10) It manifests itself in general fear. One never knows whether it is the milkman or the AVH which is outside.
- (10a) It is always in the air. One hears cases every day. This inspires one with a sense of insecurity.

- (10b) Its work and its task is in its name. It means political state defence. Its task is to disarm ~~concealed~~ concealed enemies of the regime and class aliens.
- (10d) I only knew that they were built <sup>there</sup> AVO <sup>-in</sup> in most places of work. We never quite knew who is one. They were apt to <sup>trip</sup> ~~trick~~ one up with trick questions.
- (10e) Some arrow crossists and other people with no compunctions would join it. These people will do anything for money and privilege. But not only opportunists joined. There were some fanatics too. Of course I am not now speaking of the drafted ~~men~~ ones, the men.
- (10j) The AVH was much more privileged, it had better Uniforms and everything. its equipment and so on was better than that of the police. A policeman was afraid of an AVH man.
- (10k) The AVH was the elite corps of the Party, the striking arm of the party. It could hit party <sup>s</sup> membership too without <sup>e</sup> forwarning.
- (10l) The Hazbizalmis, being elected, were often better than the Genetars. I have seen the places on the Hortobágy where <sup>e</sup> deportees were detained. They were living in huts and stables, and could not leave the state farms. They were paid just as everybody else was. They had terrible sanitary conditions, and some policemen were absurdly cruel and nasty towards them.

Their pay was not worse and their work not harder, than that of other farmhands. But they were less suited to the work, there were many old people among them. These people were broken. On the other hand I often saw a young countess who stood <sup>up</sup> ~~up~~ very well trained, was ready to do any work and never ~~at~~ complained.

- (13) I would tell him to keep his mouth permanently shut.
- (13f) See 13.)
- (14) It was the strongest in 1951/1953. But people out in the West know this better than we do because they have a more over all view. A bird's eye view.
- (14b) Yes, deportees were released. I believe some even got compensation.
- (14c) There was an ever greater rehabilitation campaign. Somebody or other was rehabilitated or reburied every day.
- (15)a The general political direction was laid out in Russia. In addition the Army was very directly controlled by the Russians even the <sup>training</sup> ~~training~~ was directed by Soviet revisors. Detailed economic planning was done ~~in~~ in Hungary, but all plans were reconciled with each other by COMECON in Moscow. The Hungarian Secretary at COMECON in Moscow is Osztrovszky, a chemical engineer.



COMEGON aims a division of labour according to each countries resources. There are Soviet advisors in each of our Ministries. In the Ministry of Agriculture there were 5 to begin with. By 1956 however all were recalled.

(15b) Because I knew Osztrovszky.

(15c) Everybody knew this. In certain matters one just ran up against a blank<sup>k</sup> wall representing the Soviet presence. ~~presence~~ Our own officials would not even discuss those matters. During the revolution of course the military pressure became quite visible.

(15d) Yes, I knew Benedikt<sup>ty</sup> in Moskow and several departmental Heads there. Also Lisenco<sup>y</sup> and <sup>k</sup> At home I knew the Russian agricultural advisors and often acted as interpreter for them. These advisors upon arrival in Hungary, started off by feeling their way. They were very <sup>Cagey</sup> ~~examples~~. Eventually, however, they attempted to secure full acceptance of Soviet agricultural and scientific practices. they kept in very constant touch with our leading functionaries and officials ~~who had~~ ~~to consult~~ who had to consult them before important decisions. These advisors were not the best Russian experts, just plain average men. Much of their advice was unsuited to Hungarian conditions, because they

were not flexible enough to adjust it. Our own experts therefore often became hostile to them. When their unsuitability and uselessness became clearly established, our own functionaries usually tried politely to pass them over. They were terribly expensive( we paid them 10.000 a month plus use of car plus 5 room apartment), and they were changed too often to get acquainted with our particular problems. In early 1956 all those working in my field were recalled.

(15e) It was strongest in the Army, on the ideological front and in heavy industry. On the other hand, in some branches of industry (light electrical industry, mushroom growing, fur manufacture) they came to learn from us.

(16) This is common knowledge.

(16a) Of course.

(16b) One cannot enumerate such examples.

(16c) With friends one could.

(17) The compulsory deliveries were the most difficult to evade because the controls clerk (tally clerk) was risking a great deal if he condoned malpractices at the threshing. However, sometimes he could be bribed. Some "black" killing of animals was also going on on pretense<sup>ce</sup> of sickness.

- (17b) See 17.)
- (17e) He should try and find <sup>a</sup> a man who holds a string leading to party headquarters. (Respondent was apparently one such person). One could accomplish certain things by using "Socialist acquaintances."
- (18)a First of all the armed security forces. Secondly some social <sup>ev</sup> measures which the population sympathized with (e.g. free university education).
- (18b) Untruthful propaganda, the tone of the press and radio, <sup>ev</sup> the character of the economic plan, general financial bankruptcy of Hungary. Among the intelligencia, the general <sup>s</sup> discontent began to be openly voiced, and this was particularly disruptive. I also want to stress the factor of first-hand acquaintance with the Soviet Union. I would add the spreading awareness of the nature of Russo-Hungarian foreign trade, and the feeling that our Uranium, a national treasure, is going to be exploited by the Russians.
- (19) The <sup>op</sup> position to the regime was fairly general, but its open manifestation was very uneven. Some people took greater risks in this regard than others.
- (19b) The <sup>p</sup> imprisoned, deportees, and the old people.
- (19c) Sections of the landless poor peasantry, and the worker-aristocracy .

(19g)

To give you an example, I was sitting in on an agricultural conference in the Party Headquarters. I saw the wide divergence of views on agricultural policy. Another example was the violent debate in the Central Committee ~~xxxxxx~~ leading up to Rakosi's resignation. I am told that at the session, one member left the conference room and telephoned to Khrushchev in Moscow. Khrushchev is reported to have said that if Mikoyan agreed with the needs for Rakosi to resign, then Rakosi should resign.

(19k)

Yes there was some of that. There was a feeling that "we won't work for them". Explicit acts of sabotage occurred in the railways and in factories. On ~~one~~ <sup>one</sup> occasion, a food train ~~destined~~ <sup>destined</sup> for Russia was derailed. During the revolution, a train transporting deportees to Russia was stopped by the railway men at Szerence. But even well before the revolution, I knew of cases when first-rate ~~live~~ <sup>live</sup> stock picked by Russian experts for shipment to Russia was spirited away by the stock men and ~~poorer~~ <sup>poorer</sup> animals ~~substituted~~ <sup>substituted</sup> just before shipping. Another technique was, ~~doing~~ <sup>during</sup> reparation deliveries, to get the Soviet ~~checkers~~ <sup>checkers</sup> drunk.

- (1) The chief source was the radio. I listened to foreign stations more than to Budapest, and I liked the BBC most. The second best was Paris, <sup>the</sup> Voice of America, and last of all came RFE. I also listened to Radio Moscow's Russian Language News Bulletins, but those were in a different category.
- (1a) See question 1.)
- (1b) The Hungarian Press, and news received from acquaintances.
- (2a) I subscribed to Magyar Nemzet, and read it daily, - I also took care to read the major articles <sup>in</sup> Szabad Nep because of the "reading circle" at my place of work, where one had to be in the picture in order not to be regarded as an "underdeveloped kader". In addition, I read <sup>in</sup> all the technical journals quite regularly.
- (2g) Yes I read Humanité and Pravda, not regularly but say once a week, as well as Scintela, the latter in order to know what is going on in Transylvania and in Rumania generally.
- (3) About once a week.
- (3a) French films, Russian historical films, and Hungarian comedies.
- (3e) Yes, to the Opera, the National Theatre, and to the Operetta & Theatre. When I lived in Moscow I often



- went to the Bolshoi and to Mahat (Moscow Art's Theatre).<sup>h</sup>
- (4) Not very many, I ~~was~~ was too busy in recent years. I did not read more than ~~xxx~~ 5 or so a year. In addition, of course, I ~~read~~ <sup>red</sup> scientific books, perhaps 20 or 30 a year to keep pace with developments.
- (4e) Nyirö, Sandor, Remenyi, Dezac, Szabo, Illyes, Ady.
- (5) See 1.)
- (6d) As to straight news, they were all right. Above <sup>it</sup> some of their comments, I had reservations. Living in Hungary as we did, we knew ~~xxxx~~ better than the commentators who were mostly old emigres, we saw that they are ill informed and do not have the "feel" that we have. In the field of comment, BBC was the best, and Madrid was the worst, it was large mouthed, <sup>fiery</sup> fiery and silly. As to RFE, the comments of Gallicus could only be dismissed with a smile.
- (7) Yes.
- (7a) We listened avidly to people who had visited Western countries, we tried to find out from them what life was like in the West and what the best thought of life in Hungary.
- ( 18) This depended on the topic. Sports news were reliable, economic news were heavily ~~penzared~~ <sup>censored</sup> censored. For instance, our office used to prepare press releases and they were usually mutilated or actually <sup>altered</sup> ~~ordered~~ by the

by the time they got in print, because official circles felt that certain news might lead foreign opinion to regard the Hungarian economy as weak, or to detect particular weak spots .

- (8d) One knew the facts, or at least many facts, from one's own work or from the experience of acquaintances. Coming across the same set of facts in the newspaper in a sharply transformed form, one knew they were heavily falsified. As to news about which I had no first hand experience, I tried to form common sense judgements.
- (8e) In recent times, Hetfői Hírlap was considered both trustworthy and courageous, and so was Irodalmi Újság.
- (8f) Yes, and I have the very best opinion of it.
- (8g) In so far as it was necessary in order to get by at the "reading circle".
- (9) This depended on the set of people concerned. Within each ~~XXXX~~ ministry, there was a confidential news digest for the ~~XX~~ use of the higher officials. This digest was quite <sup>startlingly</sup> sparklingly factual on the ~~XXXX~~ whole economic situation, and fairly open on political matters too. The topechelon wanted to be, and was, well informed. As to broader strata, people became fairly apathetic about information since, say, 1951, but their interest revived in 1956.

- (1) The first to be changed would be the one-party system. One ought to give effect to the free will of the people-  
, ~~paramount consideration~~ this is the paramount consideration, and this implies all the other changes which would have to be made subsequently.
- (1a) The nationalisation of industry, the state farms existing at present, and agricultural cooperatives on a fully voluntary basis.
- (1b) The abolition of social ~~formalities~~ formalities, worker's vacations, state support to culture, (state support to sport is less universally <sup>approved</sup> ~~approved~~), the fostering of science (e.g. agriculture, industrial technology).
- (2) Yes.
- (2a) There should be full assurance of liberty of organization, for the ~~the~~ Communist Party no less than for others.
- (2b) Hungarians are <sup>prone</sup> ~~grown~~ to factionalism, - there would be at least 100 parties if there were <sup>was</sup> no limiting factor imposed somehow. Having regard to Hungarian history and to the science of our population, the formation of a number of clearly defined parties should <sup>be</sup> ~~be~~ authorized. There would be room for a Smallholder, a Christian Democrat, a Social Democrat

and perhaps a few other parties, certainly for not more than ten. More parties would mean wasteful fragmentation. A real National Front, if it were genuine and not phony as in the past, would be a <sup>factor</sup> ~~pledging~~ for national <sup>cohesion</sup> ~~schism~~ and further reduction of centrifugal forces.

(3) This is precisely what people should be free to do, - to criticise whom and what they want.

(3c) Malicious slander of the government should not be permitted, it would not serve any good purpose.

(3d) They should be free to do so in private. On the other hand, at assemblies and in the press, one ought not to be permitted to make statements <sup>damaging</sup> ~~emerging~~ to the state. If there is a multi-party government, that government is representative of the majority will, and hence ~~is~~ indiscriminate attacks on it are unjustified. But prohibition should not take the form of violent repression.

- (4)a Attacks made against the government at minor meetings are not dangerous to the stability of the state, - while very large mass demonstrations are likely to express something like the majority wish. Therefore, participation should be permitted at either. Such freedom may be the means to force the government to fall in with the popular wish.
- (4b) If and when the government maintains itself by tyranny and dictatorship. Under such circumstances, the people have every right to resort to arms. On the other hand, a rising against a parliamentary government is quite unjustified.
- (5) Excessively centralized, <sup>planning</sup> should be considerably reduced, although planning should not be abolished altogether. The forces of supply and demand should have some influence on the economic life stream of the country. Foreign trade should be conducted on the basis of economic criteria alone. - There should be no more selling of Hungarian exports below cost.



It is doubtful whether the development of heavy industry is sensible. Hungarian climatic and geological conditions should be taken ~~xx~~ account of in agricultural production and marketing policy. Planning definitely has a positive side, but plan targets have been unrealistic in the past and should be drastically revised.

(6) I am in favour of this. Not only heavy industry, but all very large-scale industry should be nationalized, both because the state knows best how to use the national resources, and because national ~~defence~~ defence may require state ownership of industry.

(6b) Certain concerns, usually not the largest ones, could be more economically managed by stockholders' <sup>or</sup> ~~business~~ <sup>than</sup> ~~and~~ by those of the state. But I would not return anything above a certain size to the old owners, I would provide for some compensation to repay them by the State. Small business, say 50 to 100 employees, could be returned, both because it is more efficient

in private hands and because a private sector of that sort would provide competition to state enterprises, and ~~control~~<sup>check</sup> the state monopolies.

- (6c) Within sensible limits, designed ~~enough~~ to secure a just distribution and ~~adequate~~<sup>adequate</sup> income for the state, private profit is quite in order.
- (6d) State banks. I am impressed by the Rumanian example, where a state bank ~~xx~~ saved many small peasants from foreclosure.
- (6e) In basic key industries, yes. In ~~xxxxxx~~ other sectors no, because private initiative is the prime mover of technological progress and innovation.
- (6f) I am a bit vague about all this, I am not a trained economist and do not really know what kinds of monopolies can exist and what they involve. I do think, however, that state monopoly in commerce is bad.
- (6g) Let there be ~~competent~~<sup>ing d-</sup> private ~~xxxx~~ stores, competition will decide, <sup>by</sup> the acid test of service and quality, which is the more ~~xxxx~~ viable. How can you otherwise force the state trading monopoly really to serve the

customer?

(7a) Let its ownership be decided by free competition, ownership passing to the most efficient entrepreneurs.

(8) See 5.)

(9) The ~~right~~ right of free movement, including emigration, occurs<sup>3</sup> to me as the first specific field which the state has no business to touch. Nor has the state any right to say whom I may or may not marry. It should not limit ~~this group~~ ~~for~~ private acquisition, e. g. whether I may possess a motor car. Nor should it interfere with press freedom within the limits imposed by major reasons of state. Religious freedom should be inviolable, and so should be my right, <sup>to</sup> associate with or contact anyone I please, ~~xxxx~~ except if this would involve ~~a~~ <sup>e</sup>spionage. In agriculture, there should be no tampering with the right to dispose of<sup>2</sup> produce as the grower sees fit. The right to import goods from abroad should <sup>not</sup> be limited either.

(10) Clearly yes.

- (10a) I approve of progressive taxation, as well as of the exemption from tax of people at or below some minimum level of income.
- (10b) I would maintain compulsory military service. It has educational value, it makes for virility in a young man. But it should not involve political education.
- (10c) Yes, to safeguard the constitutional rights of the citizen, <sup>not to</sup> encroach upon it by degree and ordinance.
- (11) Medical care has improved. There was free medical care before the war too, but it has improved and has been made more <sup>accessible</sup> exersible since the war.
- (11c) Yes, private doctors were dearer but they took more trouble. I am not sure about the comparison with pre-war, - cultural life in Hungary was very rich before the war. On the other hand, it is certainly very vivid now. No matter how poor people are, they will afford entertainment. If I had only 10 Forints in my pocket, I went out and spent it on some entertainment. People in Hungary saw no reason to save, they spent what margin over subsistence <sup>they had,</sup> (or more

than that margin) on theatre, cinema, drink and so on--.

(12a) At any rate, more than I do now in Germany.

(13) I do not know.

(13b) Compared with 1950, food was incomparably cheaper before the war, and it absorbed a much smaller fraction of the average budget.

(14) Hungarian town's people have always dressed well and will always do so. They will go with <sup>out</sup> something else instead. Country folk have always been less particular, and I think they are perhaps better clad now than before the war.

(14a) I was not in Hungary in 1946.

(14b) Well, at any rate better in 1950 than in 1946. But clothes were very expensive at those times.

(15a) Every country and every economy develops with time. Increasing production is a natural state of affairs. ~~Esse~~ Besides, 1945 or 1946 is a misleading level to make comparisons with. ~~Es~~ These years were the time of post war collapse.

(15b) Mainly in steel, engineering, and aluminium. But most other branches expanded too.

(15c) It was good as far as it went.

(16) I would give much greater scope to workers in management. They should feel that they have a part in



directing the enterprise with which their livelihood is bound up. Workers Councils represented a fundamentally right idea.

(16a) Wage determination, and social and ~~hygienic~~ hygienic provisions. The Unions should provide a counter weight to the state as employer.

(16c) It should not be compulsory.

(16d) Workers Councils, composed of the representatives of workers and experts.

(16e) The director should be responsible <sup>to</sup> for the Workers Councils and to the owner (the state).

(17a) They are not all bad. Whether they are good or bad depends on the members, and particularly on the chairman. I understand that in Czechoslovakia, all kolchozes, which could not earn a certain per capita income for their members, were made to dissolve. This is the ~~right~~ right way <sup>of</sup> weeding out the ~~weak~~ weak collective farms.

(17b) I approve of them. I would maintain all except those chronically ~~interested~~ in debt.

But they need much greater self-determination and independence in management.

- (17c) This is up to the members ~~to decide~~ *to decide*.
- (17h) Yes, unless they themselves choose to remain in the collective farms.
- (17i) The really great estates should not be returned. There should be a limit of, say, 500 hold, depending on land quality. The compensation of dispossessed owners is an extremely difficult problem, because it would badly overload the national finances.
- (17j) In need yes. Agricultural investment should receive subventions and in case of natural disasters, the state should provide generous relief.
- (17m) They were not all that bad. I would maintain some of them. Small farmers should have a chance to hire machinery, and the MTS are the most obvious means of <sup>e</sup>insuring this.
- (17o) I would keep them in state ownership, otherwise the small peasant would be too much exposed to the mercy of the owner of the MTS.
- (18) I am in favour of complete separation of church and state and their mutual independence.
- (18a) See 18.)
- (18b) Non<sup>e</sup> at all.

- (18c) The churches should live by people's voluntary contributions.
- (18d) The churches should have the right to set up schools if they can run them without state aid.
- (18e) Yes, but it should be up to the individual parent to send his child to religious instruction.
- (18f) This would depend on the quality of teaching in either. My own pre-war experience was that church schools were better.
- (18g) I would not return any land to the church, because that would alienate the peasants. On the other hand, church institutions, old people's homes and schools should be returned by agreement.
- (19a) Leading functionaries should <sup>be</sup> thoroughly screened and their records examined. As to rank and file members, I would apply humanitarian principles. This does not mean, however, that if an ordinary member committed specific criminal acts, he should not answer for it to the courts.
- (19a-d) See 19.)
- (19e) Nothing should be done to DIS2members.
- (19F) AVH members should all be investigated, and the ordinary courts should deal with them according to the old penal code. (BTK)
- (19g) The same should apply to the police as to the AVH,

but with much lesser severity.

- (19h) The fact that they turned against the Soviets proves neither more nor less than that they are decent, sane citizens.
- (20) Hungary had a great share in enabling the West to develop and flourish in peace, - see our role in holding off the Tartars and Turks. Hungary was loosing blood and her population was dwindling while that of Western countries could grow unhindered by mass kidnapping by the Turks and so on. The West does <sup>not</sup> always realize this. As to Hungarians' <sup>con-</sup>tribution to Western culture, there were a few Hungarian giants both in the sciences, medicine, mathematics and physics, as well as in arts and in letters. In my own field, look at our contributions to veterinary science. I think the ~~the~~ West is less aware of eminent Hungarians than we are of eminent Westerners.
- (21) I believe we do have a special national character. We have an <sup>in-</sup>unyielding Asian robustness and coarseness, and this is overlaid by the Western culture we absorbed. The result is a nice blend in which both elements are preserved.
- (21a) We are a more upstanding people, we cannot ~~lose~~ <sup>bear</sup> with ~~the~~ tyranny as the Germans can. But the German is

a more sober and deliberate race. We are often too hot headed.

- (21b) Far more polished than the Russian and much less extremist.
- (21c) We like to live, and are less concerned with material advancement. We are also more patriotic than the Americans. We are more open and less formal, - I do not always know what an American thinks behind his correct manners.
- (21d) Nationalism is less intense now than pre-war.
- (21e) The Hungarian peasantry is quite different from the towns people, - and I include in the latter the borderline ~~in the working class~~ case of the working class too. The peasantry is the most distinct representative of the Hungarian character, it is its great reservoir.
- (21f) Yes, these things do not change as easily as all that.
- (22) I do not know, I am quite ignorant of the pre-war political scene.
- (23) Yes, they are quite important. Even the Hungarian students living in Moscow used heatedly to discuss the problem of Hungary's frontiers, and they felt that Hungarian-speaking territories should be returned to us.



- (23b) We have a just claim against each one of the 3 Successor States. These claims ought to be settled by a sensible round table agreement. On the other hand, a customs union and steps towards political federation should accompany such territorial ~~sett~~ settlements.
- (23c) No. We had had to give up ~~more~~ more than they could possibly have claimed.
- (23d) Probably no longer, for instance the conflict between Hungarians and Rumanians is much faded. We suffer from the same fate as they do. Great power oppression brought us ~~closer~~ <sup>closer</sup> together.
- (24) A customs Union with neighbouring states would be a solution well worth exploring.
- (24a) A United States of Europe, though economically very advantageous, might well endanger the distinct national character of small nations. This would be a less acute danger in a mere Danube Federation, which would involve the partnership of nations of more or less equal size and weight. A Danube Federation would be a nearly ideal solution, the more so as our territorial claims would lose some of their importance and gravity. We Hungarians could contribute a great deal to such a federation.
- (24d) I think not. It is too large a country, it would

it would overwhelm the small nations (as it does those within its present frontiers.) It is so different from the rest of us. This latter ~~is~~ consideration is why I would not even include the Ukraine on its own. (25) My opinion is quite favourable. They are rhapsodic but good. One must know how to handle them. They are easily impressionable and easy to lead. They will swallow ideas and principles without reservations. But they are a gay, openhanded and patriotic people. One of their faults is their preoccupation with their own numerical strength and greatness. They tend to despise the smaller nations. However, I got along well with them. Moreover, they are less materialistic than we Europeans.

(25a) I would put it this way, - they are <sup>different</sup> as individuals, but Russians in a mass are different again from individual Russians. In the mass, they are far less pleasant. They have a blind trust in their leaders.

(26a) This question is not capable of an answer, the problem is how far <sup>studied</sup> ~~one~~ one has ~~studied~~ Marxism which is really a science. It is a self-contained system which has no "good" and "bad" <sup>Sides</sup> ~~is~~. But it is true that Marxism has different functions to ~~fulfill~~ fulfill in different societies. It has definitely given a great deal to Russia. Besides, its study broadens

intellect and range of vision.

- (26b) I disapprove of the endeavour schematically to apply historical and dialectical materialism to each and every problem, and I object to the denial of any other possible scientific or political solution. Its claim to exclusive validity is wrong. Marxism should not strive for monopoly, but it does.
- (26c) Yes, he was a good Marxist who did contribute to the scientific development of Marxism.
- (26d) Stalin gave an unduly dictatorial twist to Marxism. He forced everything into one straight jacket. This, of course, is incompatible with being a good Marxist.
- (26e) Tito is a doubtful character, but he attempts to find a compromise solution. As a practitioner of Marxism, he is ~~in~~ doing better than the Russians, because he is less dogmatic.
- (26f) No, they ignored national peculiarities. They were not original thinkers. Imre<sup>e</sup> Nagy was the least mistaken and the best Marxist in this regard, and Bela Fogarasy was a good Marxist too.
- (26h) Yes. I can well imagine a French Communist to be a Democrat. In fact I have known one, a Hungarian emigr<sup>e</sup>~~ant~~ living in France, who visited Hungary and frankly said he preferred the French system of government.

- (26 c) From 1945 to the end of 1947.
- (26j) I would call a Hungarian a democrat if he did not want to restore the great landed estates and would not return the <sup>e</sup> Cspel works to the <sup>Weisz</sup> family. He would be a good democrat if <sup>he</sup> stood up for freedom of speech, opinion, press and religion, and if he wanted to <sup>i</sup>diminish social differences between man and man. I think the absence of class differences belongs to the essence of democracy.
- (27) This is a frightfully vague term. If it means anything it means Socialism in harmony with national characteristics. But the word "Communism" is both more and less than Socialism. I suppose national communism really means, no <sup>ence</sup> subservicing to an international political movement.
- (28) Events would have taken a sober and sensible course. With <sup>him, a</sup> ~~him~~ sudden and sharp turn away from Communism would not have given rise to such excesses as it might have without him.
- (28b) Yes, he was very popular by then. he was the only man available.
- (29a) If it is not identified with Communism, it is good.
- (29b) Bad.
- (29c) It is a ~~xxx~~ necessary phenomenon.

- (29d) Good.
- (29e) Bad.
- (29f) Bad. A whole industry should not belong to just just a few individuals.
- (29g) A banker ~~is~~ or a factory owner is bad, the  
" Bourgeois" intelligentsia is both good and inevitable <sup>an</sup>  
product of every society, the <sup>link</sup> ~~ring~~ between the ruling  
and the ruled class.
- (29h) The use of the very term in a political sense is a  
bad thing. They should not be discriminated against.
- ( 29i) I alternately <sup>s</sup>respected and despised him. Pre-war,  
he was a good man, and at the Bem statue last October,  
he stood up again. But before and since the revolution,  
he has given in completely. He is "too elastic" a  
man.
- (29j) Trotzky dared to oppose Stalin, he had guts.
- (29k) From what I hear, good.
- (29m) I know next to nothing about her.
- (29n) I think he made a fatal mistake during the revolution.  
He is a true man and a good Hungarian, not in politics?  
(not in matters of religion and faith) He should  
have behaved much more flexibly. His radio oration  
after his release during the revolution was most  
tactless. It gave the impression of demanding the  
church land back, of wanting to lay down the future  
direction of political development. This was a red



rag for the Russians and the regime.

- (30) The Smallholders Party.
- (30a) Everybody has either emigrated or gone under. Only Imre Nagy was left. The other possible alternative, Bela Kovacs is not of quite the same calibre.
- (31a) Less.
- (31b) Less.
- (31c) They did not live as well as they used to, -- probably less.
- (31d) Of course less.
- (31e) Those on top, and the political functionaries, received more. The run of the mill employees less.
- (31f) It depended on their cleverness.
- (31g) Not all of them got more. The higher strata of party functionaries, however, were ~~clearly~~ <sup>grossly</sup> overpaid.
- (31h) See 31f)
- (31i) Less.
- (31j) The general average of the workers is probably better off now. Kulaks, tradesmen and artists <sup>and</sup> are worse off.
- (32a) I approve of workers being better off and approve of the curbing of large private incomes, though unfortunate methods were used in bringing about these changes. I would add, that I would approve of Communism if it had succeeded <sup>in</sup> substantially raising the standard of

living of 7 out of 10 million Hungarians. I would regard myself as an opponent of progress if I would fix my eyes on the fate of the minority only. The reason why I am not a Communist is that their system did not succeed in benefiting the majority.

(33a) No conflict.

(33b) ~~ditto~~ ditto

(33c) What kind of government employee? In so far as ~~the~~ a government employee was the tool of Communist policy, there was conflict.

(33d) Conflict.

(33e) No conflict.

(33f) There is no conflict between the clergy and the people as such, but there is a sharp one between clergy and Communists.

(33g) Conflicted.

(33h) Tito.

(33i) One cannot speak of conflict here, though one may speak of unconscious envy and distance.

(34) In Hungary, I was apprehensive that the US were endeavouring to establish ties of undue economic dependance between themselves and weaker countries. I feared that small nations might lose too much of their independence, although I knew that there was no desire on the part of the US to establish relations

of political dependence . I felt it was vitally important that US economic <sup>aid</sup> ~~aid~~ should be true assistance, unlike Soviet economic "<sup>aid</sup> ~~aid~~". However, sons of small nations are apt to view any great power with suspicion, afraid lest they should be made its <sup>plaything</sup> ~~placings~~.

(35)

Only those few who are so compromised that their very life would be threatened ~~x~~ by a collapse of the regime. In practice, this means the AVO. They know that they must either win or die.

(35a)

Primarily those who suffered most, as well as the intelligencia the peasant boys, and a large section of the working class. But it would depend on opportunity.

(36)

Yes, on many points, though the change is probably one of emphasis only. It is difficult, and might be misleading, to quote specific questions. However, I must say that my former picture of the West ~~was~~ was a far too idealized one.