

(Interviewer's note: This is an "A" type of interview. According to the rules of the "A" type interview the answers of the respondent are not structured, but given in the sequence as told by him.)

- (1) When the Americans interrogated me after my arrival in Austria, one American asked me why did we make a Revolution when it looked hopeless right from the beginning. My answer was: We did not care about the consequences. The Revolution was a psychological necessity for the Hungarians. It was like the blow-up of a boiling cauldron. It was a spontaneous manifestation of the anti-Russian sentiments of the Hungarians. We do not want anything in common with the Russians. There are too many great differences between the Russians and the Hungarians. The Hungarian whether he goes to church or not is religious. The Russians are materialistic. By the way the Western countries are materialistic in their way of thinking too. However, there is one great difference, the Western countries are richer. The great mistake of the Hungarian middleclass before the Revolution was that it attributed idealistic tendencies to the West. The Hungarian middle class believed that if the country will move against the Russians, then America will interfere. From a strictly political point of view it was a stupid conception, but it was motivated by idealism. This is why a touch of humanism characterized the whole Revolution. Those people who had been just freed from the clutches of the AVD, did not

want to take any revenge against the AVO during the Revolution. At the present time the AVO pay back that humanism with mass arrest of Hungarians.

(2b)

The Communist writers, the working class, the middle class, and the peasantry were the most important groups in the Revolution. Each of them had their own motives which turned them against Communism. The peasantry was anti-Communist right from 1945, even the poor peasants who got land in 45 were for the Party for one year only. By 1946 the poor peasants were disillusioned because of the land policy of the Communists. The working class had experienced a great improvement in its situation up to 1950. This was the time when good chances of social advancement opened before the workers. After 1950 the norm was constantly increased and the pay lowered by the Communists. The Communist preachers of course explained that we have now better machines and the productivity had to be increased. But altogether the working class became filled with a great discontent. The main start to the Revolution was given by the Communist writers and they were motivated by the 20th Congress of the Party. They were Communists but now they received an official permission to criticize freely. In the minute when the power of Rakosi became shaky the writers began to publish their criticism in the columns of the Irodalmi Ujsag. I can

tell you one interesting story about the popularity of the Irodalmi Ujsag. As the first one in our office I took a cope of the Irodalmi Ujsag into the office in January 1956 and read it there during lunch time. My colleague sitting next to me came over to me looked at the paper and asked: "what is in that newspaper?" In March of the same year my friends in the office were already reading the paper and in lunch time we got together and discussed its content in a low voice. In August of the same year almost everybody was reading the Irodalmi Ujsag and its articles were openly discussed. Finally another decisive influence came from the Poznan events. After June 1956 most people had the feeling that the days of Communist rule in Hungary are counted.

(2c) As a matter of fact there were several events when people thought that a turning point was right there. This was the case in 1953 when Nagy Imre formed his government. At that time everybody knew that he became the prime minister because of the general economic bankruptcy of the country. However, everybody expected a very great change. Then optimism disappeared and optimism returned again at the death of Stalin. When I heard of the death of Stalin I bought two bottles of wine and we had wine with our dinner at home. Then this period of optimism vanished again. Actually this is a characteristic of how the Hungarians do politics. They are filled with an excessive amount of optimism. In our great optimism we wanted a

world war in order to get Hungary liberated. This optimism is still alive in Hungary. Just a few days ago I met a Hungarian lady who came to visit her relatives in Germany. She told me: "The German army ^{is ready} to liberate Hungary".

(2e) See above.

(3) The major factor leading to the Revolution was of psychological nature. An example will explain this psychology. When my son at the age of six went to school for the first time I told him: "My son, in the school do not say one word of those things you heard here at home, because in this case your father will be jailed." On the first day of his school I had to teach my son to lie. Of course, ours was a reactionary family and we spoke freely before the children. I know of many families where the parents did not dare to talk before their children and finally there was a third type of families particularly in the working class where the parents sent their children into the pioneer movement or into the partisan association. Everybody was lying. For example, the general manager of my office was a big-mouth Communist who delivered Party line speeches at every occasion. But everybody knew that he was wearing the cross under his shirt and went to mass in a suburb of Budapest on every Sunday. The 10 000 000 people of Hungary were 10 000 000 actors. Perhaps the peasant class was the only social class of the country which remained sincere, frank and

followed a realistic policy. The peasant class knew indeed how to deal with Communism. In the minute when the system insured a certain freedom to the peasants they saved money. In the minute when the Communists began their terror on the country-side the peasants began the sabotage. 15% of the land of Hungary was uncultivated and the vine yards of the country were destroyed. Otherwise everybody cheated. It was impossible to work honestly. In our office for example, one engineer received a planning job and according to the norms he had to finish it in 10 hours. Consequently he prepared a very poor plan. Sztalinvaros is gigantic example of poor planning. It needed iron ore imported from China and the raw iron cost more in Sztalinvaros than the finished goods would have cost in Vienna. The tractor stations were another example of bad or rather failed planning. They were installed not for the benefits of the Hungarian tractors, but with the intention of having stations in war time where the Russian tanks can be repaired.

(3b)

There was no efficient control in Hungary. One must ^{make} a difference between the efficient control of American business management and the terror of the Soviet system. The efficient control of the business management can be maintained for any time, but terror must always have an end or it must break down.

(3c)

During the demonstrations of October 23rd it was on the lips of the people what was on their mind. That is why

it became a Revolution. People spoke up.

(3f) Nobody opposed the Revolution. On October 24th the Party secretary of our office said: "It is a crime that the Russians shoot the Hungarians!" It was wonderful to hear it.

(3g) Few People were neutral. It is wrong to say that all those people who did not fight were neutral. Almost everybody was for the Revolution, but did not take up arms because he was not that kind of person. A 72-year old man living ~~in the same building where we lived~~ next door to us was full of fire and called the Revolution the greatest days of his life.

(3h) Those which demanded the evacuation of Hungary by the Russians.

(3i) Very much so.

(4) I did not participate actively in the Revolution and I did not even see many of the events because I lived outside of the main part of the city. On Tuesday, October 23rd about 11 a.m. I was at the firm Vilesz on a official visit. The boys there told me that the students were preparing a great demonstration on the same afternoon. A radio set was put on in the office and while we were talking it announced that the Ministry of Interior prohibited the demonstration. The boys in the office immediately told me that the demonstration will be held whether with or against the permission

of the Minister of Interior. Then I returned to my own office in the Vas utca and told the boys there what I had just heard. A few of us wanted to see the demonstration and at 2 p.m. we left the office and went to the Rakoczi ut. The street was crowded with so many people that it was difficult to move. In the center of the street a huge crowd was marching with national flags. We joined the crowd and marched through the Margit hid to the Bem statue. During the march we could observe the change in the attitude of the crowd. At the beginning the slogans shouted by the marching crowd were rather moderate. For example, they shouted: "Who is Hungarian keeps with us". "Put out the National Flag". "Every nation's soldier should go to his own country". Then many working people coming from the Vaci ut joined the crowd and the attitude became more extreme. An older worker was marching on my side and shouting repeatedly: "Children we will beat the scoundrels to death"! When we reached the Bem statue a young man shouted: "We do not want this weapon here". He grabbed one flag, cut the Russian weapon out with a pocket knife and threw the weapon on the floor and stepped upon it. His example was followed and the Russian emblems disappeared. One could see everywhere the Hungarian flags with the center cut out. Later, Veres Peter delivered a moderate speech and after some other speeches the crowd began to disperse. Then some young people began

to shout that the crowd should march over to the Parliament Square and demonstrate against the government. The idea was liked by everybody and the crowd began to march towards the Kossuth Bridge. I followed the crowd and slowly we reached the Parliament Square. There was a huge crowd there shouting different slogans. They wanted Nagy Imre. People were milling around and shouting. For the time being nobody cared about them. Obviously the Revolution was not organized. The people demanded Nagy because he was a symbol, the symbol of everything which turned against Rakosi. There was no leadership as there was no leading class in Hungary. Mindszenty was a priest and not a politician. Only the name of Nagy remained as a symbol and a slogan. He was an intellectual Communist who saw the shortcomings of the system. A huge crowd stood on the Parliament Square and the students did not make up more than 1/4 of the crowd. Everybody joined the crowd, particularly women. The old women shouted against the Russians the most loudly. All kinds of people were represented there and one could see that everybody was against Communism. He and my colleagues from the office who belonged to the well-paid group of engineers were united with the old women who lived on a miserable pension of 260 forints. I stayed there on the Parliament Square for a long time and heard the first words of the speech of Nagy Imre. It was 8.30 by that time and I thought of my wife who might be anxious be-

cause of me. I went to a telephone booth standing at the Ministry of Agriculture and rang her up. I told her about the demonstration and suggested that she should come to the Parliament Square. She could not come because it was the bedtime for the children and she told me to come home. I went home. We lived in our family home owned by us and by our father-in-law. We stayed up very late that night. We put on the radio and listened to the news. Later some neighbours came over to discuss the events. We heard about the demolition of the statue of Stalin and heard about the battle around the building of the Hungarian Radio. I went into my office the next morning, but nobody worked there. Those few people who wanted to do some work were persuaded by the other ones not to do anything. No strike was organized at that time. It was a spontaneous reaction of the people. As a matter of fact work stopped on October 23rd and on December 9th when I left the country nobody was working yet. By the way, in the early hours of October 24th the Russians were all over Budapest. I have good reason to believe that the Russian army stationed in Hungary had been mobilized before October 23rd. I believe that the Russians wanted to stage a Hungarian Revolution of their own kind, but the planning of the Revolution slipped out of their own hands. If the Russians opposed the Revolution, the university students could have never made a demonstration. The Russians obviously wanted to

make some concessions to the opposition existing within the Hungarian Communist Party. However, they could not carry out their plan because of the spontaneous demonstration of the Hungarian masses. Later on, on October 24th the Russian tanks were withdrawn from the streets of Budapest. The fights did not cease though. On October 25th I went into the office together with a colleague of mine. The streetcars did not run anymore and we had to walk from Buda. We came to the Tisza Istvan Street and reached the Building of the Ministry of Interior which is the former building of the Commercial Bank when we heard ~~at~~ shooting. And coming from the other end of the street we made a right turn to the Vorosmarty ter and reached the building of the Central City Hall. The building of the City Hall was surrounded by Russians and we heard some shooting from the small street on the side of the City hall. Finally we reached the Rakoczi ut and could see the destruction caused by the fights there. The houses along the street were badly damaged. The electric lines were hanging down and were broken. People had to jump over them. Although they were no more ~~live~~ wire, everybody was afraid of them. Five Russian tanks stood before the hotel Astoria. We hardly passed the hotel Astoria when we met a crowd of 2000 people marching from the direction of the National Theatre. They carried a huge national flag covering the whole width of the Rakoczi ut. When the crowd reached

the Russian tanks they stopped and began to shout in Russian language, since many of the Hungarians spoke Russian. They told the Russians that they were the Hungarian people and not Fascists. Some other people shouted: "Down with Gerö". The Russian soldiers listened to all those shoutings and they did not show any hostility. They fraternized with some of the kids following the crowd and a few kids climbed upon the tanks and had a good time there. Finally the 5 Russian tanks turned and began to move on the Karoly Korut towards the direction of the Western Railroad Station. The Demonstrating mass followed the tanks since the mass wanted to reach the Parliament Square. My colleague and I joined the mass and marched with them. While marching with the crowd we noticed that one of the Russian panzers made a right turn and disappeared. The 4 other ones were still marching at the head of the crowd. When we reached the Podmaniczki ut we saw one Russian tank standing there in the intersection. The crowd did not yet reach the intersection when this Russian tank let off a blast. It hit the apartment house on the opposite side of the Bajcsy Zsilinszky ut and the debris covered the whole street. We ducked in a store and waited for a few minutes. Then we came out of the store, ^{but} right in that minute another Russian tank let off 2 blasts one after the other. The crowd dispersed again, but still ready to go on with the march. A few minutes later the Russian tanks turned around and drove away

towards the direction of the Hosok Fere. The crowd re-appeared again and continued its march on the Bañory utca towards the Parliament Square. By the time, my friend and I were cautious and did not join the mass but followed them on the sidewalks. Finally we reached the Parliament Square which was full of people. We did not follow the crowd towards the center of the Square, but stopped under the arcades of the Ministry of Agriculture. The crowd was so large that we could not see anything. However, we learned that Russian tanks were standing at the 2 ends of the Square. Then suddenly the AVO people standing in the windows of the Ministry of Agriculture opened fire on the mass. The mass began to run and the Russian tanks opened fire too. I think, the Russians did ~~not~~ not want to shoot the mass, but responded to the shooting coming from the Ministry of Agriculture. We ran too and got away without any harm. This was the beginning of the great massacre of the Parliament Square. My friend and I did not want to return to the scene, but went home. On the same day Russian tanks closed down all the bridges of the Danube for a few hours. It was impossible to cross the Danube. I learned about it in the late hours of the same day from neighbours coming home very belatedly. I immediately decided that in the future I will not go over to Pest, but shall stay with my family in Buda. I stayed in Buda for the following 5 or 6 days and left home only when it was necessary, for example to get some

food. The food situation became pretty bad. So one day I went out to a village near to Buda and returned with meat, milk, and other kind of food. I heard of the events through the radio or from the talk of the neighbours and the soldiers stationed around our home. I heard of the 2 days of heavy fights on October 26th and 27th. That was the time when atrocities were committed and AVO people were lynched. I heard of one case when freedom fighters went into the apartment building of the AVO people on the Tisza Istvan utca which was across from the Ministry of Interior and were looking for the AVO men. They could not find the men so they threw one woman and a child out of the window. Such an act must be understood in the atmosphere of those days. The radio repeatedly announced the manifesto of the government ordering the fighters to put down their arms. It sounded very ridiculous since the dead line for putting down the arms has been extended several times. Nobody put down the arms. In those days the fight was carried on by the working people who were the most bitter against the system. The fight was started by the university students, but educated people are no good soldiers and cannot continue a fight when one started. The working people on the other hand are difficult to stir up for a Revolution, but once they are in a Revolution they will not give up fighting. The mass of the fighters were recruited out of the working class. It is not true that

~~there was any anti-Semitism during those fights.~~ Although the leadership of the Communist Party was backed by Jews there was no attitude against the Jews. The present Hungarian propaganda is lying about the anti-Semitism of the Revolution. It is lying in a very stupid way. It asserts that the Revolution was staged by the anti-Semites and by the agents of the American imperialists which is a self-contradiction. The real ^{scene} of the Revolution was the 8th, 9th, and 10th district of Budapest where working people and poor-class families lived. In the districts of Buda no fights took place. Those were the districts of people in the better income classes. The famous Red Csepel fought courageously against Communism. On the basis of the fights the working class won its right to direct the affairs of Hungary. The intellectuals had a great part in starting off the Revolution, but did not continue it. Except for the students, educated by the Communists to be good Communists, no other intellectuals took part in the fight. On and after November 1st I went into my office a few times since money was given to the employees. At one occasion perhaps on November 1st, the employees in our office built a little *pyre* out of the Party membership books and burnt them. Most of the time I stayed in and around our home. We lived on the Gellerthegy. Our home was near to the Alkotás utca just about the main military communication center called Sziklaközpont. This was an important military communication center and

according to rumours the program of the Hungarian radio was transmitted from this place after October 23rd. Anyhow it was closely guarded by soldiers of the Hungarian army who took position on the street and checked everybody who passed by. Only people living in those streets or having some other legitimate reason were permitted to enter those streets. This was one of the reasons that kept home most of the time. The Hungarian soldiers guarding the streets were friendly and we had many talks. They told me that they would not shoot on the Hungarians. Many of them took civilian clothes and participated in the fights.

(5b) Work stopped on October 24th because transportation stopped. The word of strike came up only on October 27th or even later at the end of the week on a Saturday when the negotiations of armistice with the Russians came up. On November 4th a real war began and lasted up to November 10th. There was no work again because of the fights of the streets. Even after that people did not work up to the beginning of December. They went into their offices and factories because the new government threatened them. The cautious people began to take up work about the beginning of December.

(5f) A Revolutionary Council was formed in our office and I became the deputy chairman of it. It was formed, if I remember well, on October 26th when a few people came

together in the office. A colleague and I put together the list of the candidates and their name was put up for vote for those employees who were there. About 10 days later we elected the definite final Revolutionary Council. The Revolutionary Councils could not do very much because of the events. We removed the Stalin pictures ~~af~~ from the office, the kader cards were distributed which was the greatest blow to the Communist system. The kader cards contained not only the information concerning a person, but even the source of the information. So they told, who was who reported on you. The Central Revolutionary Council of all the planning offices in Budapest tried to provide food for the employees, but at the beginning of December it was quite obvious that the Councils could not do much because the Revolution was defeated and the Kadar government ^{had} slowly walk^{ed} over to the other side of the political struggle.

(6) Not applicable.

(7) For all practical purposes the people did not distinguish among different Revolutionary groups. There was no person around whom the Revolution could have been crystallized. That was a great tragedy from the point of view of the Revolution. People wanted a government without any Communists. They would have tolerated the person of Nagy Imre but no other Communist in the government. In the lack

of persons, the Revolution crystallized around certain demonstrations, for example the Red Stars were removed from the factories within a few hours.

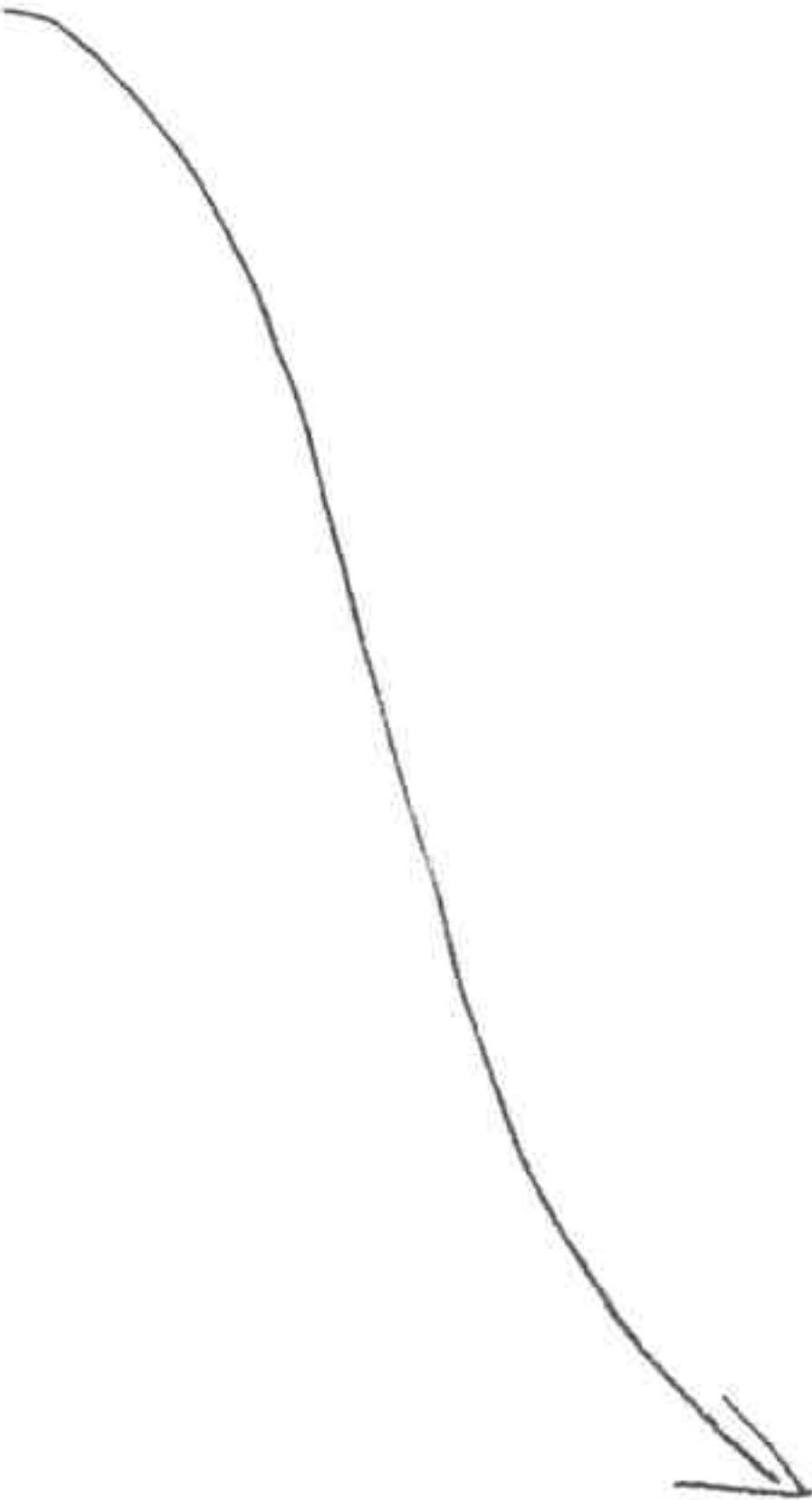
(7a) The majority of the Hungarians did not want a capitalism as it exists now in Western Germany. They wanted a controlled capitalism or a merge of capitalism and socialism. By the way I approve those principles too and regard them as a more developed social form, although I am of capitalistic origin. As against this majority there was a minority which wanted to restore capitalism or even the old system of Horthy. The difference between those 2 groups was mostly of a theoretical nature. The differences could not come up in a practical way because of the Revolutionary events. Everybody tried to stick together, everybody wanted to make it one united Revolution against the occupying power of the Russians. Concerning the majority opinion I have just mentioned I want to add that the partisans of that opinion were no Communists at all. They wanted small trade and small commerce in individual hands, but they did not want large estates, neither large factories in private hands.

(8a) I heard of cases where the Russians being stationed in Hungary for a long time sided with the Revolution. I heard the story of the airfield at Tataony. This airfield was for a while in the hands of the Revolutionaries. Then later the regular Russian troops which were stationed

in Hungary moved in and occupied the airfield. On November 4th, the new Russian soldiers, the Mongolians appeared in Hungary and the old Russian soldiers of Hungary keeping the airfield at Tatabenya were unwilling to yield to them. It came to an open fight between the 2 kinds of Russian troops which lasted for 4 days and the new Russian troops could occupy the airfield only after many bloody sacrifices.

The Russians did as if they wanted to evacuate Hungary and it might be that they intended to do so. At this point Western radio stations did a great damage to the Hungarian cause. With their war ~~propaganda~~ they turned the Russian against the Hungarians and the Hungarians against the Russians. After the announcement of the Radio Free Europe the Russians simply could not have evacuated Hungary without a great loss to their prestige. The Western radio stations did everything to infuriate the Russians against the Hungarians. The Western politicians did a pretty similar job too. President Eisenhower came out with a clear-cut statement concerning England and Egypt, but he was unwilling to apply the same principles concerning Russia and Hungary. Switzerland, this small country broke up its sport relationships with Soviet Russia because of the Hungarian events, but the Western countries were unwilling to do so. The Western

politicians are all the time talking about Hungary, but not doing anything to help her politically. One has to acknowledge, however, that the West has given considerable financial help to the Hungarian refugees.



- (9) I learned about the news through the radio and through rumours. We had two radio sets at home and we listened at the same time to both, Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. Most people did so.
- (9a) The newspapers became important only after the great transformation brought forth by the Revolution. During those few days a great number of political parties were established and each party had its own newspaper. There was a great quarrel among the parties ^{in the streets} ~~whether~~ in one week one could see at least 10 new newspapers on the streetcorners. I tried to buy those which came over to Buda.
- (9b) People in the neighbourhood got together and told about the fights. The reliability of such rumours was very low. If somebody heard a news he added something to ~~it~~ For example, quite a few of my neighbours reported that the Western armies are already on their march towards Hungary.
- (9c) The whole country listened to the foreign radio stations. It was the spiritual bread for everybody out of which everybody tried to live. Nobody expected that the foreign radio stations should be reliable. During the Revolution the Western radios lost their prestige. The foreign radios were encouraging the Hungarians without any ground for such an encouragement. Since I am here in Germany I see that the whole Western press is poorly informed about Communism. But the misinformation given by

the foreign radio stations during the Revolution was of another kind. I do not want to call it conscious lying, but it came very near to that.

- (10a) In all institutions and mass organizations which were connected with the Communist Party the functionaries and the members went home and tried to disappear.
- (10b) Every Party member tried to prove that he had ~~not~~ joined the Party out of sheer force. Most of the Party members escaped from the country. All those refugees who left Hungary before November 4th were Communists. Between October 23rd and November 4th only those people left the country who had to be afraid of something. The Hungarians began to escape only after November 4th.
- (10c) I have no information on that point.
- (10d) The Revolution did not use any of the old organizations. The Revolution was an unorganized explosion.
- (10e) The Revolutionary Councils were the only new organizations which emerged during the Revolution. I mentioned them above.
- (10f) The Workers' councils were in final analysis Communist inventions. They were invented by Tito. In Hungary, however, they became established in every factory and so on and they ~~not~~ became the representative of the will of the nation. The government of Kadar hated the workers' councils because they were independent and could not be used as political means ^{of} ~~for~~ the Party.

- (10m) Undoubtedly people of the old world wanted to restore the old system of Hungary. Their desire was doomed to fail. The majority of the Hungarians did not know what to do in the future, but they wanted a certain compromise between capitalism and socialism.
- (11) I still think of the Revolution pretty often. It would have been good to get Hungary liberated.
- (11a) The Revolution was useful. It proved the world that the Hungarian race is valuable and freedom loving. It proved that Hungary cannot be oppressed.
- (11b) The Revolution could have succeeded only with foreign help. That was the crucial point. Since the Revolution was an incidental explosion nobody thought of the realistic possibilities of a foreign help.
- (11c) Many people were expecting the armed ~~intervention~~ intervention of the Western countries. I too, believed in something like that.
- (11e) He was a Communist too, an intelligent man but not a clever one.
- (11f) There were no ~~important~~ important leaders in the Revolution. The ~~Communist~~ Communist writers were important in the preparation of it, since they gave voice to the feelings of the masses. The other people who came ~~for~~ during the Revolution gained their reputation by sheer chance. This is the case of Maléter. He was an opportunist and perhaps is still an opportunist. His career

started in the guard of Horthy where he was a captain. Later he was sent to the Russian front and captured by the Russians. He was all the time against the Nazis and now he volunteered in the Russian army to fight the Germans. He became a partisan and was parachuted in Hungary in 1944. After the war he joined the Party and became a colonel. During the Revolution he gave arms to the Revolutionaries, but at the same time tried to maintain contacts with the government too. Right now he is arrested, but his trial has not come up yet which is a very suspicious circumstance. He was definitely not the military leader of the Hungarian Revolution. There were no military leaders. The Hungarian soldiers were for the Revolution, but the officers of the Communist army failed miserably. In the barracks of Budaorses a Hungarian panzer unit was stationed with 60 Hungarian tanks. In the morning hours of November 4th the Russian surrounded the barracks. The officers surrendered right away, but the enlisted man wanted to resist. Quite a few of the Hungarian boys got into the tanks and began to shoot at the Russians. This was the time when Nagy Imre announced that our troops were fighting the Russians. Yes, the privates of the Hungarian army representing the Hungarian people were fighting, but the officers surrendered right away. This is a good proof that there was no military leadership during the whole Revolution. The peasants did not participate in the Revolution.

They left the cooperatives and took home what they had contributed to the cooperatives. The middle class people were important intellectual leaders, particularly in the country side. But in the fights the working class, and only the working class participated and the heaviest fights took place in Miskolc and Szatlarvaros, the most important centers of the Hungarian working class. The workers were supported by students. Then the kids were very important, the kids between the years of 12 and 18. The kids were not moved by political reasons, but they were simply lovers of the truth. They saw that they had been deceived by the system. Moreover, they were interested in the fun of the fights. The Revolution was a great fun for the kids. A 14 years old boy in the neighbourhood went out for a walk with this uncle. A truck came by loaded with youngsters. The kid of 14 years jumped upon the truck and he was driven away. His uncle was left there alone. The next morning the kid came home with an automatic revolver. He had been fighting all night. Many kids did ~~xxxxxx~~ exactly the same and they invented excellent tricks to ~~distract~~ destroy the Russians. For example, they put 3 or 4 hand grenades into a pot and attached a long string to the pot. Then they hid out in the cellars of the apartmenthouse and when a Russian tank came driving by they pulled the pot till finally it came under the tank and blew up. If they were fortunate, they could

ruin the belt of the tank and stop it. Let's not forget that Communism had destroyed any authority before the kids. Communism destroyed the authority of God or of parents. During the Revolution the Communists could ~~harvest~~ harvest the fruits of their destruction.

(12) I was thinking of leaving the country for some years before the Revolution. Being a married man with 2 children and living together with my father-in-law it was not so easy to carry out ~~such~~ such a plan. In November after the Revolution we finally decided that we, the young family should leave the country. On December 1st I went down to the city of Sopron where I looked around concerning the possibilities of escape. It was on December 4th that I returned to Budapest where I spent only a few days. On December 8th I left the city with my wife and 2 children, went to Sopron, and crossed the border to Austria.

(12b) I did not discuss the plan with anybody else then the members of my family.

- (1) I received my degree in engineering in 1944. Because of the war I began to work actually in 1945 only. In the same year I joined the small shop of my father-in-law. It was a rather small business owned by him and later on by him and me for manufacturing electrical materials. My father-in-law was a selfmade man who established his own shop and built it up. During the war when his shop reached its greatest size, he employed about 50 people. After the war he had to start it all over again with a much smaller labor force. From now on we ran the shop together. In the following years I could experience how the Communist system strangled private undertaking. In 1946 we had to pay 8% of the turnover as sales tax. This sales tax was then constantly increased and by 1949 we had to pay 45% of the turnover, but at the same time we were not permitted to raise any of the prices. We were still able to make a living. Of course, we cheated like all the other independent business owners of that type. We did not put all the sales through the book. In 1951 I had to pay 62 000 forints a taxes. In the meantime the nationalization of the industry was going on. We learned our lessons and in 1947 and 48 we dismissed all our employees. By 1951 I was the only full-time employee of our shop. But I had quite a few people working part-time for me. The situation was that our whole employees came in after 6p.m. to work there for 2-3 hours and make some extra money. In April 1952

all the licenced tradesmen of Budapest were called up to the City Hall. We supposed to bring along all the books of our business. In the City Hall I met the tax supervisor who used to come to *audit* our books. He told me: "You know what is it about. My duty is to find faults with your books and to levy such a high tax and fine that you should return your licence of trade." It happened as he told me. After a short examination faults were found in my books and I was fined with 32 000 forints. I left the room and on the corridor the representatives of the trade unions were waiting for me. He told me that I should ~~send~~^{sell} all my machines to the state in which case my fine will be written off. I saw right away that the only thing I could do was to comply. I had to write a petition petitioning the state to buy my machinery. The value of the machinery of our shop was 200 000 forints. The state paid 3500 forints for them but my fine of 32 000 forints was written off. I still think that this was the best policy to do. One colleague of mine selected to pay his fine instead of offering his machinery to the state. His fine was accepted, then 2 days later policemen descended upon his shop charging him that he acquired hidden money through cheating and he was put into jail.

By May or June 1952 my shop was liquidated and ^d had to look around for a job. I was immediately hired by the state electrical planning office as an engineer. In

1954 I was promoted to head of the department. I stayed there with the same office up to my departure from Hungary in December 1956.

(2a)

Our office was planning the electrical installation for factories or other similar establishments. In the Western countries the manufacturing firm does the necessary planning for a given new factory, installs all the machinery and guarantees their function. This is a simple and logical system. In Communism, however, economy is organized on different lines. In Communism, there is a manufacturing firm which does not get in touch with its customers. The planning is not done by the manufacturing firm. So for example, if a new factory was installed in Hungary we had to do the electrical planning. At the same time we did not know ~~and~~ anything about the manufacturing ~~firm~~. We did not know whether the manufacturing firm was really able to manufacture as specified by us. After our plans, the manufacturing firm did what it could. Then the machinery was installed by a third firm. The involvement of 3 different firms in such a simple thing meant that cooperation could never be achieved, the plans were never carried out as specified. The manufacturing firm manufactured only those parts of our plans to which it had tools and raw materials. For example, if the firm had ~~not~~ no phenol to manufacture ~~bakelite~~ bakelite, so the percen-

tage of the sawdust was raised from 25 to 60%. As a result the bakelite did not function anymore as an insulating material.

(2e) Our planning office had 250 employees. 8 ~~out~~ of them were real engineers and we had about 20 technicians with some knowledge of engineering. We had a great number of draftsmen. The majority of them were women without the necessary qualifications. Furthermore we had about 100 employees dealing with administration. Out of the whole outfit, at least 50 employees would have been dispensable. They were employed by our office, because the young Communists needed jobs. One out of every 10 employees was a Party member. Out of the engineers only one, a young fellow was a Communist.

(2f) To understand the efficiency of our work I have to tell you a few things about the norms set up for engineers. The unit of our norm was called the "Engineer's hour", in Hungarian ~~sz~~ mérnökóra. We worked 48 hours a week, but during those 48 hours we were supposed to ~~full~~ fulfill about 500 engineer's hours. Now, if we got a job for example, the planning of a factory it was specified by the norm secretary how many engineer hours it took to finish the job. For example, the job was specified for 500 engineer hours. If you were able to do the job on one day, you could ~~work~~ ^{idle} for the next 2 days, since you finished your norms for the whole week. The great problem of this system was to decide how many engineer hours a certain job should take. This was originally

the duty of the norm secretary and the engineers usually ~~had~~^{worked} with him pretty much. Then finally one of the engineers, a very clever fellow wanted to put it on a scientific basis and he worked out a mathematical formula to compute the norm of the engineers. It was a long and difficult formula which had a factor of complexity which was taken on its square. The formula looked very scientific indeed and few norm secretaries had the necessary mathematical knowledge to understand it. As a result this formula worked to a great advantage of all those engineers who really knew something. The engineers of the old guard like myself who had a good private practice could easily overfulfill our norms and do not overstrain themselves. I was regularly fulfilling 800 engineer hours a week, sometimes even more. In 1956 when I left my job I was ahead of my work for about 5 years. An example will show you how this whole system operated. In the spring of 1954 the ministry decided that the flour mills should be electrified. It was a very stupid idea right from the beginning, since the mills established by individual owners still used the cheapest power available in the vicinity. Anyhow, our office received orders to prepare the plan for the electrification of 30 mills within one month. The norm was 400 engineer hours for each of the mills. So for 30 mills one could get out 12 000 engineer hours for one's credit. I undertook to prepare the plans within one

month. What I did was that I prepared a master plan and my draftsmen copied it ten times with~~in~~ insignificant alterations. Then I prepared another master plan which was copied 10 times again. Working rather easily I was able to prepare the 30 ~~xxxx~~ plans within a month and I finished them just before one great Communist holiday, perhaps it was May 1st or so. I got a prize and a money award for my work and during that month I fulfilled my norms for half a year or more. Of course, the plans were very poor since they did not take into consideration the local conditions or the outlay of the mill. But it did not matter either, because ~~xxxx~~ none of the mills has been electrified by 1956.

- (3a) What I liked in my job was that a good expert was not pressed to work hard. He could idle all the way and overfulfill his norms.
- (3b) I disliked the great red tape and the number of forms we had to fill in. For example, I had to fill in a daily schedule marking down what I was doing for every 30 minutes. I had to keep another diary putting down all the business meetings I had to attend, giving the names of all the persons I talked to and the time of the business meetings from minute to minute. We did all this paperwork very sloppily. Our main job was to fight for the maintenance of our norms. The ministry tried to raise our norms and we tried to get back the old ones.

At one time our norms were raised by 100%. But we were still working at a very base. The state wanted to cheat the people and the people the state. How could you work under such circumstances? The committee of the trade unions council for evaluating the work competition visited our place every year. On the basis of the false data this committee evaluated who was the best worker at our place. The best worker was the fellow who could cheat the most. The committee then awarded the title of the best worker to somebody. Actually every engineer received the title in one of the years. I received it too, exactly in the same year when I did not do any work for a month.

- (3d) The old guard engineers who were not Party members represented a very good educational level. They tried to keep up with the recent development of technology. The Communist system has one great advantage, technical books are cheap and good. The situation is that the Russians translated the good English and German books and the Russian books were translated into Hungarian and published by the State Publishing Company. ~~This was~~ This Hungarian translation was still good and gave an account of the latest developments in America. The engineers did buy all these recent publications and kept up with the innovations abroad. When I arrived in Germany and began to work in a German plant I came to the conclusion that I am on an equal standard with the German engineers.

The norm system was a great treadmill for the workers, for the bookkeepers and statisticians, but not for the engineers. But engineers, and workers just as well, deteriorated their quality in order to produce the quantity as required by the norms. I could tell many stories about the deterioration of the quality in production. Once I had to overhaul a machine for producing wire. Such a machine consists of several, 5 to 7 cylinders which through their rotation thin the wire into the necessary diameter. Since the machine operator wanted to work fast and overfulfill his norm, he cut out 3 or 4 of the cylinders. The result was that when I inspected the machine its engine was burnt out and the cylinders which had been cut out were ruined. Since this machine was an English-made good piece it meant a damage of several hundred thousand forints.

(3f) The employees of our office worked 48 hours a week and 6 days a week. Work started at 7.30 in the morning and lasted till 4.00 in the afternoon. On Saturdays we worked from 7.30 to 12.30. The Communists tried to do their usual tricks about the working hours. For example, they initiated the so-called 5-minute movement which had as its aim that the workers should be already working at their regular jobs 5 minutes before the working time. When it came up in our office we complied with it and at 7.25 everybody was already sitting at his desk. Later on, however, we took off more than 5 minutes and nobody

cared about it. In a similar way the Communists initiated the so-called hot pick-axe movement in the mines. The miners when coming up for the second shift were supposed to take out the ~~pick~~ pick-axes or other instruments from the hands of the miners of the first shift, so they were still hot. The movement succeeded completely. Everybody took over the hot pick-axe and then sat down to ~~just~~ idle.

(3g) 6 days ~~xxxx~~ a week, see above.

(3h) Except for a very few cases I did not work overtime. Anyhow there was no force upon the workers in our office to put in any overtime.

(3j) The basic vacation was for employees with less than one year of ~~xxxx~~ service 12 days. After each more year with the company they got one additional day. People in leading jobs received 3 additional days in their vacation. All the engineers were regarded in leading jobs and received 3 more days than the draftsmen. In this respect the Communists did not realize any equality. The equality of the Communists meant that at the case of Party meetings everybody was equally supposed to speak up and support the opinion of the Party. Another case of equality was the peace loan which meant that everybody should get only 11 months pay for 12 months work. The only achievement of the Revolution was that this year no peace loan was levied. People in leading positions did not get any pay for overtime, they were supposed to put in voluntarily. As I mentioned the

engineers did not work overtime. But the political leaders of our office worked 24 hours a day. I have to correct it, they did not work but were busy 24 hours a day with Party meetings, committee meetings, evaluation meetings, filling in forms and so on.

(3c) The health insurance system in Hungary is pretty similar to that in Germany. Although I paid my union fees regularly I was never sent to a summer vacation by the unions. Only the Party people were sent there. After all only 50 000 people could be sent to summer vacation in a year, out of 1 1/2 million workers. The former castles of the counts were now transformed into summer resort places for the workers. The Communist system did not build any new summer resort places, but the summer vacation offered by the trade union was not pleasure either. Everybody was supposed to attend every day a Party meeting or a seminary or a Szabad Rep meeting and so on.

(4e) Our office paid somewhat better than most of the factories. Consequently our place was flooded with Party people. A fellow who did not want to work hard either joined the Party or tried to get some connections to the Party. It is not true that the Party members were better workers than the other ones. The Party members talked more, but did not work more. Because of the poor Communist education the young xxxxxx workers were not

good either. The old engineers like myself did not receive their just compensation. I had for example a patent which I had to give to the state. I had to sign the application and all other necessary forms, but it became the property of the Hungarian state. At the present time I am unable to obtain the international patent of it. The Communists gave only a trifling sum for it and now I would like to sell it here.

(4b) Nobody had any authority, not even the general manager. For all practical purposes the general manager could not fire a person, but he could intrigue against it. If somebody did not work it was not a good reason to fire him. The same fellow stood up at the Party meeting made a self-criticism and promised to work better in the future. That was the end of it. He never worked better, in most cases he was unable to do a better job. At the same time everybody was afraid of everybody else. The boss was very polite, he often courted to his underlings, because he too was afraid to be denounced through some *report* and fired by the Party. Not even in the army did any authority exist. The privates openly criticized the orders received. That is why the army was as it was.

(4c) A few of the colleagues met privately, but everybody met with his own kind. For example, the engineers with the other engineers, the draftsmen with the other draftsmen.

- (4d) In our department the engineers were in small rooms by 3 or 4 of them. There we could talk freely.
- (4f) Every employee was a member of the trade union, but the trade union was an organ of the Communist Party. It did not represent the interests of the workers. The members of the trade union were usually recruited through force. For example, the general manager of the factory announced that anybody who does not join the union is an enemy of the working class and the other people will refuse to work with ~~him~~ him. So people joined the union, but they did not pay the fees. Many people owned a whole year of fees to the union. Then a new order came out saying that if any of these fellows will pay 1/10 of his debts his rights in the union will be restored. The engineers in our office paid their fees regularly since they wanted a security in their job. The draftsmen, the clerical people were those who missed their payments.
- (4i) The general manager, the Party secretary and the chief engineer ran our office. All the 3 of them were members of the Party. The general manager was in charge of all technical problems. The Party secretary and the chief engineer, the 2 enthusiastic Communists were in charge ~~with~~ ^{of} all personnel matters. For example, the chief engineer could fire somebody, but the general manager could not.
- (4l) The political officials delivered speeches from time

to time that we should work more. They could not interfere with the technical side of our work, since they did not know very much about it.

(4n) In 1953 shortly after I joined the company the Party members approached me that I should join the Party. I did not join it. There were no more than 5 good kaders out of the 25 Party members at our place. The good kaders carried out the propaganda, they tried to persuade me to join the Party.

(4p) Perhaps every good kader reported to the police. There were a few more people who did the same. We knew those fellows. If somebody was transferred from another place of work, he immediately became suspicious. If a new fellow came to our department, we collected his "kader" too. We did not talk to him as long as we did not find out his past and his political attitude.

(5) There were no possibilities for changing a job. It was impossible to leave a job voluntarily unless somebody had good connections to the personnel department. The leaders of the personnel department were ~~usually~~ usually girls. This was the case in our office too. If somebody became a good friend of the girl in the personnel department he could do what he wanted. In this respect too, love and corruption were stronger than Communism.

(5b) Once I had my own independent business ^{and} I would have liked to go into independent business again. I prefer independence to employment. If I work more I can earn

more.

- (5e) I would have spent more money for those items which make life worth living. For example I would have spent more on my family, on travelling, and so on.
- (5g) I would have given complete freedom to my children to select their job according to their own inclinations. The occupation of engineers is very good even under the Communist system. It is, however, for boys only. For daughters the best occupation is still to get married and raise children. To be a mother and a housewife is a full-time job and what I wanted was that my children when growing up should be able to dedicate themselves to this job entirely. One of the greatest sins of Communism was that it destroyed the family by taking the mothers out of the family and sending them off to work and to contribute to the income of the family.
- (6) Everybody was worse off since the war. I can give you some examples to illustrate the general situation. Let us compare the ratios of the price of the wheat and of the bread before and after the war. In 1956 the state paid for the delivered wheat 60 forints for a ton. Out of a ton of wheat 72 kilos of ~~wheat~~^{flour} could be made. The price of the flour was at least 4 forints, 80 fillers per kilo, which means that the state got 350 forints out of the wheat bought for 60 forints. The state made an even greater profit if the wheat was made into bread.

Out of the 72 kilos of flour 150 kilos of bread would be made which at the current prices meant 450 forints. The other expenses involved in making bread were negligible. The flour mill got one forint 61 fillers for one pound of flour. It was a trifling sum of money only. One has to add of course, the cost of transportation. But anyhow the state makes about 100 to 120 forints on each ton of wheat, that is the state makes twice as much as it pays to the peasant. This was the main reason of the discontent of the peasantry. The peasant got only 20 kilos of bread for 1 ton of wheat, because even the peasant had to buy his bread. Now let us compare the situation before the war. At that time one kilo of bread cost 24 fillers. If we multiply 24 by 150 that is the number of breads to be made out 1 ton of wheat it comes to 36 pengoes. At the same time the state paid to the peasant 20 pengoes for one ton of wheat. In other words before the war the ratio between the price of wheat and bread was more favorable for the peasants. Because of the economic system of Communism the whole country is worse off. Here is the case of the potatoes. In the Communist system the state claims the whole potato crop of the peasants. We cannot even take it home. He must leave it on the field. Then comes the state transportation firm ^{which} rakes up the potatoes and shovels them on trucks. In the meantime a great part of the potatoes gets smashed and begins to rot. Then the state transportation

firm dumps the potatoes at the railway stations and puts them into piles, where they stay till late in October or even November. They get frostbitten and the rotting process is going on. Then finally the box cars come, the potatoes are loaded again and transported into the city where they get into *the state* central transport warehouse. Finally the retailer gets them; but by that time a great part of it is rotten and another part is spoiled by frost. This is why we could buy only rotten and frozen potatoes in Budapest. The apple crop of the *Myirseg* is another good example of Communist mismanagement. The famous apple crop got rotten because there were no boxes to pack the apples in. As another example I could mention the case of the chicken which shows again how the Communist State exploits everybody. The peasant had to deliver every year a certain amount of chicken and received from the state 6 forints for each kilo of the chicken. The cleaning and processing of the chicken cost the state 3 forints and 50 fillers for each 100 ^{pounds?} ~~tons~~ of chicken. So altogether 100 ^{pounds?} ~~tons~~ of chicken cost the state 603 forints and 50 fillers. The state sold the chicken abroad and received for 100 ^{pounds?} ~~tons~~ of chicken 78 United States dollars. If I take the unrealistic official exchange rate of dollars which means 11 forints for a dollar the 78 dollars meant 850 forints for the state. However, if I take the black market course of the dollars, the state received 3120 forints for the 100 tons of chicken which had

cost it 600 forints only. No oldtime capitalist was ever permitted to work with such a high profit margin. The economic squeeze can be felt by every social class. The peasants complain about the disparity in the prices of wheat and boots. The old Hungarian saying said that one pair of boots should cost the same amount of money as one 100 tons of wheat ~~is~~. Nowadays one pair of boots cost 800 forints. That is 13 tons of wheat on the official price. Even if we take the black market price of wheat the peasantry has to give 2 tons of wheat for one pair of shoes. The working class on the other hand feels the disparity between the food prices and the income of the average working man. One kilo of lard cost now 35 forints. Before the war it cost 1 pengö. Before the war a worker got at least 50 fillers per hour, that is one hundred pengö per month. He made 100 kilos of lard. Nowadays 100 kilos of lard costs 3500 forints which was the monthly salary of my general manager in 1956, but not the monthly earning of a working man. People in the white collar occupations were even worse off. My brother-in-law working in one of the state offices got 1300 forints per month. If I go over to Switzerland right now, I can buy 1000 forints for £ 50 Swiss Franks or in other words, 1/20 of my pay in Switzerland equals to the monthly pay of my brother-in-law in Hungary. I was exceptionally well-paid as an engineer, but even in my case 80% of my salary went for food alone. I

could not buy any clothing. I still have the same old pieces of clothes I bought when I was an independent business man and made 12 000 forints a month. As a final remark I have to add that Hungary was still much better off than many of the other Communist countries, for example the standard of living was much higher in Hungary than in Russia.

- (7) The monthly budget of the respondent is enclosed on a separate sheet as prepared by him.
- (8) See above.
- (9) See above.
- (10) The Communist economy ended in the general poverty of the population. At the end of the month all the women in Budapest returned the different *bottles* to the stores in order to get back the ^{*deposits of*} 50 fillers or 1 forint because there was no money with the average family. It was a sign of wealth, when somebody owned a motorbike. In my own neighbourhood people looked at me at *askance* because I had an old 1939 DKW car. I bought that car in those times when I was independent in business. Later, when I was working as an engineer, I got an award for good work and was permitted to keep the car and buy gasoline for it. The special permission to buy a car

was given only to some exceptional persons, such as the "excellent" engineer, "excellent" doctor and so on. The Party functionaries did not own a car, but got it for their use from the Party. Only the medical professors, the actors and actresses, the athletes, then a very few engineers, a few of the MASZEK people could own a car. In all Hungary there were ~~xxxx~~ no more than 5 000 private persons owning a car and the cars were old makes in rather poor condition. On the other hand gasoline was very cheap, since the greatest gasoline buyer was the state itself for the state-owned cars and trucks. Consequently there was no tax on the gasoline.

(10c) In 1941 the standard of living was generally higher for everybody. My father was a notary in a village, so I know how the peasantry lived at that time. It is true, that the country had many social problems. For example, the problem of the land because the owners of the large estates did not want to transfer any land to the small peasants. Then the Horthy system did not permit the establishment of trade unions. Because of such social problems the Communist Party became popular in 45 since many of the peasants and workers supported the Party in the hope of a better future.

(10d) The present system solved the 2 great social problems, but the 5-year plan was the greatest stupidity and it had to be ended in complete failure. It is impossible to make a 5-year plan, since it is impossible to predict

the demand of the consumers for 5 years. The present plan determines that in 5 years we have to consume so much lard and we have to wear such type of shoes and so on. The whole country hates the 5-year plan and hates all those products which are connected with the plan. People hate the so-called type-clothes ~~was~~ or type-shoes, because they are ugly and they are connected with the 5-year plan.

(10f) I can tell you what happened in the time of Nagy Imre to the private sector of the industry. During his time a great many of trade and commerce licences were given out and people were permitted to establish a small shop of their own. However, they were not given money neither raw material. The old tradesman and artisan^s who had hidden their tools now opened their shops and purchased raw material from the industrial workers who stole it from their factories. Such a system could not go on for a long time. My case will illustrate my point. In September 1954 I left my job with the planning office and became an independent businessman again. I became the owner of a small mechanic shop and received my raw material from the state. For one month I got one half of a kilo of copper which was ~~insufficient~~^{insufficient} to do the necessary electrical jobs. I did not want to use any stolen raw material because of the great risk involved. I had at that time some hidden raw material ~~from~~ from my old business. So I sold it. Even in this case I had to make out false

bills to the customers and had to face many great risks. Anyhow I sold 5 tons of copper which I had hidden in old times. Then I ran out of raw material and it was impossible to carry out business. So in the summer of 1955 I turned in my trade licence and went back to work to my old planning office. I must add that my boss at the planning office supported me wholeheartedly in my venture to become an independent shopkeeper. They gave me back my old job when I wanted to get it back. It was the state which killed my business and the same thing happened to many other people too. Although I could save some money during those 9 months I spent as independent businessman, it was tied up with so much worries and troubles that I got fed up and returned my trade licence. The policy of the government was to ruin the independent business man through indirect ways. It was the same policy that the government carried out against the owners of houses. In 1952 most of the privately owned houses were nationalized. Then in 1956 the ~~government~~ government put most of those houses for sale. Everybody ^{could} ~~can~~ buy them for good money, except the old owners. In other words, the government confiscated the houses for nothing and wanted to sell them for good money. At the same time the government wanted to rob the old owners.

(10g) In the 1950ies the economic situation was the same without any great change. The only change came on political line. People began to talk freely. If you rode

a train in 1955 nobody was talking there. In 1956 people were freely talking about politics.

- (11) The material conditions had a decisive part in paving the way for a Revolution. Nobody wanted to live in an eternal poverty. Poverty alone represents a complex problem. It pitches the social classes against each other. The worker hated the peasants, because the peasants were in a better situation. They could freely steal such commodity items which could be sold on the black market. The workers on the other hand were not permitted to steal. Small trade was liquidated by the state on the purpose that the workers should not steal ~~from~~ from the factory and sell ~~it~~ it to the MASZEK people. It is true, that stealing ~~was~~ went on on a large scale. For example, I could not get a certain type of drills. I rang up one of my former workers who now was working in a factory and told him to get me one of those drills. When I met him he gave me a pack full of drills in the value of at least 600 forints. As he explained: "I ruin the factory rather than to support this system". I could tell you the example of another mechanic of mine. After the dissolution of my shop he went to work with a state factory. He was the best mechanic I ever knew, a very conscientious but slow ~~was~~ worker. In the state factory being a slow worker he was threatened by being fired. Then he changed his methods and he became a

Stakhanovite, but he did a very poor job. None of the workers produced anything which would have been good. Before the war Hungary manufactured 15 to 20 thousand electro-motors. Nowadays the country produces 35 000 of them and there is still a shortage of electro-motors, because they are of a very poor quality and get ruined in a very short time.

- (1) I attended the polytechnic of ~~the~~ university where I received my engineering degree in 1944.
- (1e) I wanted to become an engineer.
- (2) Not applicable.
- (3) Not applicable.
- (4) The Communist education wanted to turn the children ~~in~~ into good Communists and wanted to destroy every authority. The *first-grade* textbook of my son was published in 1955 at the time of the great liberalization. It still called Rakosi "Comrade" and called Stalin "our Father". As another morally destructive point the Communist education gave sexual education to the 8-year old children.
- (4b) The only effective result of the Communist educational system was that many of the peasant boys were sent to higher schools. In many cases they were forced to go into school if the Party nominated them for a certain school. On the other hand most of the peasant boys became selected over the school years. When 100 of them began the middle school, only 3 of them received their baccalaureate. Only a few of the talented peasant boys got a university degree. On the other hand a very few boys of middle class origin were admitted to the university, but all of them received their final degree. My son, for example, would not have been admitted to

the university simply because his father was an engineer. The result was that the level of the Hungarian higher education deteriorated. It is no wonder that the Hungarian university degrees issued after 1949 are nowadays not accepted by the Western universities. Most of the kids were ground between ^wto mill stones. The school taught them Communism. On the other hand their parents told them that nothing was true what was taught in the school. Here is the case of the 2 kids of my sister. When one of them went to the First Communion, he did it secretly that nobody should know of it in the school. In the case of the other boy of hers after the First Communion the school director came into the class and asked everybody: "Who made his First Communion." Then the son of my sister stood up and ~~ann~~ proudly announced that he did, whereupon the director of the school interrogated him concerning from whom and under what conditions had he ~~xxxxxx~~ received instruction.

(4f) I don't think there has been any great change.

(4g) Unfortunately enough the youngsters of today are different from those in my ^{days} ~~xxx~~. After all the Communist system had a certain effect upon the youth. You can see the effect of Communist influence even on the refugee youth who *live now* in Western Germany. They

do not acknowledge any authority, particularly ^{they} refuse to accept the authority of the older people. They are impolite, brazenly and they lie. The system taught them to lie, since everybody had to lie in the Communist system even in his dream.

(4h) See above.

(4i) In adolescence.

(5) My father was a village notary. In 1948 he was pensioned. But after a year he was taken back in his job. Then in 1950 he was fired and a little bit later his pension was suspended. ~~xxxxxxx1952x~~ He died in 1952.

(5f) Our family lived on the average level.

(5g) Four, the parents, my sister, and I.

(5h) My father died, my mother is still living. My sister got married in 1944. She has 2 children and is living in Hungary.

(5i) In 1956 I was living with own family, wife and 2 children. My father-in-law was living in the same house which was our family home.

(5k) My social origin hurt me to a great extent. On the other hand my knowledge of engineering balanced somehow this disadvantage.

(6) I got married in 1948 and I have two children in the age of seven and three years. My wife has never worked in Hungary. We lived relatively well, even in that

great poverty. I was fortunate in that respect since I could maintain my independent business for a long time and took up a job only when the system of Rakosi was declining. Everybody who was an engineer was fortunate in that system. I was at the top of the income bracket. Nevertheless I was dissatisfied too.

- (7) It is true that the children of the worker families became Communists because they did not hear anything better at home. In the majority of the families, however, the family went into the church and taught religion at home. We gave the necessary information to our children at the age of 6. We told them what the system was and that nobody was supposed to speak freely. For example, I told to my kid: " ~~Ek~~ I tell you this and this, because this is the truth. However, do not tell it in the school, because in this case you father will be arrested." The children learned to lie at a very early age, but it was necessary to lie in order to live.

- (8) We talked quite freely before the children. We listened to the Western radio stations together with the children. I did not want to lie before the kids. If the parents want to have an authority before the children, they should be frank and sincere with them.

- (9a) There was no freedom in selecting one's occupation for

children of the intellectual class. There was a special "Jewish Law" for the intellectuals.

- (9b) The friendship of the children was a great problem. They met all kinds of kids in the school and we could not do anything about it. We tried to give them good company at home, but we could not do anything outside of the home.
- (9c) No troubles whatsoever.
- (9d) I have heard of many families where there were troubles about religion with the children. There was no such thing in our family. Our kids listened in the ~~school~~ school what the teachers taught about religion. Then on Sunday they went to the church with us. We attended not only the Sunday masses, but all important processions of the church. We belonged to the parish of Szent Imre Varos and I still remember the resurrection procession in 1956. The police permitted a route of about 2 kilometers for the procession and it was entirely taken up by the mass. Thousands and thousands of people turned out in every age ^{group} because that was the only procession in which we participated with joy and freedom. I have to correct it there was another demonstration in which we participated with pleasure and that was the funeral demonstration after the death of Stalin.
- (10) The pioneer movement or the different sport movements were organized with the intention to exert Communist influence upon the children. The pioneer movement did not have a great effect, because it was hated by the kids.

The different sport movements, however, were more popular and they changed the attitude of many youngsters towards Communism.

- (11) We got along with our children very well.
- (12) Yes, we agreed about all political matters.
- (13) Not applicable.
- (14a) Our family was very close. Our principle was to stick together in good and bad times.
- (14b)¹ This was typical of the middle class. The situation was different in those families where Communism could make an inroad. I could tell you quite a few cases where the father became Communist and the whole family became ruined. The Communist fathers often deserted their wives in order ^{to get} better wives or some nice girlfriends.
- (14c) There was no leisure time for grown-up people. I had to work, the woman had to do the cleaning, washing and so on. Out of the 52 Sundays in a year I worked 30 Sundays. Of course, most of the time I worked ^{for} some private income, on a job outside of my office. If a grown-up became ^{so} much exhausted he went ~~in~~ into a movie to get a short relaxation.
- (14g) Except for the few hours spent in the family home, it

was impossible to do with our leisure time what we wanted. The system wanted to take away the leisure time and to prevent that families ~~could~~^{should} spend any time together. One of the aims of the pioneer movement was to take the children out of the family circle.

- (15) The family ties had loosened in many families, just because of the material conditions. There are many divorces in the working class. Those families on the other side who do not let the material conditions interfere with the family life tightened their relationships even in the poverty or just because of the poverty. If a wife was willing to take the poverty, she became much closer to her husband.
- (15b) The courtship and marriage patterns became much looser. The Communist^s could exert a great influence in this line. This was the propaganda material which had a great appeal to the youth.
- (15c)5 There were great changes in the working class. Let us not forget that the working class is not a uniform mass. Half of them have come out of their villages just recently. On the other hand, ~~the~~ the middle class did not show any great changes. It wanted to retain the old customs and habits.
- (16) The Communist^s teach that there are no differences between male and female, except for the biological dif-

~~PERHAPS~~ ferences. They teach that no special ^preference of courtesy should be given to women. As a consequence the present relation between boys and girls is based on a complete equality.

- (16b) In the Communist system one person could not live on its income. 2 people had to get together. Life became easier in this case. A marriage did not mean any *ritual* and the Communist law accepted common law marriages too. If two people lived together for a year, it was accepted as a legal marriage. There were no illegitimate children. If any girl named a man as the father of her child, he had to pay.
- (16d) Sexual behavior is much looser. In old times Hungary had a much higher sexual morality than the Western countries. Nowadays it is no more ~~xxx~~ true. The girls had to take up jobs where they met ^{that} temptations. At ~~the~~ time the regulating force of religion has been weakened.
- (16e) Officially prostitution was abolished and there were no more licenced houses of prostitution. Practically however, the situation was worse than ever. Girls made acquaintances with men for money and these private prostitutes were not controlled from a sanitary point of view. You could read items in the Communist press that girls in the age of 13 years were prostitutes and were ill.
- (16f) At the beginning of the Communist system everything was free. Later on, the Communists became very strict in their sexual teaching. Abortion was abolished. Even if

a girl at the age of 15 became a mother, she received material help from the state and her parents had to keep the child. For 4 or 5 years no preventives were sold. They were smuggled in ^{from} ~~for~~ the Western countries, sold at exorbitant prices, but most people could not buy them.

(16h) It changed very much.

(16i) Yes, the greatest victim of Communism became the woman. She had to work at home and in the factory. She did not receive any of the courtesies of old times. She was supposed to be the slave in the household and in the factory.

(17) To make the answer short: everybody stole everything.

(17d) In certain districts of Budapest hooliganism went on in the same way as it had been in old times.

(18) Everybody had 2 friends with whom he met and talked freely. In many cases even the friendly circle became smaller and smaller, because one friend joined the system, became a Party member and then friendship ended.

(18c) We talked politics and played cards. The old habit of parties died out because there was no money to give parties. It died out even among the engineers. If somebody came and he was offered a glass of beer, that was a great thing. If a birthday came up and a party had to be given, it was a financial bankruptcy for the family. The birthday of my son cost us 200 forints which meant

that we had to make 3 or 4 cakes, buy some chocolate and coffee for the kids. ~~The~~ Life became very simple under such circumstances. There were very few restaurants but quite a few drink shops, the so-called Talpónalló where you could have your drink while standing. In most of the drink shops you could buy snaps, but nothing else. At summertime you could not find any beer after 5 p.m. At one time the beer factories urged the consumers to return the beer bottles, because according to them the main reason of the beer shortage was the lack of bottles. People began to manufacture beer, wine, ^{and} snaps at home. The apartments were simply stinking because somebody was just *distilling* his drink. They made snaps out of corn. People drank it disregarding the sanitary consequences.

- (18g) The ~~two~~ friends should have the same mentality as I have.
- (18i) The 2 friends I mentioned were old friends whom we knew for many many years.
- (18k) In most cases it would ~~affekt~~ have affected our friendship.
- (19b) Communism wanted to abolish religion with every means, because religion stood up ^{against} Communism successfully. When this aim could not be achieved Communism created the movement of the peace priests. It failed miserably. The Communists were unable to split up the churches. The

irreligious people remained irreligious, but religious people stuck to their church even more. One thing is true, bigotry disappeared. The Catholics and the Protestants cooperate and understand each other. It happened that members of old Protestant families became converted ^{to} Catholicism because Mindszenty resisted Communism.

- (20b) The main goal of Communism is to stamp out religion. The tactic, however, is to use religion in order to further some other aims of the Party.
- (20c) There were altogether not more than 30 peace priests. I did not know any of them so I can make only some conclusions of what I heard. One of the peace priests was a no good woman chaser. . Some of the peace ~~xxxx~~ priests had never been real priests anyhow. Some others became frightened and joined the peace movement, and finally there were a few priests who joined the peace movement because they thought they can help their church in such a way.
- (20f) Church attendance was legally free, but practically it was not free. Everybody could enter a church, nobody withheld him. But church attendance was marked on the kader cards and it was a very bad letter of recommendation.
- (20h) I went to church regularly and openly. Nowadays I do not go to church so often as in Hungary. There it was a

matter of giving a backbone to the man, ~~as~~ matter of psychological resistance.

(20i) There were no differences in church attendance. The cautious people went to church in the dark hours ^{of the morning} or late in the afternoon when they could not be seen. The other kind of people went at the time of the regular masses. There ^{were} some overcautious fellows who went far away from their place of living in order to attend church.

(20k) Youth is generally less religious than in old times, except for those families where the parents kept their children in the good way. Where the parents were lax, the youth became lost for religion. Religion in Hungary is worth 1000 times more than it is here in Germany. Here in Germany Catholicism would need missionaries, but not in Hungary.

(20l) The church did not take any active part in fostering political opposition, but in final analysis it had a very important role. The church was the only institution which consistently opposed Communism all the time.

(21) Everybody wanted to become an engineer. It was a good job since there was hardly any politics involved and it paid well.

(21b) The only recommendation one could give is to join the Party. If somebody wants to make a success, he should leave his occupation and become a Party secretary, ~~in~~ the same way as it was done in Nazi times. Of course,

one has to have a stomach to follow such an advice.

- (22) The peasantry was very well off, because they could steal everything. They were full of money all the time. For example, a rumour came about a devaluation of the Hungarian money, whereupon the peasant who had 10 yokes went into the store and bought there everything in the value of 50 or 100 000 forints. He packed his whole car in order to take the load home. There were many jokes about this thing. Even the small peasant could save 8000 to 10 000 forints in a year. The working class ^{lived in} the greatest poverty. The situation of the intellectuals was better. The richest people of the country were the wine-growers of Sopron. Many of them earned 4 000 000 and 5 000 000 forints in one year and the Communists could not take away their money. They could afford themselves all the luxuries of life, they could buy motorbikes which was the sign of the greatest luxury. When the new Csepel motorbike came out it cost 15 000 forints, but you could not buy it for 15 000 forints. For example, one had to deliver above the 19 000 forints 10 tons of corn which meant another 2500 forints, if somebody wanted to buy the corn on the black market. In the stores you could buy a motorbike not for the official price of 15 000, but for 20 000 and 22 000 forints. The peasants had the greatest number of motorbikes. To understand the situation of the workers and the intellectuals I have

to mention the system of economic evaluation of the work which was the basis ^{of} ~~for~~ getting a premium. This was again one of the crazy things in Communism. If a factory could manufacture something for 8 forints instead of the planned 10 forints, the factory saved and a certain premium that is monetary reward was given to all persons involved in the saving. A worker could not do very much in order to receive premium. In my job, however, it was rather easy. For example, I was commissioned to make a plan for a certain factory, so I prepared 2 plans, a very expensive one and a cheaper one and I could argue that I saved the difference between the 2 plans. For such a saving I could claim the premium money. It is true, that this whole premium business was nothing but cheating, but it meant a lot of work and time for us. Sometimes I wasted a whole day in conference with the other engineers, bosses and the other members of the premium committee to determine how much we saved and how much premium we can claim.

(22a) I belonged to the group of the engineers which had a rather good life under Communism.

(22b) I had no other desire, but to be an engineer.

(23) I would name 4 classes in present-day Hungarian society, that is the peasantry, the middle ~~class~~ class, the working class, and finally the new upper 10 000 people of the Communist Party. A real social barrier

exists only between the upper 10 000 people of the Communist Party and the rest of the population. This social barrier is emphasized in every way. Here is the case of Balatonakarattya where a new magnificent hotel was built for the Communist bosses. The neighbourhood of the new hotel was evacuated and 100 of homes were demolished to insure peace and luxury for the Communist leaders. When Rakosi used his yacht on the lake Balaton, he was accompanied by 4 motor boats of the police. The social distance between the Communist elite and the rest of the population was just as great as it had been in the ~~Middle~~^{ages} between the lords and the peasants. All the luxury cars used by the Communist leaders have curtains on their windows that nobody could see who is riding inside. When Rakosi was driving somewhere, he was accompanied by 2 police cars filled with AVO~~s~~ people, each of them having a revolver in his hand.

(23b) A great change.

(23d) See above.

(23e) The question cannot be answered very simply. The social distance between the Communist leaders and the rest of the population is greater than any social distance existing ever before. On the other hand there are no more social barriers among the different classes, such as ~~intellectuals~~ intellectuals and workers.

(23g) Politeness and the old etiquette disappeared. Present-day Hungarian society is characterized ^{by} what in old times

was called the etiquette of the proletarians. Everybody called everybody else as te. The usual greeting is: "Servusz Comrade." This form of address became so general that finally the good friends up to address each other as Maga. The old address of ur disappeared. When in society the ladies are still greeted with "I kiss your hands". The Communist greeting of Baratsag has never been accepted by the population. The general forms of greeting are: "Good Day" in the countryside and "Servusz" in Budapest. Politeness disappeared in every respect. Every minute of life is struggle. There is not time left for politeness or etiquette, but there are a lot of problems posed along the way. If a enter an office I have to think it over whether I should greet the people inside with "Comrade" or not.

- (24) After the resettlement of the Germans in 1945 there have not been any significant national minorities left in Hungary. For the remaining small numbers life represented the same kind of poverty as for the Hungarians.
- (24a) No, all groups share the same kind of life.
- (25) One has to make an distinction between 2 periods and between the 2 parts of the Jewry in Hungary. In the first period from 1945 to 48 the Jewry took a revenge for the great insults and sufferings of the Nazi time through using the legal means offered to them by the new system.

The Jews joined the Party, got the leading positions and had a very important role in establishing Communism. At the same time there was another part of the Jewry which kept away from the Party and shared the life of the rest of the population. After 1949 the history of the Party reached another period. The Jews were dropped from the Party and even from many leading positions. From that time on there was no more difference. I know that many people say that Jew and Communist are the same thing. However, such a statement is not true. Although many of the so-called Polish Jews became Communists, although Rákosi, Gerő, Révai are Jews, there were many other Jews who did not join Party or outrightly opposed it. However, in the second period from 1949 on a feeling against the Jews grew in the same way as the opposition against the system grew. The anti-Semitism as it existed before 1944 ~~was~~ does not exist nowadays. It is a new form of anti-Semitism but it does ~~not~~ exist. Most of the Jews emigrated from the country voluntarily. After 1947, as the saying in Budapest went around, only the stupid Jews stayed in the Party.

(25c) I had many Jewish acquaintances all the time. Most of them left Hungary in the years from 1945 to 48. Some others joined the Party and became great Communists.

(25g) As I mentioned there was a popular opinion in Hungary holding that Jew and Communist are the same. My own point of view is quite different. According to my view

a certain characteristic trait of a race might be of advantage and disadvantage ^{for} of the race ~~just as well~~. ^{at the same time.}

The *age-long* persecution of the Jews developed an instinct of survival in them. They want to make a compromise with the existing political power and are willing to serve the political power any time. This is the tragedy of the Hungarian Jewry. The ~~clever~~ ^{clever} Jews left the country, the rest became the compromiser with Communism. In the countryside one cannot find any Jews nowadays. They were liquidated partly by the arrow-cross movement, ~~partly~~ partly they left the country after 1945. In the smaller cities you can find only one or two Jews. The Jews left the small cities as they were squeezed out of the trades by Communism. Concerning the past, the majority of the Jews were Hungarians and did not speak Jewish but Hungarian. They played an eminent role in Hungarian cultural affairs. An example will illustrate their patriotism. I left the country, but my former secretary of my own business, a Jewess did not do so. She told me that she could not live without Budapest. As a final remark I want to mention that the Jews themselves do not know whether they should be regarded as a race or as a religion. In the time of the Fascism they said that they were a religion, but nowadays they claim to be a race and have a state of their own.

(25h) In the case of a normal government in Hungary the

Jewish problem will disappear. That part of the Jewry which did not compromise itself with Communism would be quite all right and would take an important role in the economic life of the country. I think they would do so without any discrimination. Those Jews who took part in Communism would be punished on the same grounds as the ~~non-Jewish~~ non-Jewish Communists would be.

- (1) In old times I was not interested in politics. Not at all. I did not even know what politics was. Later on, it became a must to be interested. Our lives became determined by the political changes. We were forced to look around for political changes and possibilities.
- (2a) No.
- (2e) My opinion of the Communists was right from the beginning that all Communists were scoundrels.
- (2f) I always opposed Communism.
- (2h) Those people who did not obey the Communist authorities were liquidated. This is one important point about Communism that the West cannot understand. I am very often amazed at the ignorance of Western people in Communism. All I can tell to those Western people is that they should try just for 6 months to live under Communist system. If they will disobey the Communist authorities while living there I shall give them personally a great order of merit.
- (3a) Fear of arrest and terror, inadequate opportunity to get ahead, interference with civil rights and finally I think that all those grievances were equally important.
- (3b) Inadequate housing, inadequate food. I could not name any third point.
- (3c) Inadequate professional recognition. It was particularly bad for our children who were not admitted to the schools.

- (3d) The greatest grievance of the peasantry is not listed here. It is the system of compulsory delivery. The overtaxation was a grievance of second degree only.
- (3e) Inadequate housing and inadequate pay. The workers could not live, neither eat as human beings are supposed to.
- (3j) Communism could be credited with 2 good reforms which they carried out right after the war. The 2 reforms were the landreform and the establishment of trade unions. Those 2 reforms made the Communist Party quite popular in 1945 and 46. Later on they cheated everybody out of those 2 reforms and lost their original popularity.
- (4) The real power was in the hands of the AVO people and in final analysis in the hands of the Russians. The Hungarians were only the deputies of the Russians.
- (4f) There was a tremendous bureaucracy, although it was by no means greater than the bureaucracy in Western Germany.
- (4h) The workers and those intellectuals who compromised themselves.
- (5) Not asked.
- (6) I cannot give any objective opinion of the Party. I could say that only the opportunists and the scoundrels joined the Party. They did a great deal of harm to me

personally. But what was the most hated things in them was that they were the representatives of a foreign oppressive power. The Party member enjoyed a great honor and distinction from the side of the state power. He was the most despised and hated fellow from the side of the people. The Party and the people were 2 different things.

(6e)

See above.

(6f)

The Revolution was made by the dissatisfied Communists. Those people were theoretical Communists, intelligent people who recognized the real situation. And the finally, the other type of disillusioned Communists was made up of those Party members who had been *purged* and wanted to reach the top Party jobs again.

(6h)

No.

(6r)

The Russians ran the Party. Rakosi and his clique received instructions from Moscow. Their independence meant only that they were supposed to solve the local difficulties. They could not do anything else. Every Communist is a dirty rascal.

(7)

When I got my job with the planning office I had to join the trade union of the iron workers, since our office belonged to that trade union. I paid my membership fees for 3 months and then I did not pay anything for a whole year. The reason for that was that one of my underlings was the secretary of the trade union in charge of member-

ship fees and did not want to bother me.

- (7c) The trade union was another organization of the Communists without any other purpose than those of serving the Party.
- (7d) See above.
- (7e) Nothing.
- (7g) They did not even think of the mass organizations.
- (7i) During the 4 years I spent with the planning office it happened only once that one employee went with his complaint to the trade union. Everybody found it ridiculous and indeed the trade union did not do anything about his complaint.
- (7m) Not even the workers paid their membership fees to the trade union. Where the trade unions are kept by the state there cannot be any real trade union organization. The trade union had no power to oppose the manager in representing the interests of the workers. In old times the capitalist manufacturers had their blacklist of workers active in the trade union movement. The same blacklist was kept by the Communists too and if any worker made any troubles on the line of the trade union he did not get any job anymore. It ~~was~~ happened once that in our office the pay of 2 ~~old~~ old engineers was lowered, because they were old. They went to see the secretary of the local trade union. The secretary explained ~~xxxxx~~ it to them that they were old people and could not work as much as the young engineers.

They had to accept as a just decision a cut in their salary. As another mass organization I can mention the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society where one had to pay 1 forint membership fee. There were places of work where every worker had to join it. At our place it was not compulsory and I did not become a member. I attended one meeting of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society. It was a commemoration of the death centenary of a certain Russian writer whose name was unknown to me. The meeting was held in our office and I spent one of the most boring hours of my life there.

- (8) In our office there were 5 enthusiastic Communists. The other Communists did it out of love of money. The other Communists burnt their membership books during the Revolution. They were very happy to burn them.
- (9) The youth were only nominal members of the DISZ. They did not believe what the DISZ leaders told them. They had to join it out of sheer force. The usual situation was that because of the terror everybody applauded everything, then went home and told his sincere opinion among 4 walls. I can cite the example of the general manager of one of the state electrical enterprises who originally was a member of the arrow-cross movement. Then he joined the Communist Party, attended the Lenin academy and became the manager of a national

enterprise. During the Revolution he was seen participating in the street fights on the side of the Revolutionaries.

- (10b) The ordinary police, the blue police was only an executive branch of the state administration. Very few of the policemen were Communists. Only the AVO represented the terror. The AVO people were no Communists either, but they knew that they will be murdered in a minute when the system will be overturned. This is why many AVO people were fighting for their life during the Revolution. It is not true that the AVO put up an organized resistance during the Revolution. They hid themselves in ~~their~~ their apartments and began to shoot when they thought their own life would be endangered. The Revolutionaries occupied the central headquarters of the AVO. The AVO people escaped like rats from a sinking ship. If the Russians did not come in, the AVO would have been completely liquidated. It would have been liquidated by peaceful unarmed citizens, by the anger of the masses.
- (10e) Only a part of the AVO people were recruited.
- (10j) The policemen hated the AVO. They had every reason to do so. The policemen received 600 forints for a month. The private in the AVO, ^{received} 1100 plus clothing and food.
- (10k) I can only guess concerning this point. The Party members were just as much afraid from the AVO people as the other kind of people were afraid. The whole situation

resembled of the old SS of the time of Hitler. Both the AVO and the SS were terror organizations.

- (11) I can remember only one case out of my friendly circle. The fellow was a captain in the air force during the war. In 1945 he was arrested and released in the next year. He even joined the new army, but in 49 he was fired. Then he was arrested again.
- (11d) The former kulaks and the members of the former upper 10 000, the intellectuals, the clergymen, finally the leaders of the Social Democratic Party and those Communist Party members who had an opinion of their own got arrested. ^{Many} ~~any~~ small tradesmen ^{were arrested with} ~~which~~ false charges.
- (11e) There were many cases where the hasbizalmi did a great deal of harm. They were the official sources of police reports. In such a way they could even help to many people. We had to thank to our tombbizalmi that we were not deported in 1950. When the great deportation of that year came, the names of my father-in-law and of myself were on the original list as managers. The police, however, went to see the ~~kannixalmi~~ tombbizalmi and the tombbizalmi told them that both my father-in-law and myself were only small tradesmen working with less than 10 people. So our names were struck from the list of deportation.
- (11g) No special information.

- (12) Not applicable.
- (13) To believe what the Communists say.
- (13c) Yes and no.
- (13d) Yes and no. It is impossible to give a clear-cut answer in both cases.
- (13f) Of course under the Communist system one has to keep one's mouth shut and whenever one opens one's mouth one must lie.
- (14) There were important fluctuations in the ~~forms~~ forms of terror. It began in 1947 and became gradually stronger by 1950. It was the worst from 1950 to 52. Then it began to weaken and it was almost abolished in 1953. Then in 1955 when Rakosi returned to power the terror became strong again and disappeared in 1956. At the present time it is strong again.
- (15) Everybody knew that the so-called economic advisors of the Soviet Union ran the Hungarian economy. On political line the Hungarian Communist leaders were the servants of the bosses in Moscow.
- (15d) No.
- (15e) The Soviet influence was most important in the field of economics. I could give you a few examples. Hungary is very rich on bauxite ore. During the last war the Germans bought the Hungarian bauxite refined and manufactured it

in Germany because a great amount of electric energy is necessary for the processing of the bauxit. Now the Russians paid us to refine and manufacture bauxit and then they took it. The electrification of the country was raised but the aluminium furnaces needed all the electric energy of the country. The Russians exploited the whole country ruthlessly. The cost of production of a pair of boots was 78 forints and they were sold for 220 forints in the stores, but they were exported to Russia for 15 forints and 80 fillers. The Hungarian customer had to pay for the Russian export.

(16) Not asked.

(17) There were many ways how the Hungarians could circumvent official orders. Those ways were well known even to the Party members. They were tolerated by the Party. Russia copies America in many ways. For example, the American tourist fares well in Germany because of the currency exchange. The Russians do the same thing in Hungary and nobody dares to speak about it. During the Revolution it was estimated that Hungary had paid one billion dollars to Russia as reparations and other fees over 12 years.

(18a) The cohesive forces were the AVO and the Russian army.

(18b) The disruptive force was the system itself.

- (19) The Hungarian people opposed the Communist system in every possible way. Of course, you cannot evaluate this opposition in the *captions* of the headlines of the American papers. We could not do it in the terms of ~~journalism~~ sensationalism and the *yellow* journalism. The *silent* sabotage done by the country was the best form of opposition. The industrial workers manufactured so much waste that all the factories were bankrupt. The intellectuals did sabotage through their approval. They approved the craziest Communist plans and said that it was the best.
- (19b) The peasants because they could afford to do so.
- (19c) There were hardly any groups of this kind.
- (19l) The young intellectuals who had been supported by the Party opened their eyes and recognized the situation. They turned against the regime.

- (1a) The most important sources of information were the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, a few other foreign stations and finally the news received from athletes and other people travelling in foreign countries.
- (2) I read ~~the~~^{one} newspaper every day since it was necessary to do so. The Szabad Nep was compulsory for the Party members. We read the Magyar Nemzet, but it was almost the same as the other paper. Every newspaper wrote exactly the same stories. It was impossible to read anything else but about the agricultural cooperatives, the working competitions and the official Party announcements.
- (2d) I liked the sport newspaper. After 1956 I liked the Irodalmi Ujsag because it began to criticize the system. I bought every copy of it paying 5 forints to the news vendor. Then I lent it to other people. If a good news appeared in the newspapers, everybody read it and everybody became very glad. I remember one Friday afternoon when I met 2 acquaintances who were both members of the Party. They were obviously very glad and as they told me they were glad because Rakosi was fired^{as} a prime-minister. We were so glad that we went into a restaurant ~~swi-jined~~ and ordered some wine. We have been drinking there till midnight. When I returned home my wife gave^{me} pardon because of the good news.
- (2g) Up to 1949 it was possible to get foreign publications. I subscribed to the American magazine Popular Mechanics and to another one. After 1949 those foreign publications

were prohibited and we could buy only the foreign Communist publications. I bought from time to time a copy of the *Arbeiterzeitung* published in Vienna because it was still better than the Hungarian Communist newspapers.

(3) We went to the movie once or twice during a month. Everybody liked the opera films, the Italian and French films and disliked all the Party line films. The Russian and Hungarian pictures were particularly hated.

(3b) I wanted entertainment in the movie and not political education.

(3c) Of all the pictures shown in Hungary one out of every 10 was Russian made. The Russian made films were so much hated by the population that they had to be disguised in order to draw public into the movie house. One night we wanted to go into the movie with the _____ and I saw the poster at one of the movie houses announcing a picture called "Csardaskiralyno". We thought it must be a Hungarian operetta film and we went in. There we found that it was one of the poor Russian films. This was the situation. The people went to see a Russian film only by an incident. In many cases when people discovered that it was a Russian film they left the movie house or at other times they laughed out loudly during the Russian films. Except for the ballet films all the other Russian films were indeed very poor.

- (4) I read many technical books. Concerning fiction and poetry I have read only the old writers. I don't know anything about Hungarian literature in the last 12 years. I learned the names of the new Hungarian writers just before the Revolution when they revolted against the system. I had a nice library at home consisting of at least 1000 books. It was my escape from the troubles of present-day life that I read the old books. For example, I read a novel of Jokai 100 times. There was a great scarcity of good books. The books the public wanted were not printed and sold, particularly no Western books. The Party line books which were published in 50 000 copies were not wanted by anybody.
- (4e) I could mention such names as Damasi, Kodolanyi, Jokai, Herczeg, Gulacsi, Iren, Marai and I could add a few other names. I liked particularly Marai and Cilahy. I read several times the novel Alelek Kialszik written by Cilahy and shed tears each time I read it.
- (5) I listened to the domestic radio stations only at certain occasions. For example, to the Saturday night variety show or to certain news casts and sport broad casts. I listened to political speeches only in those cases when Nagy Imre spoke.
- (6) I did not like any of them, but listened to all of them. The BBC was the most reliable.
- (6d) People in Hungary were influenced by the foreign radio

stations and they are partly responsible for the Revolution. The Western radio stations suggested that the Revolution will succeed. Now the Western radio stations want to wash their hands. I understand they changed their tone since the Hungarian Revolution. Of course, the Western people will never understand what the Western radio stations meant behind the Iron Curtain.

- (7) There were rumours going around all the time, but none of them was exact. If something was in the making, the rumours predicted it always but always inexactly. People wanted to be misled and misled themselves through the rumours. I am thinking particularly of the many rumours concerning the devaluation of the Hungarian currency. Yes, people were misled by the domestic rumours just as well as by the foreign radio stations.
- (8) Nobody ever considered any part of the newspapers ^{as} reliable. Everybody knew that the papers were lying.
- (8d) Nothing could be believed. Even nowadays the Hungarian papers write that Kadar is liked by the whole country.
- (8e) There were no differences.
- (8f) Yes, see above.
- (9) Yes, everybody tried to listen to the radio and to listen to those people who have just returned from a travel abroad. They tried to find out the truth behind

conflicting news broad casts. The rumours had a very important role in the daily life of the people. At 10 o'clock in the morning a rumour came that the money will be devaluated. 10 minutes later everybody ran into a store to buy things in order to get rid of his money. A shoe store was emptied within 60 minutes. The rumour was more important from the point of view of the economic life of the country than the newspapers. The rumours were more important than the foreign radio stations and they were just as reliable.

(9a) It depended on education. Well-educated people tried to be better informed. On the other hand people with a poor education were less interested in the news.

- (1) Those changes should be made which were spelt out by the Revolution that is the political police and the Party should be abolished and free elections should be held.
- (1a) The Communist carried out 2 important reforms which should be kept but in different forms than they are now. The landreform is a very good idea, but the present-day agricultural system cannot be maintained. We do not need any productive cooperatives, but ~~some~~ ^{marketing} cooperatives as they exist in the Western countries. Concerning the other reform we do need stronger trade unions, but they should be free from the power of the state. Concerning the economic life, Hungary needs those kinds of industries which work on the basis of utilizing human work rather than raw material. We can sell on the world market the products of our electrical industry, but we cannot sell the products of our heavy industry. The nationalization of the large enterprises must be maintained in order to prevent that one capitalist should receive a too great political power.
- (2) Yes, there are several political parties since there is not one infallible party.
- (3) Yes, very much so.
- (3c) Everybody should be perfectly free to denounce the government.

- (3d) Before answering this question it must be stated what is detrimental to the state. It must be stated in an objective way.
- (4) Yes, all people should be entirely free to participate in any meetings. Moreover any person should be free not to participate in any kind of meeting. This is what is missing in the Soviet constitution. If the government gives an order everybody has to march up along the Andrassy ut.
- (4b) If the government is against the best interests of the people, if the government exploits the country in favour of another power then armed uprising against the government is perfectly justified.
- (5) Hungary would need a development of its agricultural resources. In this case she could become a very rich country.
- (6) There should not be any heavy industry in Hungary, because the necessary conditions for heavy industry are lacking in Hungary. Hungary is a small country and can imagine a peaceful future only within the framework of a United States of Europe. This is the general desire of the Hungarians.
- (6b) I know that many people argue in favor of restoration of the factories and other properties to their former

owners. Those people say that Hungary could afford such a recompensation paid to the former owners. The same people say that it was illegal to confiscate their property. I do not want to go into the legalistic of economic aspect of the problem. It is a very complicated problem which cannot be solved from such an aspect. The Communist did everything to make the problem of property rights confused and complex. By now everybody can complain of certain losses suffered by the Communists. If factories or any other properties are restored to their former owners, the result will be a maze of legal suits and only the lawyers will benefit out of it. If we look at the problem from the point of view of the practical feasibility then the only solution is to leave the present nationalized factories in the hands of the state. They should be nationalized even in the future.

(6c) Private profit is good.

(6e) Yes.

(7) This question again must be answered from the point of view of practical feasibility. It is not right to lay down any general principles concerning light industry. This would be the same mistake as the mistake committed by the Communists.

(8) Government planning as it is done by the Communists is completely wrong. It is a stupid scheme of inex-

perienced people and it is based on unrealistic plans.

- (9) The state should interfere with the minimum of problems. The main rule of the state is to maintain public order. Otherwise the state should permit the people to live according to their own will. The state should not be a general controlling and executive office. The state should not be giant sized bureaucracy. At the present time the people are for the state. A good way how the state should function is presented in the role of the President of the United States. Something like that one would be necessary in Hungary too.
- (10) The citizen must have certain duties towards the state. Taxes, military service are necessary in every state, if we want to avoid a general anarchy.
- (10e) The state must insure the personal and property security, the possibilities of work, and the possibilities of a cultural development.
- (11) Medical insurance has become extended during the Communist system and more people have become covered by compulsory health insurance system. However, the general care and benefits given to the insured people has not improved because certain objective conditions have not been present. Particularly Hungary has not had enough doctors and medicine.

- (12) Yes, he has, however, such an opportunity does not mean a benefit for him.
- (13) The food situation is now worse than before the war.
- (13a) Worse.
- (13b) The same.
- (14) The clothing situation is now worse than before the war.
- (14a) Worse.
- (14b) The same.
- (15) The industrial production of Hungary increased in quantity very much but not for the benefit of the Hungarian people.
- (15c) Bad.
- (16) The workers must have a voice in the decisions concerning the factory. As I conceive it the leaders of the workers should have a certain controlling power as against the owner. The owner should not be permitted to do anything with his factory at the expense of his workers. In case of nationalization the concept of owner means ~~that~~ the state too.
- (16d) The factory should be run by one person, either the owner or the manager.
- (17) As the collective farms have been realized it has been a bad system. The result was that the collective farms

became another enterprise of the state and any statement made by the Communists that the collective farm is owned by its members is a simple lie. It is not a true cooperative, it is just a name for another type of Communist undertaking.

(17c) It is not necessary to do anything with the collective farms. If the Communist system collapses the collective farms will be dissolved within 2 minutes. Everybody will run home with all his property he invested into the cooperative, as it happened in October 1956

(17e) This will happen anyhow whether one likes it or not. In agriculture not the producing cooperative, but the marketing cooperative is important. The small peasant works very much like a horse, but he has not got the knowledge neither the possibilities to market his products. If 20 peasants get together they can buy a truck and they can reach the market. The examples, known to everybody teach us that all the productive cooperatives are working with deficit, whereas the marketing cooperatives do a booming business. A network of marketing cooperatives could do a great deal of good for the Hungarian peasants and they join them freely and voluntarily for their own benefit.

(17i) The estates should be returned to their former owners up to that limit which marks the greatest extent of the family operated farm. I guess that such a limit would be around 100 yokes. The right thing would be

that every member of the society should work for his living. It was not right in old Hungary that the count was permitted to idle.

(17l) No opinion.

(17m) The problem of the machine tractor stations could be solved within the framework of the above mentioned free cooperatives.

(18) The state should not sit upon the neck of the church. Religion is an individual question for everybody. Every person should have a complete freedom concerning his own religious attitude. He should be free to determine to join a church or to stay outside of any church. He should have the freedom to join any church he likes to. The religion should lay down certain ethical norms for everybody but the church should not have any other than spiritual influence. The political power of the church is just as wrong as the religious power of the state.

(18c) If the church wishes to maintain schools and is financially able to do so the church must have a freedom to open its schools. However, the state should not give any financial support to the church schools. It is included in the concept of freedom that every person must be free to decide the school for his own children.

(18e) The teaching of religion should be done on a honest voluntary basis. Everybody who wants to secure religious

education for his children should be permitted to get it. On the other hand no person should be forced to send his children into the religious classes.

(18f) I want to send my children into a good school, disregarding the fact whether it is public or denominational.

(19) The principles laid down by the Revolution are correct in this respect. Everybody who committed crime should be punished but strictly according to the law and through legal trials. No personal revenge should be permitted in this line. Furthermore, I have a proposition of my own concerning this point. It is well known that the Communists made a great deal of damage to the Hungarian State and to every citizen of the country. They should get a certain financial punishment. All those Communists ~~who were responsible~~ who were responsible in those damages should be punished ^{by} paying a certain reparation to the Hungarian state which could be deducted from their monthly salary. Out of those reparations a special fund could be established out of which certain legal claims of damage can be paid to the citizens who had suffered under Communism.

(19e) Nothing should be done about the Youth League members. In case of necessity the above stated principle should be applied to them.

(19f) They should be judged by a legal court.

(19g) No special precautions are necessary concerning the

members of the police. They should be handled as stated above.

- (19h) The members of the Youth League and of the police were generally for the Revolution.
- (20) Not asked.
- (21) There is a Hungarian national character, but it would be wrong to conceive it in any racial terms. There is no such thing as Hungarian race and one cannot discover any Hungarian physical traits as the races have them. I have met here in Germany quite a few Suabians who hardly knew any Hungarian. Nevertheless they identify themselves as Hungarian.
- (21i) At least at the present time there are no differences in the character of the social classes, but the Hungarians can be characterized as hard working, shrewd people who were trained by and adapted themselves to the storms of their historical past.
- (21f) There were differences between the social classes before 1945. If somebody reads the novels written in both times those differences are clearly spelt out there.
- (22) The time of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was the time of the best government in Hungarian history.
- (22f) There was a great deal of social and economic inequality before 1945.

- (23) I remember those times in the 1930ies when I was a young man and the whole country was for the so-called revisionism. Even in those times I belonged to those few people who opposed the idea of revisionism. Since 1938 I had the opinion that a Middle European Confederation is necessary and if possible this Middle European Confederation should be a part of the United States of Europe. Only such a construction would be able to counterbalance the cultural animosity existing among the European nations. In the past the general policy of the great powers has been to play out one of the small people against the other ones. The future solution can be an abolishment of the political barriers and the establishment of a large-scale and free economic unit in Europe.
- (23d) A natural conflict between Hungarians and other people is not necessary. It was in the past always created by political powers for their own benefit.
- (24) The Middle European Confederation and or the United States of Europe would solve such problems. Moreover, a neutrality would be very good for Hungary and for all the small states of Europe. Only such a construction could insure a general welfare in Europe. In America Texas cannot live alone and if the United States of America would fall into 48 party the result would be a general poverty and anarchy in the place of the pre-

sent wealth and power. Foreigners and particularly Americans do not realize the presently existing unrealistic political situation in Europe. Nowadays it is possible to reach one capital from another capital in 15 minutes by plane. But I had to wait 12 years till I was able to get from Budapest to Vienna, Austria simply because the political power ~~erected~~ ^{set up} international barriers and nobody was permitted to cross them. My family comes from Transylvania and as a young kid I spent a lot of time there. In ^{the} last war many of my former friends were serving in the Rumanian army and I was in the Hungarian army. We were supposed to shoot each other. Wasn't that a simple craziness?

- (25) The Russians are good-hearted and cruel at the same time as it is the quality of the Slav people. Otherwise they are the most pitiful people of the world. An unfortunate people delivered to the mercy of the Communist system.
- (26) I have not read much about Marxism and I am no expert at all. My opinion, however, is that the original theory of Marxism wanted to change a situation that existed 100 years ago. Nowadays the theory is out of date since the situation disappeared anyhow. There are no more exploiting capitalists as they were in the time of Marx. The whole theory is an unrealistic idealistic philosophy and its so-called realization by the Russians is another tragedy.

The Russian government of the Communists wanted to catch up with centuries and wanted to create a future America on the ruins of the tsarism.

- (26g) I could give only a conditional answer depending on how we define the concept of Marxism.
- (26h) A democrat is a person who honestly wants a rule by the majority of the votes.
- (26i) Perhaps never.
- (26j) He is a politician and few politicians in Eastern Europe are Marxists or Democrats.
- (27) National Communism is a self-contradiction. Tito is a dictator and every dictator has to find an ideology for himself. An ideology is necessary to rationalize the rule of the dictator.
- (27e) Yes and no. Some of the writers are good Hungarian patriots. Some of the Party secretaries are the worst people I have ever known.
- (28) Not asked.
- (29) Not asked.
- (30) My guess is that in case of free elections three important parties ~~will~~ would emerge in Hungary, a so-called Catholic-Socialistic Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Smallholders Party. The Social Democrats I guess

would not get more than 10% of the votes. The political power would be taken either by the Catholic Socialistic Party or by the Smallholders Party.

(30a)

There is no popular leader in Hungary and ^{this} is a great tragedy for the country. There is no authority in the country. Perhaps Mindszenty has an authority but he cannot become a political leader and cannot become connected with any of the political parties. There are neither names nor brains in the country. For example, Eckhardt is not wanted by anybody, although the Americans want to force him upon us.

(31)

Not asked.

(32)

Not asked.

(33)

Not asked.

(34)5

The United States is a wonderful country and all the Hungarian refugees would like to go there. We expect the salvation of Hungary from America only. She was the country most beloved by the Hungarians up to the Revolution. Since the Revolution all the Hungarians are bitter against America. The people feel that they were deceived by the Americans. In my opinion this is a naive concept. However, if somebody is living in Hungary he thinks otherwise and his sentiments ~~are~~ can be under-

stood. Altogether I think concerning America we have to make distinctions between the political reason and the sentiments of the people.

- (35) Nobody would fight, except for the AVO people and a handful of compromised Communists.
- (36) Since my departure from Hungary my views and opinions concerning foreign policy have changed. Up to that time I shared the opinion of so many other people that there will be a war or an international intervention in the Hungarian case. I too, was deceived by the American propaganda. By now I know that the Western powers are irresponsible and egotistic and I evaluate the political news accordingly. I have to mention that there are some honest politicians even in the West who tell the truth frankly. For example, the foreign minister of Western Germany Brentano openly declared in his speech: "We have to say to our brothers in Eastern Germany that they have to suffer since we are unable to do anything." It would have been much more honest from the part of the Western powers and the Western propaganda to make a similar statement to the Hungarians too.

- (1) I think I have told you almost everything that I know and might be of interest ^{to} ~~for~~ you.
- (1a) It has been a pleasure for me to talk about the Hungarian affairs so intensively and to find such sympathetic listening ears. I wish you could convey our feelings and opinions to the public opinion in America.
- (1c) There are not too many things, a person should beware of. One must not be timid in face of Communism. One can handle the Communists with courage and determination only.
- (1d) I suppose everybody will give a frank and honest answer to you. After all, we are in a Western country where we feel free to talk.
- (1e) No important question would come into my mind.
- (2a) It was on or about the 15th of November that I saw that the Western powers will never do anything in our favour. Then I decided to leave the country. It took me more than three weeks before I could realize this decision. Now I am here and in a few days I leave for Switzerland where perhaps I make my final home. If Hungary would be free tomorrow morning I would not return there for 4 or 5 years. If I am here and under the present circumstances and if I am established as I am by now I want to learn a little bit more about the life in Western countries. After those 4 or 5 years I would like ^{to} ~~to~~ return although I could not tell at present whether I would like to

return for good or just for a visit. This whole situation is pretty similar to love. One should not look for logics in it. It is a matter of feelings only.

(3) I think the questions were selected pretty well and I have no further suggestions.