

- (1) We Hungarians historically have fought the East. We are not pro-German, but we always depended on Germany. During the war I worked in the ammunition plant in Magyaróvár and half of the surrounding villages were populated by Germans. The plant and the people in the plant were also pro-German. There and in Moson, the twin city, the older generation spoke German, but the younger did not. In 1945, half of the section managers were Germans and there was no Communism at all. Since then, however, the Communist Party built itself to sizeable proportions with the help of the state. We were in a position that we felt, if Germany lost the war, we too would lose it, but at the same time, the pro-German government people were disliked. We all waited for the end of the war. There were no Smallholders, only Social Democrats in our town in 1945. We were the strongest party in the first elections, but I soon realized that the top party leadership was pro-Communistic. I left the Social-Democratic party and in the next elections, voted for the Smallholders. There again, many friends of the old system maintained themselves in it and many of these people thought that as long as they had the say-so, all was well. The next thing we knew, Ferenc Nagy escaped to the West and this was a shame. Had he been killed by the Communists, the Party would still be alive to-day. Since those days there was strong popular reaction to the strong sup-

pression. I believe that the people are anti-Russian rather than anti-Communistic. In fact, I think that they would have accepted a Communist régime, had this been imported from the West. Now the régime is being served by the Jews. They are shrewd and they did things and pulled tricks the old-time Communists would not have thought about. The old, convinced Communists were not that smart or that mature. Also most of our AVO officers were Jews. They were always willing to serve the régime. Of course, some of them did get into trouble, but you never heard of a Jew really being punished and jailed for long periods of time. They usually got clear in a couple of days through their connections. One could generalize in saying that neither a Jew nor a Communist Party member worked very long at a manual task in Hungary. The AVO also operated through its informer system, into which they blackmailed people. In the agricultural machinery factory, where I worked since I quit my MASZEK activities in 1950, was a Party member, but he was a very decent man and I worked under him as the unit head of the tool section. I do not know when exactly, but he was fired, and my own after-hours work using scrap ^{from} ~~en~~ the plant, which he approved ^{of} ~~some~~ in writing, was now described as theft. I was to have stolen that piece of metal which I played with after-hours. The police chief told me that as long as I informed him about development^s, all would be well.

1

I simply told him that as long as I found out about any sabotage, I would certainly let him know. This embarrassed him, for they were in a tight spot. He wanted lesser information as well. But there I told him, I would not have known of any. Actually every family had something against ^{it} him and all could be blackmailed some way or ~~was~~ another. My own brother and sister were ~~both~~ ^{both} jailed as spies and foreign agents. My overall feeling about the October and November developments of last year are that the Russians and the top Communists directed and made the Revolt against themselves. They were the ones who had given the Revolt an anti-Russian twist which it did not have the same way in the beginning as it had it later. They were the ones who called in the Russian tanks to the Győr Party headquarters. I feel, had the Russians not been irritated by such open antagonism, they would ^{not} have attacked in the manner they did. I have the feeling that the Communist leadership wanted to see who is against it in the country and they were much surprised to find the whole country in the camp opposing them.

- (2) A certain amount of opposition had always existed. One frequently heard radio plays describing the suppression in by-gone years ^s. The theatres produced plays on the French Revolution or opposition to the rule of Rome, and one could not help to interpret these in terms of

our own days and our own life. These various revolutionary films or stories always started out with ~~the~~ pro-Russian sentiments, but by the middle of it one realized that the writer is accusing the present ~~regime~~ régime. How they meant it I do not know. But for us the Russians were the capitalists and the imperialists. ^{They} ~~we~~ call the police the agents of capitalist suppression. There have never been so many policemen in Hungary as now. This kind of double meaning in their literature and arts appeared already during the Stalin ~~era~~ era. Aside from these tendencies, to-day no doubt conducted a campaign to destroy the old intelligentsia; Party trustees watched over the work of the old unreliable generation. I noticed that youngsters out here in the West complained that they do not get as much pay as they did at home, that is that a youngster of 18 makes less ^{than} ~~as~~ a man of 45. They do not realize that at home they were overpaid frequently in order to gain their allegiance ^{for} ~~to~~ the régime. If a young man worked on the assembly line, he got paid very well for doing a simple mechanical operation. For this he needed little training and no education. Of course, if his machine would have stopped, he would have been helpless. Some of these grew to become loud-mouthed at home and their attitudes and behaviour somehow reflected the entire system.

Never ready to admit their technical backwardness, the Russians and their cohorts compensated by bragging. Of course, they lacked the proper machinery, else there would have been no need to import themSt from the West. And even in Hungary they took possession of the best of our machine tool manufactures, using them in Russia or selling them abroad as Russian products. To give one example: We had some Soviet manufactured machine tools, which when they broke down, turned out to have East German markings beneath the Soviet signs.

- (2b) For ten years we wanted to kick the Russians out⁺ from Hungary. No one cared for the Communist changes and even those who went to the seminaries slept through them.
- (iii) I think, Tito is the most reliable of the Communists, for the Russians trusted him to become a link with the West. Had Hungary been in Yugoslavia's position, she would have long ago left the Eastern camp.
- (v) We were much concerned with Poznan and much concerned with East Berlin. Without being pro-German, Hungary can only gain by a stronger Germany in Europe, which would inevitably reduce the role of Russia in Europe.
- (vi) + (vii) We did not trust any of the Communists. When Imre Nagy first came to power, we had some confidence in a better life. But it is the law of Soviet politics that if one loses out under the Communists once, he has not got a second chance. This is some-

thing Lova Nagy should have known and he should have refused to continue in office once his policy had failed.

(2c) First the writers and the artists ~~emerged~~ in Hungary started an independent, liberal trend, but later the Russians attempted to uncover the truth in Hungary and encouraged these liberal developments in order to see the real extent of the opposition. It is plain that they could have crushed anything at any time with the help of the Red Army. Within the Hungarian Security Forces, there were no Hungarians at all. I have never heard of any Hungarian AVO-man. They were all strangers and foreigners with a Hungarian varnish. Their rule crumbled like a house of cards when it was challenged. All Soviet rule is based on the Russians, but there are not enough real Russians in the Soviet Union. Ruling over many different peoples, they are short of real Russians to control their empire.

(2d) It became plain that the Russians could not ~~not~~ educate a new ~~RUSSIAN~~ pro-Russian intelligentsia, because under one pretext or another, these new people still remained pro-Hungarian.

(2e) Strongest opposition was obvious in Uj Ember, a Catholic magazine and later there were some critical articles even in Szabad Nép, the Party's paper. The latter may have also had interest in selling its paper, so they needed some halfway decent articles every once in a while. For instance, when Russian films were shown,

they could not sell the tickets, even at half price. Whenever a Western film was shown, they sold out the seats, regardless ^{whether} the picture was any good.

(2g) I could not think of any.

(3a) The Russians wanted to know how reliable Hungary was and ~~they so~~ prepared the demonstrations for the 23rd.

(3b) They had many informers, but they did not know what was not spoken. I remember quite clearly, we had a party for the ~~upper~~ ^{plant} staff in January 1956. We were all a bit high and I recall the chief engineer telling me that by June there shall be a political change in Hungary. I had no idea what he meant. This police control is a dubious thing. When the Revolution broke out, I saw in the Party secretary's office with my own eyes lists of those workers whose children went to religious instruction. My name was on it. These are the kind of things they seem to keep track of. To-day, even those who stayed home co-operate only seemingly, although they are possibly disgusted with the West and they accept ^{the} reality ^{ies} of the international scene.

(3c) We demonstrated in sympathy with the Budapest fighters.

(3f) No one opposed it openly, no one dared to oppose it. I went to Győr on the 25th and ^{on} the 26th I told in my plant about the Győr demonstrations. We decided to demonstrate too. The director meant to stop us, at least he seemed to try to block the entrance, but we

walked right ^{past} him and went to Magyarovar from Moson, where the plant is located. Just as we arrived, we saw the director and the Party secretary slowly and hesitatingly follow us in a car in the distance. They did not dare not to join the demonstrators, especially since all of us were there, about 5-6000 workers and all the schools. After our demonstrations, the mass of the people went back to the factories, but a small group decided to go to the AVO barracks. They meant to disarm them and send them home. Instead, however, the AVO fired at them and killed almost everyone of this group. It is significant that all the Red Stars from the buildings were removed, but everywhere this was done by the Communists themselves. At Party headquarters, at the AVO, and the offices. Of course, the AVO officer, called Dudas, who ordered the butchery of the unarmed 90, fled to Czechoslovakia.

(3g) The former chief engineer, whom I once in a while talked to, became the director of the plant some time earlier. 30 of us in the Workers' Council decided to keep the chief accountant, the chief engineer, and the director in their technical jobs. None of these opposed our moves, they paid the workers and helped in planning the future operations of the plants. This was to be keyed to domestic needs or Western exports. The planned production of a corn-combine was voted down, because we felt we could not sell it in Hungary

or in the West. All these technical people went along with the Revolt. When we kept the technical personnel, at the same time we sent the Party secretary, the trade union representative, and the personnel department **CHIEF** away from the plant. They got a month's salary and were told to take politics out of the production and stay in town, away from us. When our workers were armed, however, the Communists were a little insulted, because they were not given any arms. They thought that they were not being trusted with them. But other than that there was no trouble, except that a few were kicked out from the plant by the workers.

- (3h) "Freedom", "Russians home", and until November 2nd there was strong emphasis to stay friends with the Russians. Only after Maléter was tricked by the Russians and arrested, did real anti-Russian emotions flare up.
- (3i) Yes, it was anti-Communistic, but we must remember that Communism was a Russian import to Hungary. It was for this reason that I joined the Social Democrats in 1945. The Communist régime as such was non-existent. There was only Soviet imperialism. To this they added the favouring of the younger generation, who enjoyed their confidence and had ^{HIGH} positions they could not have in a different type of society — **BASED ON MERIT.**

- (4) The day after our demonstrations, we all assembled in the plant, not to work but to elect a Workers' Council. 30 of us were elected and 4 of us into the directing Committee of the Council. We and the three management chiefs, the director, the chief engineer, and the chief accountant, were responsible for operations. Two of the four represented the plant operations and two of us the office staff. We picked one young, but reliable engineer as our representative to the City Council and also sent a young student to represent us on the border guard mission. One more was sent to Győr to Attila Szigeti as a liaison officer. Meanwhile a new City Council was formed, but this was mere fiction; in it were all the Communists of the old city administration and in those days they were ~~mu~~ busy smuggling out AVO officials and Party members to Austria to safety. It was time to elect a new City Council and all plants sent two representatives for this purpose. Collectives or smaller organisations sent one each. This gave a total 30-35 City Councillors. To the old city government we paid out a month's wages and promised them jobs in plants. They originally protested, that they already followed the new government's instructions, and tried to quiet the emotions. They tried to assure us that the changes have already taken place, but actually they continued under a new label. To this first council the military sent the old military

commander, the AVO its own chief, and the police the old police chief. When we took over, we kicked out these people and got a lieutenant colonel as the new city commander, who was more reliable in our eyes and beside him we installed an old colonel of the Horthy days to check up on him. This military commander is now in jail for having armed the students and the workers during the Revolution. We also picked a new mayor, who was a machine technician and, of course, we immediately stopped the traffic in border permits going to Comintern. The regular army and police force, which seemed reliable, stayed armed and did service for us. The unreliable elements were relieved. No one was jailed in town but a few AVO-men, who were brought in from Cuernavaca, and these were jailed for their own protection. No one else was hurt or jailed, especially since the old-hand Communists were already hiding out with the Russian groups. We kept order in town, since most of the police force was not on duty. Workers checked travellers on key-points including West^Rerners and refugees. Our Worker Council was cool and calm, administering the town, providing food for the city, allocating workers to help the Red Cross packaging and shipments, and providing guards for patrols. The political situation was hazy. By this time, the Mexican government had revolutionary connections, but one did not know who stood where. On the 27th, we had

a sit-down strike in the plants and the workers met in the culture centre voting for the Workers' Council. The original directives to start these Workers' Councils, came from Budapest. At that time they wanted Imre Nagy to be prime minister, but the Maléter group did not trust the independence of Imre Nagy. As we were informed, the Budapest Workers' Councils were first Communist dominated, including all the top Communists. They gave us instructions to start work, but we had instructions from the Maléter group to strike until the entire issue was settled. We were in continual contact, because the Budapest Emag and Mavag and the Győr Waggon Plant, were all parts of the same combine controlled by a section of the Industrial Ministry. We had messengers contacting all of us continually, going back and forth. Our instructions from the Maléter group came under cover and we realized that where the Communists still had their say, they sent either pro-Communist or dumb representatives to the new City Councils.

(4a) There was no fighting in our town after the initial butchery.

(7a) The only differences were with groups where the Communists stayed in and tried to twist things in their fashion, but they were usually kicked out very quickly.

(8) At Ronafő there was a Radio group of Russians. After

the Revolution, our only contact with the Russians was on the day we left Hungary. We went on our bicycles and noted Russians about 200 yards ahead on the road. Then we left the highway and continued on a dirt-road and when we saw some Russians there, we went back on the highway later on. We stayed out of their way and although they saw us they did not bother us. We had relatives in a border village, who were tremendously scared and could not understand that we bicycled past Russians sentries without any trouble. After we left them, we noticed two more Soviet tanks blocking the road. We then decided to leave our bicycles in sight of the Russians and cut across the fields. They could have easily hit us, but they did not fire and we crossed the border without difficulty. We did not see any Russian fight nor anyone come over to the Revolution.

- (9) We had a messenger system between Győr and Budapest through the other plants in this combine. They were all under joint industrial management.
- (9a) We got the county paper from Győr and also the one from Budapest. We never used the phone, because we did not trust the operators.
- (9b) See above.
- (9c) Yes, Vienna, London, RWE, and Budapest.

- (10) For personal experiences see (4) above.
- (10a) See above.
- (10b) It was dissolved and the offices were used as barracks for our student guard.
For the following probes, see (4) above.
- (4m) An Austrian or Swiss type neutrality would have developed under a liberal government.
- (11) Yes, I do.
- (11a) It proved the freedom-loving nature of the Hungarians. We have often been accused that we accept German or Russian rule willingly.
- (11b) It could have with a united West and with Western backing. They would have ^{had} to tie down the Soviet forces with diplomatic means.
- (11c) See above.
- (11e) He was not trusted very much and we did not want a Communist. Also he did not promise free elections.
- (11f) Maléter. Tildy and his kind had sang their songs earlier. Aczel tried to play a game.
- (11g) Youth carried the weight of it and the adults covered their backs to assure success. The army also was cautiously following the trend, at least the non-Communists, while the police was more pro-Communitic.
- (12) On the 4th we heard over RFE a funeral prayer all day long. That was too much. Had I not been active in the

Revolution, I would have stayed, I guess, for only at
home can one protect and fight for Hungary.

- (1) I am a tool-designer, a tool-maker, and an instrument technician.
- (2) During the war I worked in ammunitions plant in Magyar-ovar, which is my home town. Between 1945 and 1949, I worked as a self-employed electric technician, fixing radios, electrical switches, and controls, rewiring electric motors, etc. By 1949 the government had raised raw material prices so high that I could not afford to buy them nor could I afford to pay the taxes, which were increased to a prohibitive level. As it happened, no self-employed person was prevented from staying in business for himself, but economically he was forced out in the end. In 1949, I took a job as a tool-structor and tool-designer in the agricultural machinery plant in our town. In 1952, I was made a group leader and in 1954 I was made assistant section leader. Since I was not a Party member, I could not have become a section leader, ~~assistant~~.

Before 1953, we had premiums at our plants, but early in 1953, the famed Hungarian economist Varga changed the system. Under this system we became a borrower plant. We borrowed money from the bank to operate, having no capital of our own. This meant that we had to complete our jobs on ~~time~~ ^{time}, for we only got paid, if delivery was made. The threats of not getting a pay check meant that the second half of the month

brought steady overtime work without overtime pay. If we did not get our raw materials in time, in the beginning of our cycle, the delay meant Sunday work later on. This system operated with tremendous waste. We were short on time, our monthly planning was always out of joints, and we did not get our raw materials, when we needed them. For a time, they even tried to introduce daily planning schedules, but without delivery of any raw materials, they finally admitted that we could not work. The main shortcoming perhaps, however, was the lack of skilled workers. The training of new workers was of a low standard and we had less and less new workers to train. For a plant of our size, we should have had about 200 apprentices, instead of the 60 we had. To make matters worse, we had a tremendous administrative overhead, made up of Party personnel, AVO guards, and many, many others, who were non-productive. It is revealing that the plant security forces kept the key to the blueprint copy machine. The machine was located in a room with a steel door, which was always locked. The machine itself was only used by reliable Party members and all this, I think, because they were afraid of our using the machine to produce illegal propaganda material.

To fill our production norms we simplified^d the work processes and lowered the quality. These were the famous "innovations" and the checkers were told to

pass through many second rate products.

No individual would have bought the ~~equipment~~^{CULTIVATING} equipment produced by us. A plough was 5200 forints and this was the smallest we made. We now manufactured 30 row seeders, while in 1953, under the Nagy régime, we made some 13 row seeders, which however, proved too small for the collectives, while the individual peasants shied away from them, afraid that if they bought one it would be taken away from them and nationalized sooner or later. Since these could not be sold, this also was chalked up as a mistake of the Nagy régime. Actually, a peasant with a maximum of 15 acres of private land could not well afford such machinery.

- (3) It was not a bad job and we had a pleasant company of co-workers. There were 22 tool-constructors in my section and with the exception of a young couple of engineers, we were all anti-Communistic. This couple only joined us last year. They came as complete strangers and they visited the personnel department a great deal. They also attended the seminars. This, of course, is no proof in itself, for even if they were Party members, which they were, they could have pestered the personnel for any number of reasons, perhaps looking for apartments. We were no little surprised when they proved themselves anti-Communistic during the Revolution.
- (3d) Our smithy was entirely out-dated and there were no

provisions for ventilation anywhere in the plant. There was no ventilation or temperature control in the room where the stencils were stamped. One of our assembly halls was in a basement, three others were fine. They are now building the fourth assembly hall, but the construction seems to go along very slowly.

- (3f) We worked 48 hours less 6 1/2 hours lunch periods, which was not deducted. So on Saturday we worked only until one. At times we worked in three shifts around the clock, including Saturdays and Sundays, to fill the quota. In such instances the blue ~~collar~~^{COLLAR} workers got paid, but the office workers^{who} were also made to volunteer, worked for free. For them this was called "social work". If we had to finish a quarterly plan, we worked perhaps on such a schedule through an entire month. Last summer, some machinery had to be finished and even the typists came in doing some painting. On that occasion the Emag Company lent us some tool-constructors on a temporary basis and so we met our schedule.
- (31) If one was one minute late, one got on the pillory board and one was bawled out by the union. To avoid this situation one simply had to be half an hour late and claim a dental appointment.
- (3m) The changes were continual, although the old-fashioned norm system was no longer in force after 1953. The new type had no premiums. If one prepared a blue print of a tool-construction problem, one never erased mistakes,

simply started a new blue print. In the end one submitted all the spoiled plans together with the completed one and got a premium for all.

- (30) Mofem, another plant in our town, had a fishing camp. I went there quite often after paying 180 forints annual due as a member, even though I did not work for that company. An advantage in reverse was they threatened to reduce unemployment payment benefits, unless one paid union due regularly. But since no one paid the dues, they had to leave the old system anyway. Two years ago my older boy was taken for a two weeks' vacation trip at very low cost. Other than this, everyone in Hungary was entitled to use the "Penny Weekend" trains to undertake tours and trips. An added benefit was that union members could buy half-price railroad tickets once a year. One got around this by figuring out ^{whether} ~~how~~ the ticket would be cheaper ~~and~~ ^{by buying} retroactive union stamps to qualify for the reduced fare. Surprisingly enough I was the technical lecturer of the union until they discovered that I was not a Party member. In fact, they were surprised to find that no one in our section was a member.

- (4) All were decent Hungarians. The technical people were the freest, for the state depended on them the most. There was a shortage of technical personnel and they had to put up with us.

- (4b) We had generally good relations, especially since there were no Party men until the last year when we acquired the young engineer couple. Also there were no informers in our section. Since we had no administrative jobs, there was no room for Communist protégés, especially since they did not understand the technical work. One man in our section had certain political ambitions although he was not a Party member, but presumably he just wanted to balance out his father who was a well-known Horthyite. Once a girl tried to get even with someone she disliked and tried to denounce at the personal section. Shortly thereafter, she was fired herself.
- (4d) We complained in twosomes and if there were more, we kept quiet. One observed one's surroundings and if someone in the group had a Slavic sounding name or was an outsider, who was still not known, we did not speak.
- (4e) CP-members did not stay long in manual jobs, except if they were complete idiots. They very soon became supervisors and we had lots of those. There were always many visitors, supervisors, ministry representatives cruising around. To give an example, I would like to give the personnel of ^adrill press section. For 20 presses there were 12 pressers, about 3 fixers, and 2 foremen. There were also two MEO-men, (technical supervisors) two dispatchers, who pushed the equipment around, altogether 5 supervisors for 12 workers.
- (4fg) This was never serious, aside from politicking, first

serving the Social Democrats and later the Communists. They were only concerned with maintaining production quotas.

- (4i) This was the director, the personnel chief, and the chief engineer - the top echelon. These were the ones who got the orders from the nministry and reported back on operations.
- (4j) If he was technically competent, yes. But he also had to have spirits ~~and~~ drive.
- (4k) Yes, as supervisors without technical competence.
- (4l) Not, if they were not technically competent. If they tried to have technical ambitions and failed, this was too bad, for it sooner or later reflected on them and if the plan was not filled, a scapegoat had to be found.
- (4m) The basic definition: A man of worker background, who did not go to church. To this was added whatever he knew and whatever he ~~did~~^{did}.
- (4p) See above (4b). Also, however, we had a plant security unit, which stood under the direct supervision of the AVO as well as under the director of the plant. These people were responsible when the management was not there and their job was to keep snooping around.
- (5) If one was useful in a plant and did not have much influence, one did not have much of a chance to change jobs. If he was no good, they would be glad to let him go.

- (5b) I would have ^{liked} to be a MASZEK technician; I wanted to be independent.
- (5c) Perhaps travel a little in an old car, but there is no use to dream any further.
- (5d) Yes, I would like to send them to a technological university.
- (6) Basically it is not enough to work 8 hours to make ends meet. For a while my wife worked, ^{and besides} ~~she had a garden~~ we had a garden. I did some MASZEK work secretly, without a licence, I kept a pig, I went hoeing for the peasants, and I kept bees.
- (6b) Clothing was the main problem.
- (7) In 1949 I made 840 forints, which bought as much as my salary bought in 1956.
In 1952 I made 1150 forints.
In 1955 I made ~~1850~~ ¹⁸⁵⁰ forints and the same in 1956.
- (7a) My wife worked for a year in 1953.
- (8) 1850 forints, which with the quarterly premium, came up 2000 forints perhaps, less deductions. For breakdown of financial income and expense, note completed household questionnaire ³⁷ attached to interview.
- (10) Things like Stalintown were certainly not a natural development. And the Agit Prop man trying to prove the

opposite, was always made fun of at meetings. In reality the profit-making industries had to pay for the deficit of the prestige industries, which they built. If we would not try to export, but increased the domestic agricultural production, you could have a fine life in Hungary. Also we would ¹²not have to rely on the Russians for iron ore or other raw materials.

- (10f) There is a man in my town who had a well-equipped, small machine shop, which he operated on a MASZEK basis till ⁹1950. He could at that time no longer stay profitably in business for himself and offered his equipment to a factory, ready ~~to work~~ to work there for a wage on his own machinery. He made the same amount as a worker, as he made ~~as a MASZEK~~ as a MASZEK, without having to take business risks. In 1953, in the wake of the Nagy economic policy, he left the factory again with his equipment and set himself up as a MASZEK. He was holding out until the Revolution, but he was not any better off than in the factory. In my spare time I undertook minor repair jobs for him.

- (10g) Same as before, lousy.

- (1) I attended a state technical school after 8 grades of grade school.
- (1e) I liked the field, I wanted to be a mechanic technician and this school was nearest to us. In order to get higher education, I would have had to ~~move~~ move to another city. Economically that was impossible.
- (2) See above.
- (4) To alienate the children from the family; to educate them to like the régime, but these plans were never carried out, because, as at home so in school, Hungarians taught our children. Our children were careful what they said in school. Yet they were critical with what they heard. They were open-minded on what the teacher said and they received a very thorough education, they were both excellent pupils. They also attended religious instruction.
- (4b) It was not at all successful and it lacks every natural basis. Also the Communist ~~trained teachers~~ ^{-tainted teachers} tried to instill it too eagerly in the children.
- (4g) They are less polite, though they all learned sooner or later the amenities of civilisation.
- (4i) Only disgust takes one to Communism and a sense of irresponsibility. It must be an abnormal development in a person. The only danger we are exposed to in Hungary, is Russian imperialism.

- (5) My father was a payroll clerk. He retired in 1956 from the job he ~~was~~^{held} for several decades.
- (5f) We did not live very well, because I have 7 brothers and sisters.
- (5g) See above.
- (5h) Two of them are ⁱⁿ Australia, one is in France, and two of them are at home.
- (5k) This did not create a problem for us, although in small towns it is hard to get ahead, if one comes from a bad kader. It is not so important in a big city.
- (6) Yes.
- (6a) She worked one year in 1953. She worked in the plant, now manufacturing small electrical appliances.
- (6c) We have three children.
- (6d) Two boys, aged 11 and 8, and a girl aged three.
- (7) This was no problem at all in our family.
- (8) Yes, anti-Russian conversations.
- (9) No, we had none of these, at any rate not yet.
- (10) Not on our children. Our teachers were reliable people, with some exceptions. Some outsiders tried to come and teach the monkey theory, but we sent them away. (DARWIN'S)

- (11) Very good relationships.
- (12) There were no differences between our parents and us, although they perhaps were more careful.
- (14) It was quite close. There was no change in closeness.
- (14c) Fishing, bee-keeping, fixing and repairing radios, electrical equipment, etc., namely trying to find some part-time income. On Sundays we went out perhaps for some quiet entertainment and we went to movies perhaps with another family.
- (14d) At times I took them fishing or we went scouting and bathing in the river.
- (14g) I had to make ends meet, that's all.
- (15) I do not think they changed.
- (15a) There was no change in that.
- (15b) This too remained the same.
- (15e) For some reason my children are more anti-Communitic than I am.
- (16) Their relations are freer perhaps; now more girls go out alone with boys without a chaperon.
- (16b) Before they had a church wedding, now they have in secret. The parents still try to provide the young couple with furniture, white goods, even an apartment or a part of a house.

This is the same as it was before and as it is everywhere else. Only now the youngsters are let loose with official approval. There is still police ~~supervision~~ ^{SUPERVISION} in the movies and if for no other reason, to suppress cat calls or whistling against Party propaganda. I do not see much change since before. There was a lot of moral turpitude before and there is still a lot of it. Some of this government propaganda aimed to protect the trashy women, who are the mainstays of the Party.

- (16e) This is the same as it was before. Officially it is prohibited, but all bars employ help who are available after hours.
- (16f) They made more fuss, but in the end it was all the same. It was fun for the Party secretary to hold meetings on slightly risky topics.
- (16h) The state does not recognize illegitimacy, since a father is always assigned. However, the woman is not economically compensated adequately from a meagre allowance paid.
- (16i) There are many women in politics these days and they advanced greatly. There is not much other change, since many women who work now, had worked before the war. There were always many women working in our town and they always got less pay than men, the same as now.
- (17) The real problem is the definition of crime. To-day everything is a crime, including being late to one's

work. The problem itself is the same what it always was. There may be some Party loudmouths now, who wanted to get ahead by accusing others.

(17b) Economic necessity often forces workers in plants to fabricate gadgets out of waste materials. Everywhere in the world, one can ask a shop foreman and do this after work hours. In Hungary, if one is politically disliked, such an act is branded a crime whenever this *is* convenient for the authorities. I once made a gadget out of waste materials with the written permission of our section manager. By the time I was finished with this work, our section manager was replaced and this incident looked like a good opportunity to accuse him and me of theft. I was dragged to police headquarters and urged to work as an informer, in which case they will forget about this incident. I think, I have mentioned this before. The piece of steel I was supposed to have stolen, was not worth more than a couple of marks perhaps.

I knew of an AVH-man, who was a professional criminal himself and who was actually convicted for robbing the home of a trade union secretary. He went a long way in the AVH by denouncing a great number of people. During the Revolution he was let out of jail, where he was serving for the robbery and lynched by his former victims.

- (18) This friend of ours was a former Győr resident, who moved to Magyaróvár a few years ago. He was a Party member and had a position as an administrative official at City Hall. These people were usually in a tight spot, because they had desirable jobs in which they were easily replaced. I met him through our wives, who worked together in 1954 in the factory.
- (18c) We went out together on Sunday afternoons, took walks, had a few beers, or went to a movie.
- (18d) Yes, we understood each other very well and we entirely agreed in our condemnation of the régime. He always had information on the domestic political developments and he gave us the news he got from City Hall. He related the substances of Party meetings, policy aims, and personnel policies.
- (18f) Yes, although through the distance one cannot maintain a friendship easily. Also unfortunately, he has now gotten into trouble because of his friendship with me.
- (18g) Reliability.
- (18i) I never wanted anyone as a friend, who was not a Hungarian, because the ones I knew who were not true Hungarians, were frequently pro-Russian. A friend had to have similar views as mine. Thus he could not be an atheist, for example. Also a good friend should not be ~~kept for taking advantage of.~~ ^{taken advantage of.}
- (18k) They are always very cautious as to what steps they take and they never show their real opinions.

- (19) We are Catholic and all religious, but not overly so.
- (19b) Same with me.
- (20a) Yes, it did and generally speaking, all religions were equally hurt; Catholics as well as Reformed and Lutheran. That they were concerned is obvious from the fact that the Party secretary kept reports on whose children received a religious education. I know that various Party members went to church to check up whether specific persons attended services or not, ~~then~~ also to see whether the priest brought any political meaning into his sermons.
- (20b) The second, I think, they wanted the church to support them. To control them, the bishops had reliable Party members supervising all church activities and they did much informing and spying about the clergy.
- (20c) There were none at Magyarovar, but there was one priest in Moson, who was jailed for having preached too strongly against the régime and he was accused of ^ahoarding gold. He died in the Pécs mines two years later. There were no "peace priests" in smaller towns, only in the biggest population or religious centres.
- (20f) Yes, they could, but they were being observed. On religious holidays, the Communists refused to relocate the traffic from the one street which the procession would have needed and so the procession went round and round in a small circle in front of the church in the park.

One could go without trouble to church, but in a small town the Party secretary knew the ~~xxxxx~~ following day if a top official went to service on Sunday.

- (20g) Perhaps some people, but most were careful. Actually, I think, there are more people in the churches now, at least on the big holidays, for attendance on those days had political overtones.
- (20h) Quite regularly.
- (20i) People in lower type jobs could go with impunity. The higher ups were more cautious. The youth and the older people went perhaps more regularly than the 20-30 year age group.
- (20j) They were quite uniform in this.
- (20k) Some went to spite the Communists, ^{but} for many others religion meant real spiritual strength against the Communist régime.
- (20l) Both, teachers and priests taught children secretly in the Hungarian spirit.
- (21) Engineer or skilled technician.
- (21a) Because for a long time they will have a shortage of competent, technically skilled people. If they are good men, the régime will depend on them to improve the production. An artist lives better perhaps, but he must be politically at least neutral and very sensible about his activities. An engineer would not have to participate in seminaries very much and could live

a good normal life. This job, of course, would I recommend under the present circumstances, when a young man could not hope to be independent and self-employed.

(21b) Competence. To give the impression of adjusting to the régime.

(21c) They picked proletarian children, but if a child was bright in school, they did not go out of the way to suppress him, even if he did not come from proletarian background, unless they considered the child's parents ~~as~~ dangerous for the régime. ~~as~~ The average child, if he knew enough Marxism, ~~he~~ had no problems. Yet, in spite of the scholarships given to proletarian children, the economic benefits parents of middle class background could give their children even now, let more children of middle class parentage go ^{to} the universities than poor workers' children, in spite of the government's policies. Apparently the peasant children are the ones who are primarily switching to the technical fields.

(22) The very worst off were the pensioners who had no basis and no security at all. Almost on their level were the proletarians, by whom I understand the unskilled helpers of industry and all those without any skill or resources. These people were grossly underpaid and exploited. A little better, but almost on the same level were priests, who depended on contributions for their livelihood. The next level would be that of

administrative personnel, who would be insecure in their positions and they did not get high salaries. They would be most dependent on the régime. Little better were technical officials and skilled workers. And finally, but these were not even a class, only a group to themselves, the Party secretaries and other foreign agents, who were ruling the country. These people had high incomes, but what is more important, they had many chances to make financial deals and profit by various machinations.

(22a) The technical group.

(22b) In the same.

(22cd) This was a very small segment. They made a lot of money and had great prestige with the régime.

(23) There is still a mental and a manual worker class and not much aristocracy left over. Most of these work also. Besides these two, there are the Communist faithful and the spy system. In a way, youth is a separate class, for up to the age of 18 they are cuddled by the régime, but once they are back from the army, they do ^{NOT} have much to say any more. A young man was pleased at the age of 18 to make as much money as a man of 40 with many years experience would on the assembly line. But he did not realize the fact that he would never advance from there. Youngsters could talk more freely, as they are not taken as seriously.

- (23b) People are closer to each other socially. There was before a level which despised the workers both, manual and ~~manual~~ ^{mental} workers, and they had a *sycophant* following of opportunists. This class is now doing the same by serving the Communists.
- (23d) It does not now, although there is a general disgust towards Party functionaries and the appendages of the régime. It was we who ~~did not~~ ^{avoided} ~~relations with~~ the AVO, not the other way round.
- (23e) Within the working classes there is more uniformity to-day, but there are greater differences between the new ruling class and the people then in the past.
- (23g) Now the worker has more freedom to talk back and this is one of the new opportunities. In the past there was more of the military-type relationship between people of ^{different} ~~and~~ classes.
- (24) In 1945, the Germans were discriminated against in Hungary. Later on there were no differences between minority groups.
- (24a) The Slav descent population was favoured by the régime. In practice, this meant for example that 20 Slovak families would have a separate school established for them, teaching them in their language.
- (25) They brought the Red Régime to Hungary and they were not affected by it. In 1947, the elections would not *have*

succeeded without their supervision, because our own home-grown Communists were too dumb to think of all the tricks. They would have either hung us or gotten defeated at the polls. It took the Jews with their cleverness to control Hungary.

(25a) They were rarely in open opposition against the régime and in the few instances when they did get in trouble with the Communists, some of them were jailed, but all of them were very soon released. One never heard of a Jew who would have sat in a camp for 8-10 years, because they got out through connections very quickly. I understand they are leaving Hungary now in great numbers, so they must have it bad now.

(25b) Generally they played a ^{MAJOR} ~~significant~~ role in the government, but there are not many ^{LITTLE JEWS AS} ~~upper~~ Party members in places like our plant, for example. There were very few Jews in our town, because they preferred to live in Budapest, which was known as "Little Palestine". In 1945, when I joined the Social Democratic Party, I found only Jews at Party headquarters in Budapest and ^{later} there were only Jews in the Communist headquarters in Budapest. The upper leadership was entirely Jewish. So were all travelling Party organizers. At the AVH, officers above the rank of captain were mainly Jews, under that rank very few.

(25c) There was one Jew in our plant. He was a quiet,

retiring man, but his brother was a functionary, The brother lived in Győr. since one never remains a Party functionary in familiar surroundings.

- (25d) The Petöfi Circle was maintained and supported by its many Jewish members and although they protested last spring, one did not hear of it at all during the Revolution.
- (25e) There are not many Jews in the country, no more than 20 or 30 in our town and most of them lived in Budapest or kept travelling. They, however, create a major problem in Hungary, because they imported the Communist system to us. Of course, this was not beneficial for their business dealings, but ^{they} did get rewarding positions through their connections, so it did pay off. During the Revolution they ~~were~~ retired and kept quiet. The AVO was at first all Jewish, but later the sons of swine herds took over the lower positions.
- (25f) We pitied them during the war and we had no Jewish question before in our town. But after the war, we saw them destroy the Hungarian parties and we saw them merge the Communists with the Social Democrats. That was the beginning of the rising antagonism against them.
- (25g) It had received sense since its pre-war days. Personally I did not know the Jews' role and influence in Russia before the war and now, after the war, I began to see how they had sharpened the situation.

- (25h) A Jewish leadership cannot be imagined in a free Hungary and a Jewish government is impossible. But they certainly would be equal in every way.

- (1) In as much as it concern me personally, it interests me.
- (1a) It is a new interest, which I developed since the occupation. I cannot say that I was not interested before, but it ^{did} not tie me down or any of my time.
- (1c) For three months in 1945, but I was disappointed because it never opposed the CP. Instead they made way for it. (*THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS*)
- (2) During the war, Hungary could not do anything but ~~to~~ join a major power. This, in spite of the fact that we regarded German rule as an occupation also. With the advent of the Russian rule, we did not expect anything good, only that it will not last for long. The one-Party rule was even more disliked by all and privately all are anti-Russian in Hungary. At the same time we knew that we needed Western help, because alone we are unable to solve the problem.
- (2e) We knew very little of the Communists during the war and had no opinions ^{about them} ~~on it~~, especially since we considered their defamation as so much propaganda. We did not believe either extreme position, especially since we had no interest in politics anyway. We started forming our opinions after the Russian occupation.
- (2f) Had they not come to us, I would never have found out about them. But they came and made themselves disliked. I never expected anything or trusted them and I knew

that they would have to conduct affairs under the Russians' rule. In the beginning in 1945, I joined the Social Democrats in order to fight them.

- (2g) Generally yes, most people did. Most started getting interested in politics only because they felt its effects on their lives.
- (2h) Being unarmed, they were quiet against the armed might, yet still the régime steadily suppressed and terrorized the people.
- (2i) One only noticed their existence, if an expected promotion did not come through, or if one was demoted. The whole system is only about three years old and many good kaders got ahead without necessary qualifications on the basis of their favourable background.
- (3) There was not enough income, in spite of the lies that the standard of living has risen. Had there been a purpose obvious for which this sacrifice was demanded, one could have accepted it. However, we sacrificed, had no benefits, there were no long-range aims, and on top of it, they denied this ^{taking} ~~our~~ place, assuring us that we were actually better off under this régime.
- (3a) (iv), (vi), (ix).
- (3b) (x), (i), (viii).
- (3c) (vii), (ix), (xiii).
- (3d) (ix), (iii), this was partly their own fault, for they did not care, and (i).

- (i) This by exchanging good land for bad, benefiting the collective at the expense of the individual peasant.
- (3e) (v), (xii), (ix), (vi), and (xiii). For all of these, of course (xii) was the basic objection, none of the others could have taken place without it.
- (3h) The Party officials in the country and small towns always covered themselves, trying to play both ends.
- (3j) Perhaps the standard joke, the definition of happiness: "If the midnight knock on the door by the AV0 was meant for the man on the next floor." This was temporary relief.
- (4) In the hands of the AVH and the Ministry of Interior. Other agencies were branches of these and the role of the military and the police was to serve them. Behind these key-organisations, however, stood the Russian officials directing them.
- (4f) A rather large one. Take the plant now called Mofem, in which I used to work during and before the war. It was managed by a director, a chief engineer, a plant engineer, 10 masters, 10 administrative officials, and 400 workers. To-day there are 1300 workers under the following management team: A director, a chief engineer, a personnel chief, these three jobs being political and these people had no technical competence. The technical management was then in the hands of five plant engineers, 40 technicians, 20 masters, and this

would just about be adequate, however, there were 30 trade union officials and 50 Party officials in various capacities being part or full-time Party employees. There were also about 30 plant policemen. All these people did a lot of administrative work, which was not even thought about before. Altogether there were about 200 people in MEO, the technical control section alone. To compare the two figures then, we have now 250 officials for 1300 workers against the former ten officials to 400 workers. The Communists gave their own statistics on this and 40 % non-producing staff against 60 % producing staff was a very good proportion. More often than not the proportion was 50 : 50 %, and here they are including the apprentices in the productive force, and properly so, since they learned very little, working most of the time on dull jobs they could do fast.

- (4h) The Party reliables took over the controlling positions and the old lower grade employees stayed on. Now the new generation is taking over from them.
- (4i) In the lower officer ranks, the former ex-sergeants do duty now. But over the rank of captain and colonel, the officers are mainly Jewish and mostly Party people. The brother of a schoolmate of mine, who was never soldier in his life before, was a colonel in 1948. His name was Klein.
- (4j) People with connections and influential relatives,

more often than not, Jews. Our former director in the agricultural machinery plant, was a chauffeur before.

- (5) I was not a member.
- (6) This had two meanings: From below, he was considered an SOB. For themselves, it meant various obligations. The rest of the people kept away from them.
- (6a) No one had to. But people were bulldozed to join at times.
- (6b) Those who wanted to live and advance without work.
- (6d) Yes, I did.
- (6e) As long as one was not a member, *one could hide one's* ~~also perhaps hid his~~ true nature. Of course, those who volunteered to join belonged there. Some of them, however, were willing to co-operate with them to a degree, but not further.
- (6f) This what they do in Hungary, is not Communism. The proletarians are worse off, the workers are worse off. Would the mass of the people be better off under the Russians, they would have succeeded in making them Communists, but not this way.
- (6h) No, I was not.
- (6r) They followed the orders of Budapest. Who the boss there is, I would not know. After 12 years of life there, I do not know who pulls the strings. Rákosi cannot be it either, else he would still be at his job. The directions must come straight from Moscow.

- (7) No, I was not.
- (8) Of our 1500 workers, we had perhaps 5 convinced Communists. These were usually reliable Communists, who had some blemishes on their records, by which their careers were tied to the success of the régime. These people would have failed on account of their shortcomings with the end of the régime. Some of the Communists relied on the Russians alone, but even they would have turned around, had the Russians left.
- (10b) People were often unjustly jailed and punished without reason. The police and the army were unwilling to do this sort of thing and they were not reliable for it. The régime needed people with stronger stomachs and less conscience. This created the need for the AVH.
- (10e) Earlier they tried to recruit ex-soldiers as they were leaving the service. Later they even assigned draftees to it. Some people had made mistakes and were compromised to join it, in order to stay out of trouble. Finally there was always a group of people capable of doing anything for an easy life.
- (10j) The police chief was usually an AVO official, ~~the same~~ ^{and in}
~~the~~ the army/ the political officer was an AVO-man.
- (10k) Our plant's Party secretary was an AVH first lieutenant. The AVH and the Party were two sides of the same thing. They had daily conferences on their policies

and activities.

(11) My brother, my sister, and my brother-in-law were jailed.

(11a) In 1949, my brother and my sister tried to smuggle out somebody from Budapest and brought this person to Magyarovar. My other brother, who lived in Austria then came to Hungary to lead this person out. He successfully escaped with the man, but some outsider, who was also involved in the smuggling got caught and spilled the whole story. So my sister and my brother were arrested and, since they did not really have any criminal accusations against them, they tried to gain them as informers. They both refused and they both sat four years in jail. The AVH then went to my sick mother and faked a letter from her to my brother in Austria to come home. The fool came, but he was suspicious and at first sign of an AVH-man he backtracked and ~~was~~ ^{luckily} ~~escaped~~ he escaped. They tried to find him afterwards with a 200 men posse.

(11d) An independent ^E farmer, a MASZEK, a plant's director, the ~~the~~ latter for two reasons: Either for embezzlements, which often happened among these self-styled managers, or if production plans were not filled. I knew of a ~~worker~~ chief engineer, who was arrested for using too many tools on a machine. His case was dismissed and he was let go. Nevertheless he was arrested. Priests also were exposed to arrests.

- (11g) No, I would not know of any details.
- (11h) All the former top city officials were taken away from our town, which was near the border. Some of them came back later, but meanwhile they lost all their possessions, because their deportation presented an opportunity to plunder.
- (13) Be quiet, especially with strangers or unreliables. One can avoid having to join the CP, if one stays quiet.
- (13b) Yes, for the time being, but if there is a change in the top leadership, the fall of one Communist leader may mean the downfall of his follower in a village outpost.
- (13c) These are very useful. These can be either a few idealists, ^{still} ~~what they are~~ left, or some reformed opportunists or careerists, who tried to make up for their sins.
- (13d) Yes, whatever the crime committed, if one has a bad kader, they see politics behind it. If one is of good background, they consider it a common crime.
- (13e) Yes, I heard one could buy officials.
- (13f) Generally yes, since the government too prefers quiet workers, who do not fuss or complain.
- (14) After the Imre Nagy régime, the independent MASZEKS were broken again by accusations. They were accused to have bought stolen goods and 1001 other crimes.

- (15) They have a decisive role.
- (15a) All decisions are made in Moscow.
- (15d) I do not know of any, but I know that the Győr Party secretary spoke very poor Hungarian. This was not unusual and we also had one like this for a short time.
- (15e) Strongest influence was through their control of AVH and of production.
- (16) On May Day Parades we would walk on the sidewalks instead of in the Parade. We always left the slogans and picture boards standing against the wall. The majority of the people never went to seminars and, as a result, the Party functionaries steadily complained about the lack of social consciousness. Even the Party members were unwilling to pay their Party dues. And no one went to see propaganda movies or shows.
- (16c) One was not frank with CP members, unless they were personally known, nor with people who earned their living through political jobs.
- (16d) If one had no CP connections, one could talk with ^{one}~~his~~ freely. One could even attack the plant's managements as long as it was not directed against the Party and its principles. But actually all were concerned with making a living and not with production. It was their major source of trouble that there was no contact at all between the people and the leadership.

- (17) Many times workers created the impression of doing a rush work, but actually doing nothing. This one learned with practice. One did not have to disregard and openly oppose directives, since directives were never explicit on anything. This was due to the fact that any mistakes made, may backfire on those who gave the directions. The Party bosses were concerned with production and personal advancement. And if explicit directives were given on anything, they would be blamed for mistakes and failures. Thus, they intentionally remained vague.
- (17b) If he did not pay his debts, he piled them up and in the end, he had to join the collective to wipe them out. This has not changed, even now. The peasant is in permanent debt~~s~~ and he is forced^{to make} deliveries, but by being unable to wipe out his debts, he is as much under control of the government as he was last year.
- (18) The strength is that the Russians are there. Everything else is their weakness.
- (19b) There were no groups as such, although the Petöfi Circle prepared the Revolt artificially. They fanned the flames and the MEFESZ then was the breeze announcing the Revolution.
- (19c) The AVO and their allies.
- (19l) See above.

- (1) RFE, Vienna, and also Paris and BBC.
- (1a) BBC was most reliable.
- (1b) Vienna.
- (2) I do not think I ~~was~~ ever read Szabad Nép once. I read Radio Technika and Gép, a magazine for machinists. I never read a daily paper, ~~they~~ they only annoyed us. ~~It~~ *If it* occurred that someone mentioned a good story in the Communist Dailies, then I looked that up. On the whole however, they were silent about what really concerned us, but wrote long articles on nonsense. Major policy changes would appear in tiny, one-paragraph stories. My news information was based entirely on the Radio. Other than that we read Uj Ember, the Catholic periodical.
- (2e) Yes, there was one in the plant. It was CP-members activity to maintain this.
- (2g) Rarely.
- (2j) I saw RFE handbills, but the AVH hunted for the balloons to get hold of the nylon.
- (3) On Sundays usually.
- (3a) Never saw Russian films, only Hungarian or Western films.
- (3b) Entertainment movies. We did not care for the Hungarian propaganda films either.
- (3c) I did see a Russian film once, when they sold tickets

to a foreign movie, but instead prolonged the running Russian film for an extra day. This way, they filled the movie with people for a Russian film. But this only happened once.

(3e) Now and then.

(3f) Operas, old topics, but if the play smells ^{led} of politics, we did not go.

(4b) It is hard to recollect. One read many books by English ^{and} Indian authors. I also recall South American travelogues. I remember one title I read "The ^{Eagle's} ~~High~~ Way".

(4e) Eszmond Moricz, Arany, and Attily Jozsef. There were also many foreign authors I liked, but only individual titles. By the way, why is Illyes called a Communist writer. Nor is Lőrinc Szabo. I cannot understand why the Communists pushed them as Communist writers. I read "Huns in Paris" and it is not at all Communistic.

(5) Daily.

(5b) With short wave reception.

(6) Yes, we did.

(6d) London. It was most modest.

(7) Whenever I went to Budapest, I got a lot of news and these news spread very fast. Mainly those who had *connections*

(7g) Mainly those who ^{did} business in Budapest.

- (8) I never read them.
- (8d) They twisted facts so far that one believed nothing in the end.
- (8e) All were alike. Uj Ember was not a propaganda paper and in the last two years it dared to attack the régime on occasion. The other papers only during the last four months.
- (8f) No, I have not read it.
- (9) If one heard a rumour, one tried to find out the truth about it.
- (10a) This was an act of war. The Japanese would have done the same in a reverse situation.
- (10b) We had our own opinions. Russia started all these redolings.
- (10c) We did not take this seriously at all. It was a two-edged sword and the enemy would have obviously retaliated. No one dared to start. What is the truth in it? In 1949 we were forced to protest the execution of a captured Communist Greek general. We did protest, although we were glad for each Communist killed. When the US was almost pushed out of Korea, we felt very sorry. We had a big map with little flag showing the battle lines and outside of the Party bigwigs, we all knew which side we pulled for.
- (10d) We heard of it. They tried to scare us with German arms.

They did not know that we thought a strong Germany ~~a~~
needed ^{to} balance ~~us~~ a powerful Russia. We knew they had
~~strength~~ ^{strength}, but we knew that it would take a few years
to build a new army.

- (10e) I saw these balloons myself.
- (10f) We knew of it through the Western Radios.
- (10g) The West's opinion was generally accepted at home.
- (10h) I knew that only those can fight Communism who are
there in Hungary among the Communists.

- (1) We need free elections and we have to abolish the tyranny. We must have free opinions and a free press. We must find new strength, because the Czechs will not protect Europe nor will the Yugoslavs. They are all fighting against each other, especially with their neighbours. We saw that the Little Entente was unstable and their quarrels with Hungary left no force to defend the Danube Basin against the Russians and the Germans.
- (1a) The Communists established a régime that was similar to the old, only worse. Feudalism is dead anyway.
- (1b) We were just behind the rest of Europe and that we caught up with it, is not the Communists' achievement.
- (2) Of course, you need them.
- (2a) Yes.
- (2b) I would forbid the Communist Party. We are next door neighbours to Russia. The French can afford to have a Communist Party, for they are far away from the Communist mother country.
- 63) Let him talk.
- (3c) No one should not.
- (3d) A foreign power alone can hurt the state's interests.
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Yes.
- (4b) If they have imperialist ambitions and want to destroy

democracy.

- (5) Room should be given to private enterprise. State capitalism must be ended, for it serves no good purpose. Minimal wages should be legally established and as long as social insurance coverage for the sick and the helpless are provided, the economy should be free.
- (6) If it is nationalized in a democracy, that is no great danger. If a key-industry is nationalized, but follows a good direction, politically, nationalisation causes no harm.
- (6b) Of course, there are. On the basis if the owners are willing to bring in foreign capital to finance the economic crisis, which would ensue after a change of the political economic system in Hungary. Outright return to the former owners could not be more than perhaps the value of the land, for the ^{bombed out} ~~Hungarian~~ factories of 1945 had been rebuilt by hard working workers and these should be compensated, either the owners paying into a state fund, or else establish ^{ing} an insurance and pension fund for the workers.
- (6c) Of course, I do.
- (6e) That is the same as the British National Coal Board, It gives unified direction to production.
- (7) No, I disapprove. I would not simply return plants to

the old owners, but ~~any~~ manage these through co-operatives or permit private ownership, if ~~the~~ foreign capital purchases the plants.

- (8) The entire people is the state. Such control can ~~be~~ ^{lead to} either ~~Communism~~ Communism or fascism. I can imagine foreign trade in the hands of a state monopoly to influence our export - import policies, but not control of the domestic market.
- (9) Yes, many.
- (10) Faithfulness, the obedience of laws, etc.
- (10e) Yes, these are mutual.
- (11) There is more aspirin and there are more doctors. But there is less confidence in the medical treatment given by the OTI and less confidence in state medicine. Their treatment is altogether mechanized and mechanical.
- (11c) With a serious sickness one goes to a private doctor.
- (12) Perhaps they have more chances to-day, it is cheaper.
- (12a) I do not ~~think~~ think so, but there is a big difference in ticket prices and tickets are now by far cheaper than previously.
- (12b) Yes, if it is not a Russian film. In my youth there were no daily showings as there are now.

- (13) No, they do not.
- (13a) While the inflation period lasted, the food situation was worse than now. After the currency reform, people ate much better than now.
- (13b) The situation was better in 1950.
- (14) Before the war a good suit was less than a month's pay, now it costs more.
- (14a) After the reform it was better than now.
- (14b) It was better in 1950.
- (15) Yes, it has. Russia wanted to make Hungary dependent on the Russian economy. With to-day's Hungarian economy we need the Russians, and that is what they wanted.
- (16) The competent, educated people should manage factories without political intervention. They should see productivity only and nothing else.
- (16a) The union should be outside of the plant protecting the workers' interests and not those of the state.
- (16a) After the last war much capital escaped from Hungary and much new investment took place by the state. If anyone claims any former assets, he has to bring in new capital from the West and then he can manage his factory again. There is no sense in having the workers manage a plant, when they are not competent to do so. They just tend to waste more time and, since in

to-day's Hungary all are workers, it has a bad taste of class-war, when we tend to trust the manual worker more than the mental worker. Those more competent to work with their brains should manage a plant and those who are better at working with their hands, should produce the goods. Each should be active in his own sphere. Other than this, the government should take care of the social problems of the workers or else, if they fail, they will no longer be in office in a democracy. The trade unions' task is to defend the rights of the workers and they have nothing to do with management.

- (17) The idea of the collectives is not bad for the future Hungary. It must not be the way as they do it to-day, but those co-operatives which are economically sensible and whose members voluntarily are willing to co-operate in the future, should stay in business. There is no sense in forcing unwilling and unproductive co-operatives. The rest of the peasants should become independent. If they may want to co-operate in marketing and production as in the West, it is often done, so good.
- (17h) Yes, all should receive their own.
- (17i) They should get back as much as they can work themselves. Somehow they should perhaps be compensated financially for 500 or 1000 acres, but not necessarily in land. But 200,000 estates are an absurdity, which

would take us back to the Middle Ages.

- (17l) Agriculture has a decisive place in the Hungarian economy, it is therefore in the benefit of the state to have it producing and prosperous and therefore the farmers should be encouraged. This could be with long-range loans, etc., but the farmers can repay it and we must look at it as investments.
- (17m) The equipment should be sold to farmers or to entrepreneurs who would work the land for a fee. Let them all compete with each other and if one is conducting his business at a loss, he will soon learn. As I said above, in a democracy, elections take care of major abuses.
- (17q) Yes, definitely.
- (18) As Christ said, each should be concerned with his own, but since a priest is also a citizen, he should participate in politics as much as he wants to. They had huge estates in the past and perhaps there is no future for this. They were in it ^{for} business, not only to pay for their teaching and other activities and expenses. We must recognize that they gave a good education in the denominational schools in the past in Hungary. Also to-day the religious borders do not serve foreign interests, as they did during the Habsburgs.
- (18c) Yes, in as much as they should be enabled to fulfill their obligations, one of which is to teach. There is no reason why their brains should not be used whenever

they are competent, especially since their philosophy is useful to balance the Communist system.

(18d) They should have their say as qualified intellectuals, but different directions should be permitted to enable various attitudes to flourish, and to permit healthy intellectual opposition. Divergence and opposition are needed for a good government.

(18f) This is a hard question. It seems, however, that denominational schools are better on the whole and will remain so for some time.

(19) These are either non-Communists to begin with, or frequently incompetence^{ts}. Most Communists to-day are either dumb or unreliable. They should go back to work.

(19e) Nothing.

(19f) Those who committed their irresponsible acts, crimes, murders, or acts of violence, must account for them. The people know very well and keep track of individuals' activities. As a human being he will be called to task, but not as an AVH-man. The others should be sent back to work.

(19g) The police should administer and stay out of politics. Those who are now policemen, are in part experts of their craft and as long as they are non-political, let them be. Those who are political appointees or have politically been active, will have trouble anyway. As in every other field, the chiefs were political, con-

fidential appointees, while the police experts were their deputies.

- (20) Ever since the times of Saint Stephen, when his Christianisation efforts established peace and order in Hungary and in the neighbouring countries. I would not have mentioned the Turkish wars, because the experiences with the present are very similar. Then too, the bordering nation bled, while the Western nations persuaded it to fight. That times it was the French mainly, who besides allied themselves with the enemy of Christ²endom.

- (21) I think so, yes.

This is valid for (21a, b, c). The main differences that you cannot lead the Hungarians as a group. There are always some in opposition and there is always healthy criticism. They are individualists.

- (21e) None, now.

- (21f) There was a small class of pre-war aristocracy, who kept themselves apart from the rest of the population and despised them. This class did not include intelligentsia, for the intelligentsia was not part of them. I mean the class which had nothing but rank and could therefore command. Frequently they were not even wealthy. Some of their members became officers in the Hungarian army.

- (22) There was no independent Hungarian government yet. Each was obligated to some power. Before 1919, Austria ruled and afterwards Hungary was so dismembered that it was too small to permit it to follow an independent policy. But under Horthy there were free courts and the laws were observed. Although a revolutionary power is never peacefully subjected, even the Communist trials were open in 1920.
- (22c) Until 1945, ~~there~~ in the later years of the war, big industry paid a lot of taxes, so there was not excessive profiteering at the expense of the little people. Actually around 1935, an independent MASZEK made less money than he would have earned in a plant. Thus, one cannot say the manufacturer exploited the worker more. There was some agricultural exploitation till before the war, although the agricultural labourers made more then, than they are making now in the collectives. In our areas, the initials TSZCS, the official name of collectives, is popularly known as Tovabb Szolgalo Csaled; freely translated this means "Farmland turned professional". The pre-war farmhand got 50 pengos month wages, he got his milk, his bacon, his salt meat and he kept his pig. He also got a suit of clothes. He did not have to stay there either, for he could go to work in a factory. But there always are people who desire a job on an estate, where they have more security and less work.

- (22e) 1) This was a type of Communism, it must have been directed by some such group as the one calling the tune to-day. Whenever the nation's strength is sapped, then they come in ~~and take control~~ *taking control*. Karolyi was a figure head for them, I think he was proposed by the Kun gang.
- 2) I consider ~~his position similar to~~ *his position similar to* Dobi's role now.
- (22f) They were not very significant - for me. We had a striking and peculiar class, the upper tenthousand, who in part constituted a segment of the officer corps. In my own world, I have known directors, big merchants, educated people, who were not at all of that type. They could not have ~~and~~ remain ^{ed} in business or ^a leading position for long.
- (22g) Horthy did what he could and ^I do not think anyone could have done better under the circumstances. It should be recalled that the former economic successes have now been suppressed. The MASZEKs are small and helpless. There has not been any progress, only regress in Hungary. Take television. It is still only experimental in Hungary, in spite of the fact that we had a well-developed electrical industry of substantial proportions, but we have not advanced since. On the other hand, the general educational level is not weaker now, than it was before. Of course, there are irregularities now, and some cannot go to the universities, while others benefit, if they are politically reliable. Such things

went on even in the old system to a degree. Each ruling power pushes its own class of people ahead. I think, in a free Hungary we could now find a good, sane middle way, avoiding the two extremes.

(22h) Whatever we would have done, the results would have been the same. Just take a look at Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. They were anti-German, but they are in the same boat now.

(22i) As long as the multi-party system existed, normal conditions prevailed, except for the presence of the Russians. Both, income level and the degree of public security were tolerable. There were several abuses, as the Hungarian German, the Swabs were being discriminated against and economically exploited and ruined. In our district this was done by an old Jewish committee and many of these people got rich on what they took away and failed to hand over to the state. A man called [REDACTED] got rich this way and built himself several houses. They simply failed to account of what they collected from the Germans. In the end, some of them sold these houses to the state. It also happened that the arrow-cross people turned against the Germans and so the former allies were set on each other.

Horthy was not pro-German, but the situation created by the Versailles Peace, drove him into the position he took. When I was drafted to the army in 1939, a strong anti-German atmosphere prevailed and only a few

Nazi-type officers could be found. It was such quiet defeatism, which got me my discharge in the end, because for months they could not find a train to take the troops into the field, when we were called ~~up~~ for duty. So, in the end, they simply let us go home.

(23) Of course, borders are important. An area populated by Hungarians under foreign administration, will never bring good results. And the opposite of this is also true. If one considered borders unimportant, the Russians could go on to the Atlantic tomorrow. I think, the Versailles Treaty in 1920, only made the way for Slavic expansion into Europe, but France and Britain did not profit by this and they were blind to see what they were doing.

(23bd) There are no native differences between us ^{and} the others, but: The areas returned in 1938 from Czechoslovakia, almost entirely populated by Hungarians, are and belong to Hungary. With 2 million Hungarians in Transylvania, I do not know why Rumania got hold of that province, unless it was to pay a French debt for their 1919 invasion of Hungary, subduing the Communists. The purely Hungarian populated regions along the Hungarian border of Yugoslavia, were only handed to her for military reasons for an aggressive purpose. Unfortunately now again many Slovaks, Croats, etc., are in commanding positions in Hungary under the Russian rule.

- (24) Either to reestablish old Hungary on its natural frontiers, which can be defended adequately and this solution is not as impossible now, because had the Revolution succeeded, the Slovaks would have been glad to join us and the Transylvanian-Rumanians as well. They would have liked to get away from their Communist overlords. Besides, even till 1919, the Slovaks numbered 50 % only in Slovakia.
- (24a) It would be useful for Hungary, but not in a Russian dominated confederation, only in one where Hungary could be an equal partner.
- (25) They are just like us. The basic difference is that the Russian lets himself be led by his nose for 40 years in a mass by those demagogues. They could not have done that with the Hungarians. Indeed, I cannot understand how they stood for that at all. In Hungary we have Croats, Slovaks, who lived with us for hundreds of years and they are normal, peaceful, freedom loving people. I cannot understand how the Communists managed to rule in ~~the~~ Russia.
- (26a) This is hard to say. I think, they should build churches and preach their doctrines for those who want to hear them, like all other religions. Their theories are unrealistic, for everyone prefers himself a bit more than his neighbour.

- (26c) An adventurer.
- (26d) Even worse.
- (26e) He is a Stalinist.
- (26h) You cannot be a Russian imperialist and a democrat. Actually Marxism and democracy are much the ~~same~~ ^{same}, but we know ^{what we have} ~~that~~ is Soviet nationalism.
- (26i) To let the other live in peace.
- (26j) In 1848 for one year, in 1946 for two weeks.
- (27) A cheap trick to fool people. There is no such thing. As in Yugoslavia a little clique leads them under the protection of the Soviet Union. I consider them the most reliable Slavs the Russians could count on, who were designed to build a bridge to the West and yet ^{not} remain true to the Communist course.
- (27e) The Communists speak of patriotism only when a war threatens. They speak of good soldiering when they are endangered.
- (28) As I felt, we thought he was a Communist. Kádár's clique now writes, they thought that Imre Nagy was a Communist too. A Gomulka or Tito-type system could not have remained in Hungary, because the Revolution did not point in that direction. Nagy rejected elections at first, and he was probably directed by the invisible group which now directs Kádár. This must be a group of Russians.

- (28b) No, he could not have stayed in power, if the Revolt had been victorious. Perhaps as a representative of the Communist Party he could have participated in a future coalition government, for only the national Communists would have had such an opportunity.
- (29) Socialism depends on who makes this. Some of this is in practice everywhere. Some talk about it, and some actually carry it out.
- (29b) Once in the past it has brought economic developments both for the coloniser and for the colonised. And in this development was the promise of future independence. It is strange that those states that were not colonised are still more backward. Let us not forget that Rome and Greece were also colonisers.
- (29c) This is an artificial concept.
- (29d) I do not trust it.
- (29e) This is Russia's rule. Communism is for export only, there is none of it in Russia. The Russian standard of living is one of the lowest in the world, I guess, yet some people there live at the highest level. They have it easy, because they never get bankrupt whatever they do, in contrast with the West. They simply sell a new set of peace loans.
- (29g) I should like to see the entire population as a middle class bourgeoisie. Though one is to work and one has to lead, this should not distinguish between people

too sharply -- there is only one class.

- (29h) The current Hungarian definition means those who tried to be independent peasants (officially only people with more than 25 acres), but actually they are meant who want to remain independent -- thus, actually every Hungarian peasant is a kulak.
- (29i) In 1945-47 he was a leader in the trans-Tisza area of Hungary and later he appeared as a pro-Communist. In the last two years, he appeared as if he would be following pro-Hungarian policies.
- (29j) Another Communist.
- (29k) We were not friendly with Masaryk and Benes. I think it was Benes who designated the river Ipoly as a navigable stream. He designated Ersekulyvar as a Czech town. He too was a Slavic imperialist. Had the monarchy not be dismantled, Russia would not be there now.
- (29l) How he let himself be sent off to Formosa, I do not understand, but we plugged for him anyway.
- (29m) I do not have a good opinion of the Social Democrats and if she is different from Marosan and Szakasits, she should emphasize the difference, else she should leave the party.
- (29n) As a priest and as a man he held out at home, but he he could not do much under this system.
- (30) A national party.
- (30a) No one I knew.

- (31) Only those on top who distributed the goods received their share.
- (31abc) Received less than their share.
(31de)
- (31f) Take doctors: They lived well, but not fabulously well. They earned their pocket money through private practice. A doctor could not earn more than half of his salary again in private practice, this was his premium money, one could say. Some doctors in private practice made a lot and a few gynecologists got rich before 1954, but then abortions became legal. The wife of the director of the hospital and chief surgeon taught school, because they needed the money.
- (31g) A Party member had to wait till he got a good opportunity to some gold mine. Several store managers I know, built themselves houses. None of them amassed a fortune, of course, as it is also not wise to save forints. It is neither good policy, nor is it good currency. People who had it, well, simply lived better, they did not get rich.
- (32) We all lived in complete insecurity. We could not provide for the future or save. We all lived from day to day.
- (33a) They got along fine, especially since the workers now had an opportunity to see how hard the peasant worked. Many of us workers occasionally helped out peasants in the fields. The worker did not any more

believe in a kulak policy. He now saw the reality. They were equally punished by the régime, for their interests were the same.

- (33b) The worker and the intelligentsia made ~~an~~ ^{an} about equal amount of money, while the peasant and the helper earned less. The peasants perhaps ate better.
- (33e) There was no opposition now.
- (33f) Opposition was only against the Party, there was no opposition among the people.
- (33g) These were in opposition. The pre-war aristocratic class was class alien.
- (33i) It is true that production has become very uneconomical and food is all very expensive. Agricultural standards have sunk a great deal since the war. Under the old Boletta the little farmer received three pengös for a cwt. of rye and five for wheat. He got the world market price. It was little money, less than the domestic price, but the prices of shoes were also low, perhaps 6 pengös a pair. The peasant had a better life then. Though they had big combinations, I think that in a free market, when agricultural prices sink, other products sink also. Even when the peasant has the opportunity to store his produce till a better price could be fetched. Also the government kept an eye on the peasant and his welfare to prevent him from going bankrupt. While in the army in 1935 I did see dirt houses in the Nyirseg. We were cursed with the big estates and those

did not depend on social improvements. Perhaps possibly ~~the~~ the costs of maintaining a big army was the necessary evil which ate up the profits. Still one must say that production was economical and sane. Hungary has its economy built on agriculture and it is not to our benefit to have little producers on five or six acres, the country depends on mechanisation of agriculture. There always were a number of agricultural workers, for all cannot be landowners, and so we have to take the ~~standard~~ standard of peasants. In Hungary, farms of a hundred acres each are a healthy size and corn production on 10-20 acres is uneconomical. The healthy size is whatever a family can economically cultivate itself. A 15 or 20 acre farm is fine for a family for its own purposes, but he cannot produce in excess of his own needs. Of course, if 1000 acre collectives can be formed on a voluntary basis that also is satisfactory.

- (33j) Perhaps in places they were exploited in the past, as there were differences much more so than to-day. Then if a landlord paid too little, the man could go elsewhere or go to work in a factory. He was not forced to stay. Of course, the system was far from what to-day exists in Germany. A peasant with a big family did not have much, but I think, he could eat, although his apartment situation was perhaps unhealthy. They say that ^TJB is fashionable in Hungary. Who knows?

- (34) That they won't come to our help. I think I mentioned the joke that I too would like to kick Eisenhower in the pants (to be there to be able to do it).
- (35) We saw this last fall. Actually, Communists when they see a change scurry right over, but when the situation is reversed again they go right back to the regime.
- (36) We thought the West and the US were more advanced but when we got here we saw that they were still undecided. Had we known no help was to be expected, we would have kept quiet longer - till the opportune moment.

Estimate of respondent.

Respondent is blessed with a shrewd peasant brain, which is not only conservative but it also attempts to be on the right side with the boss (in this case with interviewer). He is a well meaning man but his shrewdery is engrained. Some of his common sense observations, however, are all his own and not due to flattery or tradition. Professionally he represents a group of *highly* skilled workers who had great experience in getting along with various regimes under various circumstances, who are either too cynical to have an ideological base, else too dumb or most likely too smart to pay respect to anything but the day to day facts of life. *Basically intelligent, sane, and well-informed.*