

(1) Above all, that Russian Communists do not want peace. Proof of this is their intervention in the revolution. Had this been only true to Molotov's circle, they could have pulled out now. But they do not want to, because they do not want peace.

(2a) I have heard from a friend in the know already in September that there is going to be something of a revolutionary character pretty soon. It was being prepared by them.

(2b) On Stalin's death, the unity among the Russian forces was broken. The Communists did not know which way the wind was blowing. Imre Nagy's first Premiership and particularly the decollectivization opened people's eyes that although they have no rights at all, they still can make demands. After Tito's trip to Moscow, the AVH did not know where they are, they did not know who of them will be kicked out tomorrow. Thus they lost their grip. The people saw that the AVH no longer knows what to do. The Petöfi circle was the immediate starter. The writers and journalists did it. With Cerö away in Belgrade, the time was opportune to organize, because there was no one in Budapest to stop it. An important event was the founding of a non-political students' organization, the Hefesz in Szeged on the ^{Thursday} first day preceding the 23rd of October.

- (2c) No. There was no turning point. It was going bit by bit. The AVU were ~~using their~~ losing their head gradually, and gave in to the people by small instalments. The Hungarian Communists did not know which Moscow group to lean on. This made them ~~insecure~~ insecure.
- (2e) See b
- (2f) Already in April signs of this were noticeable in Szabad Nep. I read between the lines that changes are brewing. The Polish events in June had great effect on the atmosphere.
- (3a) It had to be prepared when Gerb and Hegedus were in el- grade. Our boys could then prepare with impunity. This decided the timing. There was no timing about the armed rising. That just happened when the AVU shot at the demonstrators.
- (3b) The Russians do not trust the people's democracies. They try to insure themselves by putting in "advisors". This does not get them anywhere because the people just hate them so much more. 12 years of hatred and bitterness found a sudden outlet in the Revolution.
- (3c) I know what it was. Their aim was to achieve the Russian evacuation of Hungary and neutrality, and also secure worker management and control of individual enterprises, abolition of socialist agriculture and restoration of smallholdings. Free elections with several parties, political and religious freedom. These were the aims.

- (3f) Nobody opposed these things except, initially the old apparatus. But when the revolt was going on to victory, they just fled.
- (3g) Nobody within the ranks of the people, - the peasants pulled their weight by giving away food to support the revolt.
- (3h) The same as c.
- (3i) Entirely, for the ~~passed~~^t 12 years the Communists oppressed us.
- (3j) Just anti-Communist. Against the whole system. I will say so much that ~~as~~^{ak} though Imre Nagy condoned the formation of the ~~MSZDP~~^{MSZDP}, the population disapproved of this very much. They were angered that the exploiters, the enemies of the people should be allowed to ~~start~~^{start} ~~up~~^{up} a party again. The people were so much anti-Communist that they dissolved Communist institutions at once, such as the border-AVH, the unions, and the DISZ.
- (3,1) This is hard to say. Not visibly. Afterwards, the elections would have decided in which direction we were going to go.
- (4) On the 23rd I heard it on the wireless. On the 24th with some local young friends, we organized a demonstration and visited the neighbouring villages to ~~rouse~~^{was} up the peasants. We told them what the rising ~~was~~ about. By the evening of the same day, we staged a mass demonstration in Süttör with participation by the garrison in Fertöd. Everybody was very enthusiastic.

On the 25th, we started the collection of food for the cities. The Sopron Academy (Forestry and Mining technology) organized its transport. On the 26th we formed the soldiers' and workers' revolutionary council. Nobody worked, not even the peasants. Nobody left for the fields. Everybody joined in a march started by the 12 of us. 3 of us visited the barracks in Fertöd to secure organized support by the military. The commanding officer was away. His deputy, a captain, agreed to support our 13 demands. 2 further ones were added in the barracks; ~~independence~~ ^{Szentgyörgy's} Release and change of uniform for the ~~XXXXXX~~ Hungarian army. We then went to the council house at Fertöd, and discussed the position ~~with~~ with the soldiers' leaders. We drafted a telegram to Imre Nagy in the name of the Fertöd soldiers' and workers' revolutionary council. Then I read it out to the crowd for their approval. People added one more demand, not to be telegraphed, the delivery from the council house of all papers pertaining to compulsory crop delivery and taxes in kind. We did so and they burnt those papers. The revolutionary council elected from among its members an executive committee of 10 to carry on the administration. We were in contact with Győr and ~~the~~ Sopron. The ~~barracks~~ ^{barracks} were in telephoning and radio contact with Szekesfehervar and Veszprem. The garrisons there reported to each other on Soviet movements and tried to coordinate defence plans. On the civil side, we decided to close the border to stop the

flight of AVH men which was going strong by then. We established check points. We also continued the food collection and its forwarding to cities further East. There was no fighting in Sütör and Fertöd but of course you know of the massacre in Nagyrovar resulting in 81 dead and 156 wounded. 3 or 4 AVH officers were machine gunning the crowd from the attic. The AVH men down below were entirely passive. It is untrue that ¹Fültes tricked the officers by hoisting a white flag on his car and thus gaining admittance to the AVH building. (Respondent is referring to the charge made against ¹Fültes on which he was recently condemned to death.) The crowd attacked the building from the rear. The firing ^{point} of the AVH officers was in the attic and the man who commanded the rear did not do anything. After the massacre, 2 or 3 companies were rushed in to Over from Fertöd to disarm the remaining AVH men. They were sent home. The soldiers from Fertöd took up posts at the border, but later the guarding of the border was transferred to our ~~military~~ national guard. The military went back to the Fertöd barracks. They had 72 field guns with 4 rounds each, 2 wagon loads of hand grenades, and a ~~great~~ quantity of small arms and ammunition. On the 3rd of November I and a lieutenant was ¹~~to~~ ^{Yeny} to go to Sopron to attend a meeting and obtain a list of AVH spies in the district which was collated by students of the Sopron Academy. On our way, ~~at~~ Fertöszentmiklos, a Russian tank stopped us and turned

us back. We attempted to go by a roundabout way and hit the main road again but had again run into Soviet armour. Our car broke down but was quickly repaired. Meanwhile, 2 Hungarian police men tipped us off that we shall not be able to get into Sopron on either road, because it is already encircled. We ~~wxk~~ went on, and at Fertőbáz, we phoned the Sopron Academy where we had a captain from Fertőd as liaison. He was able roughly to confirm the same thing. He asked us to tell him what we saw in the way of Soviet troops on the road. He advised us not ~~wk~~ to press on but to turn back to Süttör. We went on a bit however, but we ^{with} definitely turned back at ^fYalf. The tanks that topped us before ^sYalf wanted us to surrender but did not insist and we retreated in the car. Back at Fertőd we reported to the people that a Russian attack is probable. We ~~checked~~ *chatted* for a while and discussed possibility of organizing defence. There was some hope of trapping them in the narrows of Lake Fertőg. At midnight we dispersed and went home. At 5 a.m. on the 4th of November, we heard Imre Nagy's broadcast. We at once reported at the barracks, who contacted Szefősz-Szekefehervar and Veszprem for instructions. Apparently however there were no orders. A little before 8 a.m. we again heard the radio appeal for UN help. Then the radio went off the air. We were rather at a loss what to do. We placed 2 guns in the forest at Cenk, manned by normal Honved crews. At 9 a.m. or so, ~~the~~ ^a group of Sop-

ron students arrived for arms. I was at the barracks with a few officers. We just received a report from Papa that the Veszprem garrison engaged the Soviet troops, and there is fighting around the airfield at Szentkiraly^{ad}szab~~l~~tja and on the outskirts of Veszprem. Papa said their barracks are surrounded by Russian tanks. Whereupon the Fertöd officers became quite inotent and helpless. Some of the men wanted ~~to~~ to be discharged immediately and go home. Others began to help in transporting the arms in lorries for the arming of the Sopron students. They were given the field guns and all stores and ammunition. Arms and ammunition were distributed not only for Sopron, but ~~also~~ for other places in the area. The village councils of the area took delivery of the arms. By 3 p.m. the distribution of arms was completed. Some soldiers from Fertöd went to Sopron to fight, some went across the border, and some home. In the event, Sopron surrender^{ed} without a fight. On Monday 5th we tried to contact Sopron first by phone but as this was unsuccessful we went off by car but turned back again when we heard, on the road, that the whole student body crossed over into Austria. We then put a guard on the grain stores and began to distribute grain from the silos to the population. Everybody received 200 kilos plus as much seed as he needed for the aut^uumn sowing. This was to prevent the Russians from looting the silo. At Pomony, a small pontoon-bridge

for pedestrian traffic was put up to facilitate the delivery of Red Cross supplies from Austria. 2 border-AVI officers attempted to interfere, and wanted to examine the parcels which ~~were being~~ were being brought across. This we opposed and succeeded in preventing. We were still armed and ^{parleyed} ~~parleyed~~ with them and persuaded them to stop interfering. On the morning of the 6th, a military car from Sopron arrived with a Hungarian lieutenant, who gave a situation report and confirmed the fall of Sopron. He warned us that they will have traced the guns and arms found in Sopron to the Pertöd barracks, and are likely to arrive soon to punish us. In the afternoon 8 Russian tanks with a Russian major arrived and surrounded the barracks' entrances and corners, the turrets were turned towards us to cover the exits. A Hungarian lieutenant interpreter was hanging about and there was no activity on either side. I knew the Hungarian lieutenant and stepped out of the barracks to talk to him. He told me to disappear at once if I can as I am on the major's list. As I stood talking to the lieutenant, I was practically in line with the tanks, and they did not suspect me. I just walked on and left the barrack's area. I went straight to the Esterhazy Park, and met three of my friends there. At night we crossed over into Austria.

(6h)

In general~~ly~~, the more literate and arti-

culate, the more experienced ^{of} n. For instance, the old administration (the noteries). In most villages they were asked to resume office and take command of the situation. In the fighting, those students who were of worker and peasant origin, and those who were most bitter about the past 12 years.

- (7a) No none at all. The common aim was so clear that there was no room for conflicts. Of course disagreements might have come later, to be decided at the national elections.
- (7b) There ^{was} some small divergence ~~of~~ views of views. Many students did not want to go beyond evacuation if by the Russians and neutrality. They wanted a national Communism. The workers were unanimously against these Communistic ideas. They wanted free trade unions, abolition of norms, and complete liberty.
- (8) The Russians said they came to fight the east German Fascists. They had no food and no bread, and they were afraid to requisition food from the houses. They ate beets pulled up in the fields and they dared not go into the houses. The new troops which arrived in November were Mongols and other Easterners. They did what they were told quite blindly.
- (8a) The old occupation troops knew that the Fascist slogan is a myth. They sympathized with us. The ~~X~~ new ones

would shoot ~~en~~^{at us} armed civilians and children.

(8e) I have not seen anything like it.

(9a) We did not get any newspapers. Sometimes a paper was brought by somebody or other in a car from Sopron.

(9b) Everybody was exchanging news all the time. ^{with} Those who knew each other and those who did not.

(9c) This was perhaps the main medium of information. ~~is~~ Of course while Radio Kossuth was still in the hands of the AVN, it talked rot. But after it was liberated, it did a clear and good job of information.

(10a) I think one cannot say that every single institution of the old regime was dissolved.

(10b) I only know that at the experimental farm in Süttör (^{is} ~~the~~ former Esterhazy estate), ~~the~~ Vaskuti, the leader, who was a scoundrel and a fool and his fellow Party members were all dismissed by the revolutionary council. The Party organization ceased to ~~is~~ exist there. The Communists had no more say in anything. The manager of the other state farm nearby was Attila ~~Sy~~^{Szygthy} who was a very good Hungarian. He was not a Party member. I remember that well before the Revolution, he organized a meeting where the local ~~xxx~~ people could voice their complaints. He listened to them and ~~xxxx~~ intimated that there will be changes concerning the subject matter of the complaints soon.

The local Party secretary, who also attended the meeting as observer openly accused him of talking in a subversive way. The people attending the meeting were incensed and wanted to beat up the Party secretary. ~~He~~ ^{Somebody} ~~by~~ ^{himself} stopped them.

(10c) The police were disbanded and the national guard took over.

(10f) The few officers who were in the former Honved were at once with us. The majority of the officers were new ones. Many of them were so stupid that they could not really make up their minds about the rising. They were just staring on indifferently. A small fraction were ~~afraid~~ afraid that they will be kicked out, and will have to go back to work. They were against us, but not actively. They were too afraid of the men, they knew that if they tried to interfere, they ~~will~~ ^{would} be thrown out of a window or shot. If such people happened to be the commanding officers, they could not accomplish anything, because command rested with the Revolutionary Soldiers' Council, in which the men were ~~xxx~~ ^{stronger} represented. They signed the orders, and not the individual commanding officer.

(10h) The old personnel of the councils were all dismissed. The people would not hear of anyone who was compromised. The Council president and secretary did not even show up.

(10k) The Revolutionary Councils and Soldiers' Councils.

(10m)

It is hard to say. The chances are that a Christian Democrat Party would have gained majority at the elections. Or possible^y the Smallholders may have. The likely program of a majority party would have been the restoration of the economy, redirection of trade and economic ties, the reorganization of the ownership of industry on a joint-stock basis, by workers' shares, held in trust by workers' councils. Some factories would have had to be scrapped as there were no raw materials available for them in Hungary. e.g. Szatlarvaros. On the land smallholdings would have had to be reestablished, although this would have presented a very thorny problem because of the various consolidation measures taken in the past.

(11)

The revolt would have been useful for Hungary, because it would have given us a new system~~of~~ of government where the people really controlled the administration. As it was, it ~~taught~~ taught us the useful lesson that the Russians can never be trusted. They tricked and trapped Maléter under a flag of ^{truce} ~~truce~~.

But when I am thinking of the deportations I sometimes wish there had not been a Revolution. However some results were achieved after all. Norms were abolished and so were compulsory crop deliveries. In sum, economically there were positive results, but politically, the revolt aggravated the people's situation.

- (11b) Militarily, success was impossible after the second Soviet intervention. Submachine guns are no match for modern tanks, moreover the Soviet air force was also in the background. Militarily there was no chance without foreign help.
- (11c) Not at the beginning. But nor did I expect Russian intervention. As to the few thousand AVH men, they did not matter much, we could have dealt with those easily. At the very beginning, we merely expected economic aid from the West to put us on our feet after the revolt. On the ~~after~~ other hand on the first and second of November, seeing that the Russians were bringing in troops, I too expected assistance by foreign troops. Styled as UNO police, they could have come in and occupied the country *pending* ~~frankishians~~ free elections, to be held under four-power control.
- (11e) Imre Nagy was half ^a Hungarian, half a national Communist. Therefore his premiership was a transitory solution. I don't think he could have stayed on after elections. But he was the man to talk to the Russians and get them out.
- (11f) Firstly Maleter, because state power was transferred from the AVH and police to the army, and Maleter had command of the army. Secondly Attila Szig^ethy because he led the Dunantul (Transdanubia). As to the others there is no clear picture. Bela Kovacs did not even know that he was made a minister in the early days of

the Nagy government. It was just a Communist trick to use his name.

(11g) First the youth, second the workers as the most mobile mass, third the intelligentsia, ~~fourth~~ fourth the peasantry, five the military, but only after Malter assumed command.

(12) On the 6th of November 57.

(12a) Because my arrest at the barracks seemed imminent.

(12b) No. ~~It~~ ^I happened on the spur of the moment.

(12c) Yes. I thought if I cannot get across, I will form a small partisan group with my friends and shoot ~~at~~ Russians. But this plan was not much good, because the terrain in Hungary does not provide ~~enough~~ enough cover for partisan work.

- (1) My latest occupation in Hungary was in ~~Petőháza~~^{Petőháza} where I worked in a sugar factory.
- (1a) I worked in many places in Hungary. I consider myself a ^{manual} worker that is a person who did mostly agricultural work.
- (2) The first thing I can recall is the work I did in 1948 and 49 with a building company in Sopron (~~LAGASEPIEN~~^{LAGASEPIEN} ~~FEL~~^{FEL} ~~RESI VALLALAT~~^{RESI VALLALAT}).
- (2a) I was an unskilled worker. Actually, I don't remember too well. I was too young at that time. All I can recall is that it was a difficult physical work. We were building barracks for the soldiers in Fertöd.
- (2b) I was a simple worker, did mostly manual labor.
- (2c) For about a year.
- (2d) No.
- (2e) I cannot recall.
- (2fg) I don't very well recall anything ~~more~~ more about it.

Question Nos. 2e ~~and~~^{and} 2g repeated in ~~regard~~ regard to later jobs that the respondent held:

In 1949 to 1952 I worked in a wine enterprise in Sopron which was engaged in the wholesale distribution of wine. Its Hungarian name was "Soproni Borforgalmi Vállalat" (wine trading enterprise of Sopron). Also, in this job I did mostly manual work. I had to clean the wine barrels. I worked 8 hours a day and received a compen-

sation of 400 forints. We were working on a 6-day basis which meant that we put in a 48-hour week. The enterprise was run under the general direction of an manager, the Party secretary and the ÜB (Üzemi Bizottság).

In 1952 I decided ~~at~~ to quit my job ~~and~~ at the wine trading enterprise and I started to work with the forest utilization company of Kapuvár (Kapuvári Erdogazdaság). There I received a compensation of 600 forints per month and my job consisted mainly in cutting and logging the trees. There I worked a 60-hours week.

In 1953 I was called in to the armed services and served in the Hungarian artillery up to 1956. I held no rank and as a soldier I received 2 forints per day. In the artillery my main job was the driving of automobiles. They considered me politically unreliable therefore I ~~had~~ had no rank.

From March 1956 on up to July of the ~~same~~ same year I worked under the ~~auspices~~ ^{auspices} of the Honvédtérképészeti Intézet which is located in Budapest and is under the direction of the Ministry of Defense. The task of this Institute is to prepare authentic maps and surveys of Hungary. We ~~work~~ worked on the mapping of the Hungarian-Austrian border between Sopron and Kapuvár. I received a daily compensation of 50 forints. Our local office was located in the former castle of prince ~~Károly~~ Eszterházy ház, and I lived in Fertőd with my family. I was dismissed from this ^{job} ~~position~~ in view of the fact that my

kader was no good.

In September 1956 I managed to get another job with a sugar factory in Petoheca. This was a seasonal job and I worked in a brigade and not under my own name. Thus they could not find out that my kader was bad. I worked 56 hours a week. It was ^{very} heavy ~~my~~ manual labor, and ^I received a compensation of 900 forints per month.

- (3a) I did not mind working in the forestry nor in the wine trading enterprise nor in surveying and mapping.
- (3b) I disliked especially the heavy physical work as I did in connection with the building enterprise. But I disliked in all instances the low wages and salaries that I received. With the exception, perhaps, of the Konved-terképeszeti Intézet.
- (3c) I have answered this under 3a and b.
- (3d) My last job in the sugar factory was very tiring. It was extremely hot and humid and the working conditions were poor. As far as my other jobs were concerned they all entitled me ^{to} at the OTI benefits (National Social Security System and Sickness Insurance). As far as the equipment was concerned, it is equally true ~~with~~ ^{that} all my jobs, ~~then~~ it was of an inferior quality mostly because it was produced under the norm system and workers ~~is~~ paid no attention to quality since they were pressed to fulfill their ~~main~~ quotas.

- (3e) I usually went to work by train. At the time when I was working for the wine trading enterprise and the building enterprise usually it took me over an hour.
- (3f) Usually 8 hours or more.
- (3g) 6 or 7 days a week.
- (3h) Yes we worked sometimes on Sundays and then received extra compensation.
- (3i) I don't know.
- (3j) I received one day after each month's work.
- (3k) I don't know.
- (3l) Yes, there was. A certain amount was deducted from your wages or you could also be charged with sabotage.
- (3m) I knew that there were changes when I used to work for the building company but I don't recall precisely what they were. There were no norms set at the time when I worked for the surveying and mapping. A lieutenant had supervised our work who was sent out from the Ministry of Defense.
- (3n) On Stalin's birthday and on the anniversary of the October revolution we had to offer extra work which was usually to be accomplished much faster than the regular work. The end result was usually extremely lousy.
- (3o) There were no particular benefits connected with my jobs except for the OPI benefits.
- (4a) At the time when I worked in the wine cellar in Sopron mostly old-time offices were my parlors. They were very

very decent people except for the Party secretary and the Communist manager. In the forestry mostly those people worked with me who were put on the B-list (Those government employees who were dismissed in the years 1945 - 1948 on account of political unreliability or in connection of reduction of expenditures) as well as the former members of the Hungarian gendarmery. In the mapping and surveying Institute a lieutenant of the old Hungarian army was my superior. He must have been around 40 years of age but apparently he too was not considered politically reliable. That is why he did not advance further than a lieutenant in spite of his age. In the sugar factory I worked mostly with peasant boys whose educational background did not extend beyond the sixth grade.

- (4b) Peers usually got along well. The relationship between superiors and subordinates was not too good.
- (4c) Yes I did.
- (4d) Yes sometimes. Especially when I worked in the wine cellar.
- (4e) Yes very much so. A Party member could become an engineer, he could go to high school or ~~not~~ get university education. Also he received special favors, a special treatment when people were selected for jobs. A Party member had practically everything that he wanted
- (4f) They did not do too much. They just echoed the views of the Communist Party.

- (4g) I don't think so.
- (4h) I don't know.
- (4i) I think the Party secretary
- (4j) No, I don't think so.
- (4k) Yes, quite a few. For instance, when I worked in the building company the "norm superior" did not know that 2 and 2 make 4.
- (4,l) Yes, there were many silly instructions. It was quite difficult to have them changed.
- (4m) Not that I know of.
- (4n) Mostly the lowest strata of the population., former criminals and so on.
- (4o) For one thing, that he had played no role in the past. For another, that he be a good Communist and finally that he hate everybody except the Party.
- (4p) Yes there were. They were called "Sheedrentor" (Translation: Auxiliary police). These were mostly people without conscience, member of the mob, the lowest strata of the population. I knew of 4 such people. I found out during the Revolution that 2 of these were watching me.
- (5a) I had left the wire cellar and went into the forestry because I received a slightly higher compensation there. I lost my job at the mapping^(CARTOGRAPHIC) institute because my kader was not good.
- (5b) If I had a chance I would have gone to high school and

I would have received university education. But since I was considered a class alien therefore this opportunity was denied to me. At the present time I ~~cannot~~ ^{cannot} tell what kind of job I would have picked for myself after I would have finished my university education. But undoubtedly family tradition as status and prestige as well as social utility, responsibility, and material rewards should play a part in picking your career.

(5c) No. Definitely not.

(5d) I believe people, in general, want to get ahead.

(5e) I would spend my money on books, on sports, on clothing, on music. Those are the things I like to pursue in my leisure time.

(5f) The same.

(5g) No. Probably I would have trained them to become electro-technicians because there is a greater need for electro-technicians today in Hungary.

(6) I don't think I was well off at all. Nor was my family well off. We were much worse off than before the Communist regime.

(6a) It deteriorated substantially.

(6b) I could afford the necessary food items but I could not afford clothing or both.

(6c) I don't think so.

(6d) Yes. I definitely think I was exploited. First of all by the Communists. But of course the Communists were

serving the Russians so I was exploited by the Russians. By exploitation I mean a situation where you are compelled to do overwork, where you are overtaxed and where you receive low or very little compensation for your work

- (7a) In 1947 I did not work.
In 1952 my salary was 600 forints.
In 1955 I was a soldier and received a compensation of 60 forints per month.
In 1956 my compensation was 900 forints per month.
- (7b) There were some people who made even less than I did.
- (7c) My pay was about the same.
- (7d) 2 of us were working. My father and myself. It was necessary that my father worked since otherwise he would have been unable to provide a living ^{for} his family.
- (8) Unfortunately I do not remember at all my father's salary. I am sorry I am unable to put any figures down in this respect.
- (9) Housing in general, was very poor. There was an overcrowding and sharing of spaces. The material quality of the appliances and the structure were also very poor.
- (9a) I did not stand in line. Mostly my sister or mother did that; usually for bread, or meat, ^{if not meat} or ~~let~~ a couple of hours a day or so, ^{standing in line}.

- (9b) Perhaps the meat situation improved a little.
- (9c) About 90% of the family budget was spent on items bought in state stores, about 5% on the black market and 5% on the open market. I do not recall ~~these~~ ^{any} specific items ^t what we bought in the open market or on the black market.
- (9d) As I mentioned already ^{perhaps} the meat situation had improved a little ~~was~~ in 1956.
- (10) I did not approve of the general development of the Hungarian economy.
- (10a) I ~~think~~ think it was a ~~retrogression~~ retrogression.
- (10b) The basic trouble was that the Russians took out everything.
- (10c) I was too young. I don't know anything about that.
- (10d) I could not answer this on the basis of my own experience. But from what I have heard I may say that the situation ~~inflation~~ in general deteriorated after 1944 with the inflation and the ^tsubsequences of the exploitation of the country. Both of which prevented the economic development of Hungary.
- (10e) The Communist Party's main objection was to satisfy the Russians. They did not care or bother ~~to~~ ^{to} how much consumer goods the people actually had.
- (10f) When Imre Nagy was the premier, the private sector of the economy was to some extent revived and the economic situation improved.

- (10g) I think they were worse. At any rate up to the early part of 1956. Later the Communists under the increasing demands of the people had to give in to some extent and make concessions.
- (11) I don't think they were as important as freedom.
- (11a) I rate personal freedom as the highest value.
- (11b) The constant ~~inflation~~ and, of course, the deterioration of the material conditions, the low wages, the lack of consumer goods all contributed to the general deterioration of the economic conditions in Hungary and led to the number of complaints.
- (11c) First of all, for the class aliens and the non-Party members.

- (1) I attended ^{the last grade under} 8 grades ~~of~~ the general school system.
- (1a) From 1939 to 1947.
- (1b) From 1939 to 1945 I attended parochial schools. From 1945 on to 1947 public schools in Fertöd.
- (1c) Yes, public school in Fertöd. Education in general in a public school was much worse than in a parochial school.
- (1d) No I did not.
- (1e) After I finished the 8th grade I hoped to go to a high school. But unfortunately I was not admitted because of my class alien background. By the latter I mean that my father escaped to Germany at the end of the war and we returned in 1945 from Germany to Hungary and he was considered as a reactionary and rightist and Fascist.
- (2) No, I did not.
- (2a) I wanted to go to high school and then continue my studies at the university.
- (2b) Because I wanted to study and I wanted to choose a profession for myself.
- (2c) May be not in Hungary but otherwise very definitely. I think my intellectual outlook would have been entirely different.
- (2d) Above average.
- (2e) No, as I already explained we were considered as a family of class alien^s and I was not considered po-

litically reliable.

- (3) Yes, constitution and the study of the Russian language were compulsory for political reasons.
- (3a) I liked history and mathematics and I disliked the study of the constitution and the study of the Russian language which were pure propaganda.
- (3b) I took Russian in 1947. It was taught in the public ^{where} school ~~were~~ I went.
- (3c) Only a course on the constitution was considered as an ideological subject. But we did not learn about dialectical materialism.
- (3d) There was no national ~~defense~~ defense training in 1947 when I went to ^{the} 8th grade.
- (3e) ~~It~~ Yes, it was. The purpose of ~~it~~ this was to divert the people's attention from the daily chores and foreign policy matters so they could be more easily guided and ^m misled.
- (4) First of all, to make Hungary more subserviant to Russia, that is to Russian will. Second, the indoctrination of the youth for this purpose. Third the creation of hatred and suspicion or rather a climate of these so that ^{we} people be more easily misled.
- (4a) Social justice, hatred against the class enemy, over-fulfilment of the production quotas and norms, and the helping of the building~~g~~ of Socialism were stressed.

- (4b) I don't think that the Communist education or system was effective at all. The youth rather believed in what it was taught by the parents ~~and~~ and the old folks.
- (4c) Once the Communist repudiated each other and once they ~~did not~~ Stalin the children could see through them. They realized more than anything that they were taught nothing but lies.
- (4d) They liked sports and games.
- (4e) They disliked very much the compulsory subjects, especially the study of the Russian language.
- (4f) I don't think it has changed.
- (4g) Today there is no more religious education in schools. The teachers of the earlier regime were all fired and the new teachers are Communists or Communist sympathizers who in many instances had no other education except a short course perhaps. The result of this in regard to the youngsters was perhaps a general laxity in morals.
- (4h) Morally they became freer~~er~~ ^{er} as they used to be before. Otherwise, it seems to me education has not changed the attitude of children at least not ~~at~~ to degree.
- (4i) I think Communist education is most effective ~~around~~ round 16, 17 and 18 through the DISZ. They promise everything to these youngsters. They hold picnicks (majalis) essentially in order to provide entertainment and to lead them astray and into a lower state of morality.

- (5) He was a merchant.
- (5a) After 1945, when he returned from Germany he was caught and imprisoned several times and sentenced to one year imprisonment. Following that he became an agricultural worker.
- (5b) I don't think it was ~~may~~ any good for him. He was 56 years old and I think physically it was too ~~heavy~~ heavy kind of a work for him, ^{according} ~~with~~ his age. Furthermore he was more intelligent. He had 6 grades and he was smart enough to do the intellectual work of a tradesman or merchant.
- (5c) He completed 6 grades.
- (5d) No.
- (5e) Yes. We owned a house, one acre of vineyard and about three acres of land. In addition to this my father also had a small business establishment. The house and our business were taken away. We kept the 3 acres but the tax was very high. ~~They~~ ^I also recalled that we had about an acre of forest which was taken away too.
- (5f) Perhaps a little better off.
- (5g) Four.
- (5h) My father is working as an agricultural worker, my sister is 17 years old, she is at home and my brother is 15 years old, he is ~~also~~ also at home. They refused to allow him to go to high school after he had ~~just~~ completed the 8th grade.
- (5i) The whole family lived together. It was easier to manage this way.

(5j) I think the grandparents should be included in the family. However, according to the present Communist system the grandparents are not included.

(5k) It definitely hurt me.

(6) No.

(7,8,9,10) Not applicable

(11) I got along very well.

(12) Yes, frequently we discussed political matters.

(12a) We discussed the general political situation internally as well as the foreign policy of the Western powers and the Soviet Union.

(12b) No.

(13a-f) The answer is no.

(14a) Very close.

(14b) I think it was extremely typical.

(14c) Mostly I liked to participate in sports and games.

(14d) I participated ~~in~~ with my brother especially in athletics.

(14e) I spent a few hours every day with the family.

(14f) We would have liked to have more leisure time to enjoy ourselves. Also, I would have liked to go for higher education. Also, my brother wanted to go to the high school and he could not because they would not

take him.

(14g) Frequently I was told to go to meetings. But I did not participate. I just did not bother to go.

(15) I think in a certain group the family ties have loosened. I am especially thinking of the youth in the big cities. Otherwise there has not been too much change.

(15c) Yes they can.

(15b) Because of the financial difficulties that most families encounter, I think members of a family are more dependent on each other than before.

(15c) No, I don't think so.

(15d) If the children are growing estranged from their parents this would be more true in the town than in the country.

(15e) Not within the family, but of course, the Communist education teaches that there is no God and that Communism is omnipotent.

(15f) Undoubtedly, as a free love advocated by the Communists has done much to increase the number of divorces. To some extent also early marriages were advocated and if people got married too young it is more likely that they make a mistake.

(16) Perhaps, because of the laxity of morals and as a result of the Communist advocacy of free love the relationship between boys and girls has changed to some extent.

(16a) Most people marry between the ages of 18 to 21. In

recent years, there was a slowdown in the advocacy of free love in view of the fact that there were quite a few illegitimate children. Their numbers were growing and it was just too much for the state to take care of them.

(16b) Perhaps in certain groups. Once a boy or a girl reached the age of 18 the parents could no longer object to their marriage plans since ~~with~~ at 18 they became off age.

(16c) I think that the parents should have a say about the early marriage of their children in view of the fact that they have much more ~~exp~~ experience and this way they could prevent the conclusion of hasty marriages and, subsequently, ~~at~~ also the number of divorces.

(16d) There was very little supervision in schools ~~by~~ by the Communists of young boys and girls. During the school year many ~~at~~ picnics (majalis) were held with a lot of drinking involved. Naturally, ~~at~~ this sort of situation provided an appropriate setting for loose sexual behavior. The purpose by this of the Communists was to divert the attention of the youth of more important internal difficulties and also at the same time to drive a wedge between the youth, the youngsters and the family.

(16e) Prostitution as such was ~~abolished~~ abolished. But in fact the situation has not improved in view of the fact that it is continued illegally and since there was no medi-

and supervision of the prostitutes, venereal diseases had spread.

(16f) less strict. (explained in question No. 16d)

(16g) After 1945 abortion was wide-spread in Hungary. I don't have any figures but I am sure it was fairly wide-spread. As a result of this the Communists at first punished abortion extremely severely. But around 1953 and 1954 they changed this policy and from that time on, there was no punishment for the party involved. In 1955 and 1956 there was no longer any punishment for the doctor either.

(16h) No, not in a significant fashion. I think there are more illegitimate children today than there were before.

(16i) I think the women's status is much worse than before. The woman can no longer pay attention to the household duties. Young women have to go out and work. Their equality with the men simply means that they have to do just as hard a physical work as the men. I do not think that this is a healthy development.

(17) Yes, I think so.

(17ab) There are more stealing, black marketeering. The reason is mainly that people cannot live on their wages. Of course, if any of these crimes are committed by Communists then they usually escape punishment.

(17c) I don't think there is too much of that.

(17d) I do not know.

- (18) I met him when I was practising in the athletic field.
- (18a) He was a blacksmith.
- (18b) The same.
- (18c) We practised athletics together and we used to go out together.
- (18d) Yes, we did.
- (18e) No, it did not.
- (18f) Yes we are.
- (18g)4 Reliability and understanding. By ~~reliability~~ reliability I mean trustworthiness.
- (18h) It depended on where you were. In the country it was easier to make friends.
- (18i) They were mostly reliable youngsters.
- (18j) It meant that you could talk freely to him about anything, you could go out together and you could trust him.
- (18k) Our friendship would have ceased.
- (18,l)5 Does not apply.
- (19) We were all Roman Catholics.
- (19a) Yes they did have the same attitude towards religion.
- (19b) My attitude towards my religion is the same. I consider myself as a good Catholic.
- (20) Many youngsters were taken ~~E~~ by the Communists from their families and were reared in ~~special~~ special Communist colleges, mostly those youngsters whose kader's were good. There, they educated them to become godless atheists.

- (20a) Perhaps the Roman Catholics were more persecuted than the other faiths. The reason is that Roman Catholicism has a greater hold on the people and the Communists consider it as a greater enemy of the regime, especially in view of the fact that the Communists are anti-religious.
- (20b) I think that the Communists are trying to stamp out the religious beliefs of the people because they know that as long as those beliefs exist Communism could not succeed.
- (20c) The primary task of the peace priests was to incite the people against the bishops. I don't think they were sincere. They belonged mostly to the lowest strata of priesthood.
- (20d) The purpose of the Party was to take the people out of the clerical influence. Many Catholic priests did not receive salaries, others were imprisoned and the various Catholic orders were disbanded by the Communists. Many priests had to go to work to make a living and in other cases the people tried to support them in whatever fashion they could.
- (20e) There was no direct interference.
- (20f) Yes, one could freely attend church services. But of course in many instances the fear was there that it would be reported, because frequently in fact it was.
- (20g) Those cases were rare.
- (20h) Yes, on every holiday and Sundays.
- (20i) Mostly the youngsters between 15 and 18 because the

Communists purposely organized outings and ~~was~~ picnics on Sunday morning so that they could not go to the church services.

(20j) I think all faiths were equally against Communism.

3

11 Apart from the peace priests the understanding and cooperation among the various faiths was great.

(20k) It is difficult to say.

(20,1) I think it played a great role in fomenting political opposition both indirectly through the sermons and more directly ~~was~~ through private talks.

(21) This is a very difficult question. I suppose I would have suggested that he become ~~was~~ a precision worker. I think in fine mechanics he would have had a better chance and there is the greatest need for such people in Hungary.

(21a) Because of the need.

(21b) "Ne szolj szán, nem fáj fejen". (You won't get into trouble if you keep your mouth shut.)

(21c) People with a good kader.

(22) The worst off were those people who did not receive or did receive a very small amount of pension. I would rank the peasantry as second, the intellectuals and students as ~~third~~ third and the workers as fourth. Best off were the Communist leaders, the members of the AVÖ and the other Communists.

(22a) By the kind of job I did, I consider myself as belonging to the peasantry.

- (22b) In Hungary I don't think it made any difference what group you really belonged to, if you were not a Communist. However, under other circumstances I would have liked to become an intellectual.
- (22c) If they were reliable politically, then they received every help and assistance they wanted. If they were politically unreliable, they received less assistance and they were being watched.
- (22d) It depended on their political views.
- (23) There were 2 social classes under the Communists: first the Party aristocracy and second the rest of the people.
- (23a) It is not not difficult because if you were politically not reliable or were not a Communist then you were in a bad situation.
- (23b) Yes I do, because of the Communist dictatorship since 1947.
- (23c) I think this is bad.
- (23d) The Communists make a distinction in regard to class aliens. But in actuality everybody is in the same boat who is not a Communist or a Communist sympathizer.
- (23e) I think people are socially less equal in view of the rise of the Communist . There has never been so much difference among people then under the Communists. This difference is between the Communists and the rest of the people.
- (23f) I think this is very bad.

- (23g) I don't think there is too much of an etiquette, except for the fact that the Communists like to be addressed as "Comrades".
- (24) Yes I do. I think the members of the old aristocracy, the army officers of the old regime, members and leaders of the old administration and local government as well as the kulaks have suffered much more than the others under Communism.
- (24a) Only the Communists have benefited because they had everything they wanted.
- (25) During the years immediately following the end of the second world war the Jews were faring well. Later on after 1949 or so they were persecuted just the same as anyone else.
- (25a) Of course, there were some Jews in the government in the Rákosi-Gerő clique and also in the AVG. But the lesser Jews hated them and you cannot say that they were representative of the Jewish attitude.
- (25b) During the Rákosi-Gerő rule there was some Jewish influence in the government.
- (25c) No.
- (25d) Those who were members of the AVG fought with the Communists. But the others did not.
- (25e) There was some hatred after the Second World War between 1945 and 1948 towards the Jews as a result of their revenge. But after 1948, this hatred disappeared entirely because the Jews suffered just the same under

the Communist rule.

(25f) See question No. 25e.

(25g) I was too young. I would not know.

(25g) The Jewish leaders in the government would have the same fate probably as other leaders of the government whereas the rank and file Jews would have the same fate as the other rank and file people.

- (1) I have always been interested in politics. I found it very interesting to follow up the events of world politics.
- (1a) They have been very important.
- (1b) As the Communist subjugation of the Hungarian people became greater my interest in politics grew greater too.
- (1c) I have not participated in any particular political action except perhaps in the distribution of leaflets during the Revolution.
- (2) I cannot very well remember the early developments after 1945 since I was too young at that time. However, politically I stood very close to the Christian Democrats of Barankovics.
- (2a) Because of my background and education I stood very close to the Christian Democrats.
- (2b) My father belonged to the Smallholders Party and he also supported the Arrow Cross Movement.
- (2c) No.
- (2d) Approximately the same. But I was too young at that time.
- (2e) Mostly their constant lies, the fact that they imprisoned and put innocent people in concentration camps, the Communist exploitation of the country and slave labor.
- (2f) I was always against the regime.
- (2g) I ~~think~~ think 80 to 85% of the population felt the same way. In this group were the peasants, the workers, and the old intellectuals and opposed to this were the Communists

and the members of the AVO.

- (2h) The reason for that is that there was a tremendous pressure exerted by the Communists on the population before 1956. After the 20th Party Congress certain criticisms were heard and allowed. For instance the Petöfi Circle was established which demanded certain changes. This started the ball rolling.
- (2i) I think the loyalty dossier was very effective. They had dossiers of everybody and this way they could tell whom to trust.
- (3) First of all I was considered a class alien, I could not complete my education, I could not go to the high ~~school~~ school or attend university. Second the religious persecution. Third the low wages, and last but not least the suppression of the political freedoms; except for a short period during 1956 people could hardly open their mouth.
- (3a) From this list I would mention first of all the presence of Soviet troops, second the interference with civil rights, and third the interference with family life.
- (3b) I consider all of them very important.
- (3c) I think the presence of the Soviet troops was the most crucial and was considered as the most crucial for the intellectuals.
- (3d) The same would apply in case of the peasants.
- (3e) The same would apply in case of the workers.

- (3f) For instance, at the place where you worked you could not open your mouth. Also the very fact that you received low wages.
- (3g) Yes, it was discussed among friends in secret and a little bit perhaps more openly in 1956.
- (3h) No, I don't think you could do too much about it.
- (3i) The compulsory political indoctrination of the people, the various political meetings that people were forced to attend as well as political lecture got on people's nerves.
- (3j) Except for the sports, I don't know of any.
- (4) I think it was the Communist Party which was supported by the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary.
- (4a) Because no one else could exercise any power. If he tried to oppose the Soviet supported Communists he was taken away, put into concentration camp, or imprisoned.
- (4b) The Central Committee of the Communist Party gave the orders to the Council of Ministers, but of course many members of the Communist hierarchy held position or positions in the council.
- (4c) The Party ran the government with the support of the Russian troops.
- (4d) The Parliament served as a rubber stamp. Whatever the Communist leaders suggested they had accepted.
- (4e) This was just a gesture towards the West to show or to deceive rather the West that there was real democracy in

Hungary. It was the biggest farce you could imagine as if 95% of the population would have supported the Communists. This of course was a big lie.

- (4f) I believe there was. Sometimes you had to wait months before you could get action, sometimes this occurred intentionally, especially in the case of the kulaks and other class aliens. I was too young to be able to compare it with the situation existing in Hungary prior to 1944.
- (4g) I think there was a little graft but I don't know too much about it.
- (4h) It is difficult to say. I think mostly people who have had good loyalty dosniers.
- (4i) Mostly those who had good kaders. Only about 10% of the army officers joined the Revolution. The advantage of being an army officer was the fairly good pay and perhaps the security that went with it.
- (4j) Mostly ~~at~~ old Party members, members of the former Hungarian ~~underground~~ Communist underground who were reeducated in 1945 and after.
- (5) The greatest advantage of belonging of the DISZ was that it was much easier to be admitted to the high school once you were member of the DISZ. Usually if you were a pioneer (Uttóró:) having reached 12, you would automatically become a member of the DISZ. Frequently even the younger teachers belonged to the DISZ. If you were

a member of the DISZ, you could also be more easily admitted to the university.

- (5a) There were no particular drawbacks.
- (5b) No, the joining was not compulsory.
- (5c) You did not have to join it.
- (5d) No, I did not.
- (5e-h) Do not apply
- (5i) No, because my father was in the West and we were considered class aliens.
- (5j) Yes, it did in as much as I could not go to high school and university and ~~it~~ also in as much as I could not get a proper job for myself.
- (5k) The Communist Party ran the DISZ. The DISZ was considered by the Communists as the advance guard of the youth. All of their leaders were picked the Communist Party.

- (6) First of all, it meant economic advantages, higher pay and better jobs, and secondly it meant easier access to everything, including recreation and many other things.
- (6a) There was no compulsion to become a party member.
- (6b) Mostly the opportunists wanted to become Party members.
- (6c) They have very few rights, if any, but much more important are the duties. First of all, to watch over everybody's activities, including those of the saboteurs, secondly to drive people to overwork, and thirdly to make people loyal to Soviet Russia.

- (6d) I don't know of any.
- (6e) Usually those people who joined the Party were sent to Party schools and of course, later on, they became entirely subserviant to Russia and to the Party.
- (6f) There were some people who left the Party, however, some of them were kicked out. In 1949 after the merger of the Socialists and the Communists many Socialists had left the Party, others were kicked out or purged. Still other left because of the lack of adequate advancement.
- (6g) That depended partly on your background, partly on luck; but one thing is sure you could not attain a higher position without being a Party member.
- (6h) No.
- (6p) No, because of my father's Western affiliation.
- (6q) Yes, it did in as much as I was prevented from continuing my education in high school and at the university.
- (6r) The members of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party who were of course the ~~and~~ hand-picked appointees of ^{the} Kremlin. The Party was organized on the village level as well as that of the area level to which several villages belonged. The next higher level was the district and then the county, and finally the national organization. (Falu, körzet, járás, megye, országos központ).

- (6a) The leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party were themselves Soviet citizens and they had or entertained no Hungarian feelings.
- (t) Yes, I think after Stalin's death there was a change in the Communist leadership. But this was an internal change and it did not affect or rather had very little if any effect on the people.
- (7) I only belonged to a sport's organization which was organized in our locality.
- (7a) Mostly young people.
- (7b) It had a few hundred members.
- (7c) Its main purpose was the development of sport.
- (7d) I joined the organization in 1949 because I liked sports.
- (7e) I participated mostly in athletics and in pingpong.
- (7f) I thought it was a good organization. It was a
organization. We did not discuss politics.
The only thing we had to do is to pay our dues.
- (7g) Most of the people liked the sport organizations, because there was very little political pressure exerted by the Communists upon the organization.
- (7h) They were quite close.
- (7i) The leaders of this organization were within the age brackets of 30 and 50. The Communists probably would have called them a reactionary group made up mostly of intellectuals and professionals.

arian Ministry of Interior and the political branch or section thereof. It was formed mainly to provide for the internment and imprisonment of political elements which did not seem reliable to the regime.

(10c)

No, I don't.

(10d)

Yes, there are many informers the AVO. In the village, in the district, and in the county these informers usually report to the VB (Végreháji Bizottság), that is the executive committee of the council (the executive council consists of the President of the Council, the secretary of the Council, of the Vice President and the Party secretary and perhaps another member. Their task is to direct the economic council and financial administration of the village or the county. They prepare or keep the loyalty dossiers and the informances of the so-called "auxiliary police" (Szállás Rendőr) reports to the VB.

(10e)

Some of them were called up in to the service, others were enlisted or handpicked on the basis of their class background and general suitability for the job. ^{who} ~~Others~~ were called up into the service usually did nothing else except served as guards but they did not participate in the political interrogations or persecutions.

(10f)

As long as they were faithful Communists their social, political, religious background and age did not matter.

(10g)

Usually they received very high salaries and they did not have to fear any terror.

- (10h) I do not know.
- (10i) Sometimes the informers were just like the regular that is the blue AVO. Other times they were not members of the AVO but they reported to the AVO.
- (10j) In the villa es you did not have any relationship. In the areas, districts and counties you had at least one AV. attached to the regular police who would have to report immediately to the AVO headquarters any politically dangerous activity.
- (10k) This was based on the fullest cooperation between the Party and the AVO. The AVO had almost more authority in the outskirts and in the country.
- (10,l) I don't know.
- (11j) I was not arrested and I did not have any close friend who was arrested.
- (11a) As a matter of fact I was arrested. As a soldier I was accused of spying and I was being interrogated for 2 1/2 weeks. But the political officers could not prove their case and after questions and interrogations end without a trial I was released.
- (11b) My father was arrested in 1945 when we came back from Austria. He received one year imprisonment because he was considered to have collaborated with the Germans and supported the Arrow Cross movement. After he got out of prison, the county Party secretary turned him over to the Russians but fortunately upon the request of

Mr. Bela Toth he was brought back from the Russians. Following that he was arrested about 15 times. But each time he was released because they could not prove anything against him.

(11c) My father was beaten up when he was arrested.

(11d) Mostly the leaders of the earlier regimes, the kulaks, and the class aliens, the members of the former aristocracy and criminals. If a Party member committed a crime usually he was released or they received amnesty.

(11e) They had to submit reports to the Party. But I don't know of any specific instances since this took place mostly in the cities.

(11f) It depended, of course, where you were arrested. If you were arrested by the blue AVO it was impossible to get in touch with you. People did not know where you were taken by the AVO. Even if you would find out where the person was taken, they would deny it that he is there. If you were taken into a regular prison, charged with a regular crime, you might be able to contact ~~experts~~ that person through the courts.

(11g) Yes I do, and there is a concentration camp or a prison at every county center and I know there were concentration camps in Orozlanbanya, in Tapabanya as well as in Komlo, this was for the Army, and in Tamasi I believe also for the Army.

(11h) Many people were forcefully deported and all they could take with them was about 50 kilograms of

In many instances they died as result of the bad and meagre food supplies or overwork or the hard physical labor that they had to do.

(12) Does not apply.

(13) I would tell him to keep quiet and don't participate in demonstrations. The less you do, the less trouble you are going to encounter.

(13a) I don't think that there are any safe professions.

(13b) In their sense I think it does.

(13c) I think it does. For instance, the younger brother of Rakosi, Ferenc Biro became the manager of the Rakosi works in Csepel. After Rakosi's dethronement his brother was also fired. In general, you might say "akinek isten barátja könnyéden udvoemel" (One who has God as his friend will get easier into heaven). I might mention another example. Gabor Peter was Rakosi's former God. Then he was imprisoned under the previous regime. Rakosi made him a head of the Hungarian secret police. The reason was that he did many favors to Rakosi at the time when he was imprisoned.

(13d) only if the person is politically reliable.

(13e) To some extent it does. But the people would not notice that you have money and it might easily be reported. Then the AVO would come out and question you: "where did you get the money". If you won it on the toto it was

- all right, but otherwise they would check up with you.
- (13f) That depends on the international situation. If the international situation requires they might put you into concentration camp even if you keep your mouth shut.
- (13g) I don't think it made too much difference.
- (14) By and large it increased throughout the years after the second world war.
- (14a) After Stalin's death there were some purges and also when Rakj was rehabilitated.
- (14b) I don't recall any particular changes in 1953, except the rightist deviation of Imre Nagy which was followed by a leftist deviation after he was replaced.
- (14c) I think the terror decreased to some extent in 1956. The longing of the people for freedom and the demand for the Russian withdrawal from Hungary was very great.
- (15) It was very important. Through the occupation of the country the Soviet Union directed everything through the Communist Party's Central Committee.
- (15a) The main decisions were taken in Moscow and they were adapted to the local situation in Hungary.
- (15b) Everybody knew it.
- (15c) For one thing, there was no freedom. For another, the loads and burdens of the population were unbearable. Also the Soviet pressure was evident from the fact that the Party leaders were Soviet citizens.

(15d) I did not.

(15e) For one thing, the factories which were declared to be German assets came under immediate and direct Soviet control. For instance, the Sotex of Sopron (textile enterprise of Sopron) was in German. The Russians took over this enterprise, they did not dismantle it or transfer it to Russia. There were Russian managers at the helm and Hungarian workers with good loyalty dossiers were picked to work there. Another factory was the Soproni Vaszerugyar (iron factory of Sopron). It turned out that this was not German property and later this was returned to Hungary. I might add, that actually under the pretext of German assets the Russian took over many Hungarian enterprises which under the German occupation were taken forcefully from Hungarians and not bona fide.

The Maort (Magyar-amerikai rt) became a joint-stock company with 50-50 representation, but actually under complete Soviet control. The name of the company was changed to Maszoj (Magyar-szovjet olaj rt).

Similar joint-stock companies where the Soviet influence was paramount were the Maszovalet (Magyar-szovjet légforgalmi rt).

In addition the Soviets fully controlled the Danubian Delegation as well as all the bauxite mines and uranium mines in Hungary. Among the bauxite mines must be mentioned the Inotai aluminium koho, whose Soviet manager

10 000 forints per month. I know this from a fellow who was in the army and worked there.

Also Soviet influence was quite apparent in the various branches of the industry as well as in foreign trade, in the life of the country, in schools and in many other manifestations of life. Perhaps, the least apparent, or the least pronounced was in family life.

(15f) The Hungarian-Soviet joint-stock companies, the high offices of the government and the Army had Soviet advisors. A Soviet colonel was attached to our regiment who received 9 000 forints plus a car and a free apartment.

(16) Not openly.

(16a) Yes, they do. They fear imprisonment.

(16b) Well, if you did not know the people you were talking to, you would rather conceal your own feelings about a matter, especially if that had political implications.

(16c) You could be frank with a close friend or among the family members.

(16d) You could be perhaps more candid about your own self-criticism and you could be less critical about the compulsory quotas or norms.

(16e) Perhaps in 1956 you could exercise a little more open criticism.

- (17) No, because they would call any such effort as sabotage. It think it is really difficult to ignore or circumvent official orders.
- (17a) No, I don't think so. I was considered a class alien.
- (17b) No, that is very difficult. All that he might do is to substitute something else. But in regard to certain items there was no substitution.
- (17c) This is again very difficult. You could only achieve something through the Party organization.
- (17d) I don't think you could very well do that unless it is with the consent of your employer. If you have left voluntarily, this would be put down in your workbook and your next potential employer would not hire you if he sees that you have left voluntarily and without the consent of your employer.
- (17e) If he is a class alien, he could not do too much about it.
- (18a) I think the AVO, the presence of the Soviet troops, the complete dictatorship by the Party, the concentration camps were the most cohesive forces and the main strong points of the regime.
- (18b) Among the disruptive forces I would mention the death of Stalin and the following dispute within the Party which helped to undermine the Communist system. Also, the complete subjugation for over 10 years of the ~~people~~ people was worked as a disruptive force because every-

body was dissatisfied and disillusioned with Communism.

- (19) There was a passive resistance both among the peasants, the workers and to some extent the intellectuals.
- (19a) This was mostly expressed after 1948 in the poor quality of the production.
- (19b) The Petöfi Circle, the writers, the leaders of the old regime, the kulaks and the artisans. ~~xxx~~ Mostly because these suffered very much under the regime and were also personally persecuted.
- (19c) Mostly the members of the Party and the AVG as well as the army officers. The reason was, because they drew a comparatively good salary and their position was much more secure.
- (19d) I think it increased.
- (19e) It increased.
- (19f) Mostly it was a personal matter. But after the establishment of the Petöfi Circle it became an organized opposition.
- (19g) In regard to ideological differences there was some dispute.
- (19h) No.
- (19i) In the Petöfi Circle and the KPMSSZ.
- (19j) In the Petöfi circle.
- (19k) Yes, there was sabotage and slow-down in many places which was mostly expressed in the poor qualities of the industrial and other products. The workers wanted to prevent that things be taken by the Russians.

(19,1) In 1956 the Communists allowed some constructive criticism and this gave rise to the emergence of the Petofi Circle and the HUNGARUM.

(19m) No, I did not. But I know that they had the liberation of the country in mind, the restoration of political freedoms, and the withdrawal of the Russian troops.

- (1) Mostly through listening to the foreign radio broadcasts.
- (1a) The Voice of America.
- (1b) The BBC.
- (2) Yes, I did read newspapers and magazines.
- (2a) I have read the sport news and I have also read the Szabad Nep.
- (2b) The sport news was a weekly paper, the Szabad Nep appeared daily.
- (2c) There was hardly anything else to read.
- (2d) I was interested in sports. I was also interested in movie and theatre critique.
- (2e) Yes, they were. But the only news they carried were the news concerning the delivery quarters.
- (2f) They were no real newspapers because no other news items appeared in them.
- (2g-1) The answer is no.
- (2j) Once I think I saw the Szabad Magyarorszag which I believe was an illegal publication.
- (3) Once or twice a week.
- (3a) I liked Western movies, that is French, Italian, English and American movies.
- (3b) Before 1956, they were mostly Soviet propaganda movies.
- (3c) Yes.
- (3d) I saw the "Red and Black" as well as the "First Road" as well as many other movies the titles of which I do

not recall.

- (3e) Very rarely, since we had no theatre in our locality. We had to go to Győr if we wanted to go to the theatre.
- (3f) Once I recall I saw Dankó Kista.
- (4) Yes, I did.
- (4a) About 20.
- (4b) I liked to read Tolnai's encyclopedia which consisted of 16 volumes.
- (4c) Because I was interested in world history and many other subjects.
- (4d) There was very little if any Western literature. I know I would have liked to read the novels of Gardonyi and also many books by Western authors but they were not available in the bookstores or in the libraries.
- (4e) Petöfi, Arany, Horicz, Gardonyi. These were some of the best Hungarian writers.
- (4f) I cannot recall any.
- (4E) No. The factory libraries carried only propaganda books.
- (5) Yes, I did.
- (5b) Yes, we had a people's set.
- (5c) I listened to the Budapest radio.
- (5d) Mostly gipsy music.
- (5e) One or 2 hours a day. Mostly in the evening.
- (5f) At home.

- (6a) I listened to the Voice of America, to the BBC and to the Radio Free Europe. I wanted to be well-informed about the world developments and international events.
- (6b) I listened from 7.30 to 8 o'clock to the BBC and then from a quarter to 10 on to the Voice of America.
- (6c) I thought they were o.k.
- (6d) Perhaps the Radio Free Europe was to some extent less reliable, especially during the Revolution.
- (6e) Yes, the informers would report that you were listening to foreign radio broadcasts and if they caught you, you would be punished.
- (7) Yes I did.
- (7a) For instance, the signing of the Austrian state treaty. I heard about this by word-of-mouth.
- (7b) I heard about it from a friend.
- (7c) I think the foreign radio broadcasts were the most reliable since those compiled from official news.
- (7d) I don't recall any particular rumors.
- (7e) I only heard some lies over the Moscow radio.
- (7f) Mostly in the homes and in the homes of their friends.
- (7g) I don't know.
- (7h) You could not ver well those discuss at work, except ~~perhaps~~ perhaps during ~~the~~ lunch hour with a close friend.
- (7i) The coffee houses are still there, but very little political discussion is going on there because people

were afraid that someone might overhear them. A great deal of such discussion centers around the toto (a form of state-supported lottery in which the persons who puts the winning sports teams into the proper order as well as the respective schools would win a great amount of money).

- (8) Very little.
- (8a) Mostly news concerning the arrest of people could be considered reliable, but not the reasons for which the arrest had taken place. If for instance they used the word sabotage, it meant that they were imprisoning somebody for political reasons.
- (8b) Matters concerning the foreign policy of the country or the world political situation.
- (8c) In general it decreased or was about the same up to 1956. After the 20th Congress the reliability perhaps increased to some extent.
- (8d) Everybody knew what was propaganda and what not.
- (8e) They were all the same.
- (8f) I believe it contained Soviet propaganda. Only in 1956 did it change its tone to some extent.
- (8g) Yes, I read the Szabad Nep daily. It was the main organ or mouth piece of the Hungarian Communists.
- (8h) No, I did not.
- (9) Yes, they did.

- (9a) Almost everybody.
- (9b) Mostly those people who were deperately disillusioned.
- (10a) I thought it was a good thing because it shortoned the war and because it prevented the Russians from occupying Japan.
- (10b) The Russians said that the United States started the war. But it was quite evident that the North Koreans did with Russian help in view of the fact that the South Koreans and the Americans were pushed ~~out~~^{down} to the very bottom of the South Korean peninsula.
- (10c) That was a Communist lie.
- (10d) Everybody knew that Hitler was dead and the Nazi army could not be revived and no one believed the Russian propoganda that this is a revival of the Nazi army.
- (10e) I saw the balloons and I also read some of the leaflets carried by the balloons. I think much more leaflets and balloons should have been sent to Hungary, especially explaining the economic and cultural situation elsewhere in the West.
- (10f) I don't know too much about it. The Russians and the Communists said that this was incited by the Nazis and the Fascists.
- (10g) The Communist lie was that the West wanted no agreement and that the West wants war.
- (10h) No, I don't know anything about the emigre activities abroad.

- (1) If the present system in Hungary were removed first of all I would abolish the one-Party dictatorship. I would restore the political freedoms of the citizens, the freedom of speech, the freedom of assembly, the freedom of conscience and religion and free trade.
- (1a) Perhaps the workers' councils, but essentially on the basis of the free trade unions.
- (1b) I believe the landreform, but not the TSZCS.
- (2) Yes, I think there should be political parties. If you have many political parties you don't have dictatorship.
- (2a) Yes, except the Communist.
- (2b) Answered under (2a).
- (3) I don't think there should be any limits, except for the Communists who want to overthrow the government by force or violence.
- (3b) I believe the constitution, but I really have not thought about it.
- (3c) No, there should be free criticism.
- (3d) If it is financially detrimental to the state, then yes.
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Except the Communists.
- (4b) If an unrepresentative minority rules and subjugates the people, if there is a dictatorship, or if there is

unbearable burden upon the people, or if the government is just a puppet of a foreign power.

- (5) I would do away with the norm system and I would reorganize the agriculture of the country.
- (6) That depends essentially on the local situation.
- (6a) I favor essentially private ownership.
- (6b) I don't think the big factories should be restored to their former owners. But of course they should ~~receive~~ receive a due compensation. The concentration of big wealth in one hand might be damaging.
- (6c) Private profit I consider good.
- (6d) I am in favor of a state bank with certain limitations.
- (6e) Yes, there should be certain state monopolies. I consider tobacco monopolies all right, because this way taxes can be reduced since the monopolies give additional revenue to the state.
- (6f) That would depend on whether they are detrimental to the workers.
- (6g) I would abolish the Kozert and I would restore private trade.
- (7) That is a difficult question, but I think I would keep some of the big clothing factories nationalized.
- (7a) Otherwise I would favor private ownership.

- (8) Planning in general is all right but you cannot plan too far ahead and furthermore there should be very little compulsion in the system.
- (8a) As I say, I don't consider it bad with certain limitations.
- (8b) In Hungary it did not work out at all.
- (8c) It depends on the local situation, on the climatic and conditions. You cannot force the production of certain things which have never been produced and cannot be produced in a certain locality.
- (8d) I think perhaps the ministry of agriculture should coordinate the work, but there should be no direct interference. There should be no pressure for constant over-production and there should be a free market.
- (9) In religion and in the family life.
- (10) I think, if the citizen has rights he also owes certain duties and loyalty to the state.
- (10a) That depends. At any rate it should be reasonable.
- (10b) National defence of the country is the duty of every "citizen".
- (10c) If it is not to the complete detriment of the population then one should obey orders and laws.
- (10d) Answered and (10c).
- (10e) National defence, welfare, culture and ~~hygiene~~ hygiene.

- (11) There has been a shortage of drugs, but care by the physicians has improved.
- (11a) The Communists.
- (11b) No, not the private ones.
- (11c) In certain fields it is better to have private physicians whereas in other situations it might be better to have a national health service. I am thinking especially of the fields of cancer, TB and so on.
- (11d) To some extent they are all right.
- (11e) Well, if you don't have any money of your own and you could not provide for your health, then it is good to be in a health insurance plan.
- (12) I was too young before the war.
- (12a) Answered under question (12).
- (12b) Perhaps people, in general, go more frequently to the theatre than to the movie.
- (12c) The workers.
- (12d) It is hard to say. I believe not everybody has time to go as often as he would like to.
- (12e) Not everybody.
- (13) I was too young before the war.
- (13a) Perhaps better.
- (13b) Perhaps better.
- (13c) It depends on how much they make.

- (14) I was too young before the war, I don't know.
- (14a) Better.
- (14b) Better.
- (14c) It depends on how much money the people make.
- (15) Industrial production increased from 1945 up to 1948.
- (15a) This was a result of the industrial rebuilding of the country. After 1948 industrial production has dropped, both in quality and quantity.
- (15b) Up to 1948 industrial production increased in almost every branches of the economy. After 1948 it has dropped especially in the iron industry and in the textiles.
- (15c) I think this is very bad for the Hungarian economy.
- (15d) I think overindustrialization as such was bad for the country. I don't agree with forceful industrialization.
- (16) I think the workers' councils should participate in the management of the factory in cooperation with the management and the trade unions.
- (16a) The free trade unions should have the right to defend the interests of the workers and especially to demand adequate wages for the workers.
- (16b) I think they should be entirely independent.
- (16c) I don't think there should be compulsory membership.
- (16d) I think the manager, the trade unions and the workers should equally participate in the running of a factory.
- (16e) In case of a state factory the management should be

responsible to the state, otherwise to the proprietor.

- (17a) Under Communism collective farms were bad.
- (17b) They were bad.
- (17c) I think, you should do away with collective farms and you should turn the land back into private ownership.
- (17d) I think the collectives in general should be dissolved, however as some collectives need be maintained by the state.
- (17e) I think there should be a new landreform and the land should be distributed on the basis of claims and on the basis of the size of the families.
- (17f) I think there should be a definite limit somewhere around from 500 to 1,000 acres. I think that is a size that can best cultivated.
- (17g) Yes, I think it should. Only certain areas of land should be kept by the state for experimentation purposes.
- (17h) Yes, it should.
- (17i) Yes, up to 1,000 acres.
- (17j) It should be distributed among the people.
- (17k) There could be collectives, but not agricultural cooperatives.
- (17,l) Yes, it should. Mostly by giving seeds and fertilizers.
- (17m) I would abolish them.
- (17n) Mostly forests.
- (17o) I would give them to individual farms.
- (17p) I would give them to individual farms.
- (17q) Yes, I think so.

- (18) There should be a separation of church and state.
- (18a) They should be completely independent except perhaps in a few fields.
- (18b) I don't think there should be any difference.
- (18c) Yes, I think they should because they can provide better educational facilities and services than the state.
- (18d) I think the churches should play a leading role in public education. They can give a more fundamental education than the state can.
- (18e) Yes, it should.
- (18f) I should send my children to denominational schools.
- (19) That would depend on the individual case, on how many crimes they have committed against the people. I think there should be a law and then each individual case brought to court.
- (19a) No, each individual case should be treated separately.
- (19b) They should be brought to justice under law.
- (19c) If they have done something, they should be brought to justice.
- (19d) Same would apply to rank-and-file members.
- (19e) The same.
- (19f) Members of the AVO should be brought to justice.
- (19g) If they were guilty, they should be brought to justice.
- (19h) Some of them managed to hide, ^{others} ~~other~~ were imprisoned, and still ^{others} ~~other~~ were executed by the people.

- (20) Throughout its history Hungary has defended the West from the Eastern onslaughts of the Bulgarians, the Tartars, the Mongolians, and the Turks. In the Revolution of 1956 Hungary again defended the West against the Eastern barbarians.
- (21) Yes, I think there is but this was not so evident during the Communist rule.
- (21a) I don't know the German national character.
- (21b) I don't know the Russian national character.
- (21c) I do not know the American national character.
- (21d) It has been much less conspicuous during the past 10 years under the Communists.
- (21e) I don't know.
- (21f) I don't know.
- (22) I don't know, I believe before 1945.
- (22a) I don't know, I believe much better than under the Communists.
- (22b) Mostly they were fortune hunters and those who had relatives or connections in the United States or Canada. They figured they could become rich faster.
- (22c) I don't know. I don't remember.
- (22d) I don't know.
- (22e) I don't know.
- (22f) I don't know.
- (22g) I don't know, but the Communists say it was reactionary. But hearing it from others I believe it was much better.

than under the Communists.

- (22h) I think Hungary should have stayed neutral. There would have been no damage to the country, no sacrifices by the people, and perhaps there would have been no Soviet occupation of Hungary.
- (22i) I don't know how it compares with the period before 1945 since I was too young. It compares favorably with the period after 1948 since between 1945 and 1948 the people at least had a certain amount of influence on the government and on how things were run.
- (23) Yes, I think they are important.
- (23a) Because the natural resources of a country are very important for industrial development.
- (23b) Yes, I believe so. There are many purely Hungarian territories which were taken away from Hungary unlawfully at the end of the first world war. These include Transylvania, Northern Hungary or Slovakia and as well as the Bacska.
- (23c) Yes, the Russians.
- (23d) Only with the Russians.
- (23e) There was a forceful expatriation of the Hungarians after the end of the war from Czechoslovakia and that created tension.
- (23f) The Hungarians received autonomy and in Rumania and the Rumanians hate the Transylvanian Hungarians for this.
- (23g) Very well.

- (23h) Not too well.
- (24a) I think there could be a regional East-Central-European Federation on the territory of the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy.
- (24b) It should include the Austrians, the Czechs, the Slovaks, Yugoslavia, and Rumania as well as Hungary.
- (24c) I don't know.
- (24d) No, definitely not.
- (24e) I think it is an unhealthy manipulation. It only creates antagonism and opposition.
- (25) I think they are culturally backward as a result of the _____ and the Communist regimentation and their economy is in very poor state.
- (25a) I believe there are.
- (25b) Yes, I think so. The ^{youngsters} ~~youngsters~~ have been imbued more with the Communist spirit than the older people.
- (25c) No, I don't think so but actually I don't really know.
- (25d) No.
- (25e) From what I have heard because of the lootings, rapes and other atrocities committed by the Russian army there was a tremendous hatred towards the occupational army.
- (25f) No.
- (25g) I think it was much the same.
- (25h) Contacts between the Russian army and the Hungarian

population were prevented. Therefore it is hard to say whether there was any feeling towards them at that time.

(26) In practice it is a system of full and complete exploitation of the people and the workers.

(26a) I don't like it.

(26b) As I said it is a complete exploitation of the people and misleading them by the use of political slogans.

(26c) I believe they also deviated from Marx because they used the Communist dictatorship against the workers.

(26d) Stalin was a conceited dictator.

(26e) I don't know.

(26f) No, I don't think so, except perhaps for Lukacs. None of them knows about Marx. The lesser Communists and the rank-and-file know nothing about Marxism.

(26g) I don't know. I don't think there are any among them.

(26h) No, I don't think so. Marxism, for instance, intervenes in the life of the family whereas democracy does not.

(26i) I don't know, but one thing is sure that Communism is not democracy.

(26j) It means that the people are duly represented and the interests of the workers and peasants is taken into account.

(27) It means independence of the Soviet Union. But otherwise, it seems to me the same as any other type of Communism.

- (27a) Yes, there were a few.
- (27b) For instance, Professor Lukacs and some others who want independence like Tito.
- (27c) Gomulka is trying to strike a balance between following the people's demands and trying to satisfy the Soviet demands.
- (27d) He is a national Communist.
- (27e) There were some like Rajk.
- (28) Yes, I believe Imre Nagy would have stayed in power until free elections were held and bad conditions would have changed.
- (28a) I think he wanted Party system and he wanted to hold elections entirely freely.
- (28b) Until elections were held.
- (29a) It is bad, since it abolished private property.
- (29b) Colonialism is bad. People have a right to independence.
- (29c) Class struggle is bad. It is a Communist habit to distract the people's attention and thereby rule them.
- (29d) Under Communist influence it is bad.
- (29e) It is bad, if it is like Communist imperialism.
- (29f) If it exploits the workers under a minimum wage system, then it is bad.
- (29g) I don't think it is good. There should be no significant differences on the basis of social background.
- (29h) He seemed to be o.k. after the Revolution.

- (29i) I think they are good.
- (29j) I don't know.
- (29k) I don't know.
- (29,l) I don't know.
- (29m) I think she was fairly faithful at the time of the Revolution.
- (29n) He was the only Hungarian who dared to stand up against the Russians.
- (30) I think the Christian Democrats or perhaps the small-holders.
- (30a) It is hard to say. Certainly Dobi and Dinyes would have a chance.
- (31a) Less.
- (31b) Less.
- (31c) Less.
- (31d) The least.
- (31e) Less, if they are not Communists.
- (31f) Less, especially the lawyers.
- (31g) More.
- (31h) Most of them had been abolished /
state monopoly. Those few who are still in trade earn probably less.
- (31i) Less.
- (32) Before 1948 the Communists were worse off whereas

private industry and trade fared better.

- (33a) They coincide.
- (33b) They coincide.
- (33c) If the Government employees are Communists they conflict.
- (33d) They conflict.
- (33e) They coincide.
- (33f) They coincide.
- (33g) I don't know.
- (33h-j) I don't know.

- (34) The United States stood for the independence of Hungary. The United States also supports the economic development of the lesser countries and supports them in the United Nations.

- (35) Only the Communists and the members of the AVO.
- (35a) Everybody else.

- (36) No, I don't think so.
- (36a) No.

- (1a) I think the conversations were very good. I hope you will be able to see what Communism wants and that it is aiming at world Communism and world dictatorship.
- (1b) I think you will be able to collect quite a substantial amount of information concerning the past 12 years through the personal experiences of the respondents. You might be able to bring to light such things which you would not have thought of otherwise.
- (1c) I would urge you to beware of the agents of Kadar, because many of them have been sent to the West.
- (1d) Yes, in general I would think so.
- (1e) I think you should have more questions concerning the general economic situation of the country, about the compulsory delivery quotient and so on.
- (2) We have not talked about the military training and military exercises in Hungary of which I know a little bit.
- (2a) Yes, as soon as Hungary becomes free and independent.
- (3) No.
- (3a) No.
- (3b) No.
- (3c) No.
- (4a) Yes.

Interviewer's impression about the respondent: Respondent has a very pleasant personality. He has been extremely cooperative, he would like to serve in the US Army and has submitted an application to this effect. Interviewer would recommend him for B Interview