

- (1) The Revolution has proved that the Communist Dictatorship did not succeed during 12 years to re-educate the Hungarians, especially the youth. You have to look only at the behaviour of the students, young workers and the peoples' Army during the Revolution, and this happened in spite of the fact that the Communists have built everything upon the youth. They have created the DISZ and also the Union of Freedom Fighters. In this latter they have given military training to the youth for the case of a counter-Revolution. Within this same organization they have taught us how to prepare and use the Molotov cocktails. This has then wonderfully back-fired.
- (2) Factually, it has begun on October 23rd, but actually it has been already in the air, only a spark was needed to set everything aflame. This spark was then provided on the afternoon of October 23rd, when the sympathy demonstration for Poland got under way.
- (2a) Yes, the ferment was very serious from the beginning of September. This time a new newspaper appeared also with quite a revolutionary tone, namely the Hetfői Hírlap.
- (2b) The death of Stalin and following that, the general loosening-up within the whole Soviet Block. Further the rehabilitations in the peoples' democracies which took place this time. Then the Twentieth Party Congress and the following new era. This was characterized by a new wave of rehabilitations as the consequence of the de-Stalinisation Campaign. Last, but not least, the Poznan Uprising and the Polish developments following this.
- (2c) I was hopeful some times, but I couldn't believe anymore really

in a change for better.

- (2e) In the Petöfi-Circle the regime was attacked openly and sharply, which caused feverish reaction in the whole country. Five or six hours before the meetings, you couldn't get anywhere nearby to the place where the Petöfi-Circle met. Even the neighbouring streets were blocked by the swelling crowds.
- (2f) The articles in the Irodalmi Ujság; the role of Tamas Acsél, was probably the most interesting, since not long before he was one of the most faithful and ardent writers for the regime, but even more sensation was caused by the appearance of the Hetfői Hirlap. Everybody felt that this meant a great change.
- (2g) On the stage of the theatres you could hear the sharpest critics on the system. Two "Kabare" stages- the Vidám Szinpad and the Kis Szinpad - have dared to bring the most fantastic satyres and critics in comical forms. The public ~~then~~^{went} simply crazy of laughing and applauding. These things have started already in the Spring of 1955. During the last year, they have staged such pieces of dramatic literature, which have been unimaginable a year before. This was equally true as regards to classic pieces, for instance ~~Shaw's~~ Shaw's "Saint Joan", but even more for comic and entertaining performances.
- I will never forget the programme of one of the Cabaret Theatres, which was entitled "Hol szorit a cipő?", (in English: where pinches the shoe?). This was a two hours long merciless critic about the system.
- Certain critics, which appeared in the Irodalmi Ujság and all

the articles of Hetfői Hírlap. I cannot remember any more of their titles.

Just to make you understand what these papers meant to the Hungarian public, I have to tell you an event which I saw as an eye-witness. One Sunday evening, one of the news-men has been simply pushed against a show-window. The window crashed, the poor newspaper vendor found himself in the shop-window bleeding from wounds which have been caused by the window glass. He dropped in terror his bundle of Hetfői Hírlap, for which the crowd began such a fierce fight, that the police was called out and had to make order with their rubber truncheons.

- (3) The entire Communist way of life itself, the oppression, prohibition of free speech and expression, the lack of every human freedom. Passions have broken out in flames suddenly now, passions which have been repressed for twelve years.
- (3a) The Polish events.
- (3b) The AVH have been faithful to the regime and have fought for it. The others were scared, have gone into hiding or behaved passively.
- (3c) It started out as a sympathy demonstration for Poland and during the speeches, the students of Budapest have demanded the fulfillment of the 25 Points, which has been originally formulated by the students of Szeged on October 21st. The whole thing originally started in Szeged where the students have founded the MEFESZ on the date just mentioned. There was no intention to start a Revolution. At 3 o'clock p.m.. nobody has thought yet of an armed uprising.
- (3d) From Bem Square, part of the crowd has marched to the Parliament

and demanded Imre Nagy to become the Prime Minister. The other part of the crowd went to the Radio Station and tried to broadcast the 25 points. There the AVH has resisted and started to shoot on the crowd.

Preliminary to the march on the Radio Station was that on the Bem Square before the crowd dissolved, thousands of stencilled copies of the 25 points were distributed among the students and the people. The evening paper Esti Budapest, which appeared on the streets at 7 p.m. has printed 22 points but left out the remaining three which demanded the withdrawal of the Russian Forces from Hungary, the raising of the Stalin Monument and the discontinuing of the Uranium deliveries into the Soviet Union. Thereupon the students have decided that the full 25 points would be read in the Radio.

After the first shots were fired, people started out toward the Radio Station as an avalanche.

- (3f) The AVH.
- (3g) People in leading positions; older office workers who have been afraid for their bread.
- (3h) "Aki magyar velünk van" (in English: if you are Hungarian, you are with us). If three people have started out with a flag, shouting this slogan, at the next corner they had already 500 people marching with them. - "Szovjet ország Katonája, menjen vissza hazájába!" (Soldier of the Soviet Union should go home) - "Gyilkos az A !" (The AVO is murderer). This was chanted rhythmically and each time a triple "Eurrah!" followed it. I wouldn't

know for what reason. - "Magyar urán, magyar Király; ehhez másnak Kése nincs!" (the Hungarian Uranium is a Hungarian treasure, it's nobody else's business). - Szabadságot, Kenyeret; Rakosinak Kötelet!" (let us have freedom, let us have bread and rope for Rakosi), then again chanted rhythmically "Vesszen Gerő!" (down with Gerő) and many, many others. Each day and each hour new slogans were created. Since Radio Budapest continued to denounce the so-called counter-revolutionaries and have given the most frivolous dance music all the time while people were dying on the streets, one of the most frequent slogans was "Haddik a rádió!" (the radio is lying). But even better than the slogans have been the wall-posters those days.

(31) It was apparently anti-Communist, since a people suffering under Communist oppression ^{has} ~~has~~ tried to shake off its yoke. The very first thing was to cease to address somebody as "elvtárs" (comrade) which is one of the marks of the international Communism.

(3k) What is the definition of a Communist? Perhaps 5% of the Party members had been Communists, even the AVH was not 100% Communist. Only people in the highest governing positions and the members of the Kormányőrség, that is the bodyguard of the Government, have been reliable Communists. Those few Communists, who have gone over to the side of the Revolution, had realised that the thing which was in Hungary was not Communism but simply Soviet exploitation. These, who have often called themselves Lenin's pupils, have fought against Soviet Imperialism on the side of the Revolution.

- (3 1) There have been such. This is quite natural since the entire nation has taken part in the Revolution from pickpockets and burglars to the streetwalkers from 15 years to 50, but sometimes even under 15.
- (3a) Perhaps a similar form of State as it is in Switzerland. However, at the beginning it might have been a great chaos.
- (4) In the afternoon of October 23rd, I finished my job in Csepel as usual and took the local train to Budapest. I have seen the posters calling for sympathy demonstration for Poland. So I went to the Bem Square. From there I went with a group of people to the State Publishing House Szikra. There, after much bickering, ~~we~~ ^{we} succeeded in getting the 25 Points printed. We distributed these then by way of motor-cycles and motor-cars, running in all directions. In the evening, when I heard about the fight going on at the Radio Station, I joined a group of about 50 people going toward the Radio. This little group swelled to about 6 or 7000 men in a matter of minutes. We just ~~ran~~ reached the corner of Rákóczi Street and Museum Boulevard, when six trucks with about 120 armed soldiers have driven out from Kossuth Lajos Street towards the Radio. The crowd had stopped them and tried to convince them of the right cause of the Revolution and asked them to join. The officers have held up this ~~against~~ their loyalty oath and the call of duty. A deadlock ensued. Then somebody intoned the National Anthem. The huge crowd sang it in a kind of ecstasy while the soldiers stood in attention. Then people started to climb on the trucks, embraced and kissed the soldiers who have

handed over their arms and jumping off the trucks mingled with the people. All this happened in front of the Hotel Astoria, where the foreign guests watched from their windows this scene with great emotion. This moment, at the beginning of the Revolution was for me the highlight of all those days. I thought of it as my most beautiful experience. After this I have continued the distribution of the pamphlets and became a member of the National Guard in the first district of Budapest, where among my duties was the search for the members of the AVH and their arrests.

(4a) Between October 24th and November 11th, I have seen many in Budapest. I myself belonged to them.

(4b) See under Question (4). During the first few days, the Army was generally neutral. Very few have fought in military uniforms. The best fellows have been the soldiers of the Bem Barracks. They have provided with arms also my group.

(4c) No. I have only seen already dead bodies hanging from the trees.

(6) (a) First I joined the group around the famous Szabó bácsi. Our headquarters had been in the former Party Headquarters of the first borough. Later, on October 31st, I joined the Pauler Street Group of the National Guard of the first borough.

(6b) It was entirely spontaneous, I have no idea how it was born. There was a group of about 50 or 60, but this increased steadily. There were boys who have been hanging out under the Castle and have fought under the leadership of a bus-driver, the legendary Szabó bácsi. First the subway-station at the Széna Square was our

centre, later, on October 29th, ~~was~~^{we} occupied the Party Headquarters on the Marx Street and turned it into our headquarters. I think that next to the Corvin-Köz Group, Szabó bácsi's Group became the most famous revolutionary fighting group.

The National Guard was formed already on Government order on October 30th.

- (6c) It started somehow. Everybody has told about it to his best friends and just like a snowball rolling down from the hill, it grew and grew. Friends recommended each other to their leaders or if somebody came spontaneously without having a friend already in the group, ~~the~~, the leader talked with him for a few minutes and then decided whether the newcomer could join or not. Arms have been brought along by the newcomers or, if not, they were given to them.

We
They enlisted later to the National Guard already on the call from the Government. This was an auxiliary organization of the Police. There the district police commander, together with the head of the District Home Defence Committee, selected the enlisted people. Not everybody was admitted, usually only those who were well-known by the policemen personally. The District Police Commander has met me during the fights and saw so when I enlisted, I was accepted without any trouble.

- (6d) Szabó bácsi was hanged, I don't know about the others.

- (6e) Szabó bácsi's group was equipped by weapons which have been captured during the fight and also weapons given by the soldiers of the Bem Barracks. These consisted mainly of small revolvers

made in Czechoslovakia and of Russian submachine guns, weighing about 3 kgs.

The National Guard has received its arms from the Ministry of Interior. When the Headquarters of the AVH have been stormed and occupied, about 60% of the arms found there had been distributed among the National Guard. The rest was taken away by the people. They were mostly Russian submachine guns, weighing 10 kgs.

In fact, Szabó bácsi's group had much better arms than the National Guard.

We had units of ^{fifteen} ~~twenty~~ men in both cases. There was iron discipline but again Szabó bácsi's group was much better organized. He had units of tele-communication, medical units etc. He possessed several radio cars, ambulances etc. Through the radio of captured Russian tanks, signalmen, knowing Russian, have lured several tanks into a snare. They have asked the help of Russian tanks to a certain street near the Széna Square, where then the revolutionaries have ambushed them.

(6g) Szabó bácsi was a bus-driver. Some people maintained that he was an officer formerly in Horthy's Army, but against this is that, as we knew him, he was a simple, uneducated man and according to another former officer, whom I met there, it was out of question that Szabó bácsi could have been an officer before. ^{Undoubtedly} ~~Undoubtedly~~ he had a great talent for organisation. He was about 40 years old, a man who evoked confidence in everybody. Actually, since everybody wanted the same thing, it was not at all so difficult to hold together the people.

In the National Guard, the leaders ^{became} those officers of the Police

and of the Army who have been commissioned to do this job.

- (6h) Anybody, who had some organizational talent and had a pleasant personality in addition, could win the masses.
- (6i) There was a more restricted stratum of the leadership who have been working out the plans, but each evening, the entire company of the people who happened to be inside and not on guard duty, have congregated and there ~~was~~^{we} have made out reports and talked over things to be done. At the peak of the Revolution, we had been about 400 men strong.
- At the National Guard, the orders came from above from the Ministry of Interior or rather from the Chief of Police, Sándor Kopácsy. In the first borough the head of the National Guard was Captain Illányi.
- (6j) We had the best connection with the Corvin Group. Personally, or through messengers, we have talked over with them our plans and have exchanged mutually our experiences. But besides this, we had connections also with other revolutionary groups.
- (7) Szabó Bácsi and the Corvin Group, because they had been the best organized and achieved the most. They appeared everywhere, where they have been needed, they eliminated many Russians and have kept up order. In their district, during the night, there were patrols and guards in each corner and on each street.
- (7a) During the later days there were arguments around the person of Imre Nagy and about the role of the different political Parties, but if there was a call for arms, there was always the greatest

unity among us.

(8) Those Russians, who had been stationed in Hungary for a long time, have behaved very orderly in 60 to 70%. They have refused often orders from above and not in few, but in many cases they have handed over their arms and even in some cases their tank to the Hungarian revolutionaries.

Those, who came on November 4th, have behaved brutally. They did not even know where they had been. They came to fight against the Fascists and Imperialists and were looking for the Suez-Canal.

During the massacre on October 25th on Parliament Square, some of the Russian tanks have been firing at the AVH. Russian soldiers did not dare to go alone on the streets, they did not even dare to climb out of the tanks or armoured cars. This was our great luck in Budapest at the beginning, because thus the Russian Infantry, with other words soldiers on foot, did not interfere with the street fights.

On October 27th, before the Sam Barracks, twelve Russian tanks have been preparing for an attack. The people surrounded them and begged them not to shoot. Some students and soldiers, who knew Russian, tried to speak with the officers and men of the tanks. Finally the tanks have raised red-white-green flags and have withdrawn among the loud cheers of the population.

(8c) The greatest part of the Korean students have fought on the side of the Russians, so that at the end they had to be closed in into their College on the Svabhegy and post a guard before their gates. The Greeks remained passive, I don't know about the others.

- (8e) See under Question (8).
- (9) Through newspapers, pamphlets, posters and personal conversations, and in addition, from the Radio Free Europe. ~~They~~ ^{We} had been stupid enough to listen to it. I was sent all the time as a courier to the printers, so that I was able to get hold of all the newspapers.
- (9a) I read the Függetlenség, this was edited by Dudás; the Szabad Szó, Kis Újság, Hírlap, Magyarság, and others. There had been at least thirty different newspapers appearing in those days. If Kádár and his Communist Party has printed some newspapers or pamphlets, be that overflowing with patriotism, people have piled them up in a stack and burned them. This was done even after the 4th of November.
- The distribution of the newspapers was done in the following way: At the printers, the bundles were thrown on trucks which have gone in all directions through the city and in certain points simply dropped some bundles to the people. They were all entirely free copies, nobody had to pay for them.
- (9b) From the events happening in different parts of the city.
- (9c) I have listened to all possible Hungarian language broadcasts from Moscow to the Voice of America. Radio Free Europe has told us the day before President Eisenhower was re-elected, that if we can hold out for three more days, the danger of a new World War will be much greater and nearer than it was in 1939. Although Radio Free Europe told us that the Western help won't be delayed much longer, the entire Western Germany is standing already in arms. From all parts of the world, legionary forces, equipped with

the latest weapons, have already started out toward Hungary. All these, and many similar news were broadcast by Radio Free Europe and I heard them with my own ears.

The only useful job, done by Radio Free Europe, was that after November 4th, when Radio Kossuth and Radio Győr were lost for the revolutionaries already, RFE has re-broadcasted to Hungary the broadcasts of Radio Csokonay, which couldn't be heard clearly everywhere in the country, and thus ^{we} ~~they~~ knew there was still fight and resistance. It has done also a valuable service by transmitting messages, for instance the safe arrival of refugees has been made known to their remaining relatives in Hungary through messages sent by Radio Free Europe.

(9d) From Radio Győr and Radio Miskolc and later also from Radio Kossuth. We learned from these stations especially about the Russian troop movements and about the events in the provinces.

(10)(a) The Party Organizations have been dissolved. The DISZ, the NEDSZ, (the Democratic Association of Hungarian Women). The Hungarian Soviet Society, the Pioneer Movement, have all ceased to exist. From the MDP (Hungarian Workers Party - with other words Communist Party), has been formed the MSZDP (the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party).

The Police has remained intact.

(10b) The Party has ceased to exist. The Party Buildings and offices have been requisitioned everywhere by some kind of revolutionary organization. The Party functionary, if he was very insolent, had to die. If not, he would crouch somewhere in hiding.

- (10c) It has remained.
- (10d) The AVH have ceased by itself.
- (10e) Public administration ceased to function.
- (10f) It went over to the side of the Revolution, but it had no unified direction.
- (10g) The Government was transformed all the time.
- (10h) They ceased to exist.
- (10g) The Hungarian Freedom Fighters Union. This was called from 1955 the M6hosz, which means 'Voluntary Home Defence Union'. The Hungarian youth, before reaching draft age, have received within this organization military training, learned how to use arms, how to drive motor vehicles and how to handle radio cars and other means of telecommunication.
- (10k) The Home Defence Committee, this was run by Dudas; the Hungarian National Committee, the National Guard, the Revolutionary Committees in each district and the Workers Councils at the plants. In addition the dozens of the political Party organizations. Also the Union of political prisoners was formed.
- (10 l) I don't know. Their goal was the representation of the rights and interests of the workers and the direction of ~~the strikes~~ ^{the strikes.}
- (10m) Perhaps a democracy, perhaps a chaos, perhaps a ~~civil~~ ^{civil} war, nobody could know, after all, the Government remained up to the end in the hands of Communists.
- (11) Yes.
- (11a) It was ~~it~~ definitely useful, in spite of the fact that it was

crushed. It has proved before the world certain truths.

(See under Question 1).

- (11b) If the rest would have given help, it could have succeeded.
- (11c) We have expected help. On one hand Radio Free Europe has given us false hopes. On the other hand, when on November 4th Imre Nagy has broadcast his SOS to the whole world they have had a confidence in a conscience of the West and also we did not think that the UN was nothing but a Circumlocution Office (söshivatal). We have expected effective help and when the Russian tanks crushed our Revolution, we have hoped to get armed help from the West.
- (11d) The love of freedom is in the blood of the Hungarian people.
- (11e) Undoubtedly, he wanted to help and wanted to create a more secure and better future for the Hungarian people.
- (11f) Kádár Apó Tildy, Maléter, Kővági, Münnich.
- (11g) First the youth, secondly the workers, third the soldiers and intellectuals.
- (11h) After the Revolution has started already, then I was no more surprised, but before I wouldn't have thought that the Hungarian youth have remained immune to such an extent from that Marxist education by which it was brought up from the Kindergarten up to the Universities.
- (12a) On November 10th I was captured and then I made up my mind that if I ever succeed in escaping, I would leave the country. On the 11th I succeeded.
- (12b) With eight colleagues of mine (seven boys and one girl) with whom

I escaped together.

(12c) I was hoping that in the West I will be able to study again.

- (1) I was a certified book-keeper and first grade designer and statistician.
- (2) Actually I had a job as a store-keeper in the storehouse of the Csepel Harbour Branch of the Hungarian Shipping Ltd.
- (2a) I stood at the head of a brigade of 10 men in one of the store-rooms and my job was to direct their work and do the book-keeping for the brigade.
- (2b) Store-keeper No.2.
- (2c) Since August 1st 1955.
- (2f) It was a very big concern, in fact it was one of the champion firms which meant that it had over-fulfilled its quarterly year plan every time, so that it became yearly four times élüzem, a firm leading in the production campaign.
- (2g) National Free Port. Foreign goods shipped on water could be only there loaded and unloaded, In consequence the Csepel National Free Port was one of the most important concerns of the entire country.
- (3) At the beginning I found it very interesting. Later, after two or three months, I thought it was rather dull and annoying.
- (3a) It was interesting because one could learn about the economic life of Hungary not only in domestic terms, but also as regards the foreign commerce of the country, and one could discover the contradictions.
- (3b) Later it became a routine and monotonous job and besides, they did not only have day-work but also night shifts and one couldn't

see any possibility of advance within his job.

- (3d) The protection against accidents and ~~work~~^{health} services had been excellently organized. There were many dangers of accidents. We had to work with big cranes to load and unload heavy machinery and other goods etc. Therefore, each brigade had a man charged with taking care of accidents and each brigade had a first-aid-kitⁱⁿ; addition all of us have taken part in courses in first-aid training. Our equipment was generally up to date.
- (3e) One hour to go and one hour to return by the express train of Csepel.
- (3f) We had 8 hours work-day. We had to be at work 10 minutes before the official start. This was called "mozgalom idő", animation time, which has been offered by all of us "voluntarily."
- (3g) Six days, but ~~there was~~ sometimes ~~with~~ 7 days.
- (3h) Yes, I have worked often 16 hours. The first two hours overtime were paid with 25% raise, the second two hours with 50% and after the fourth hour you had 100% raise.
- (3i) There had been April 4th, May 1st, August 20th, November 7th. These were the political holidays. Besides these, Christmas and New Year's Day were also holidays. These had been paid holidays. Besides these, the 2nd day of Christmas was transferred to May 2nd, which became a holiday, on which nobody worked, but it was not paid.
- The procedure of transferring holidays to other days, whenever they liked it was often done. For instance if a State holiday

fell on a Friday, then they would transfer Sunday on the Saturday and Sunday became a working day. The poor churches have been completely confused and often didn't know when they should hold their services. At midnight, early in the morning or in the afternoon or in the evening, the day before.

Our concern was working all the time so that my day off usually fell only once in a month on Sunday. In other weeks I had my day off on a week-day.

- (3j) In the first year we had one day for each month which was 12 days for a year and then every two years it has been one day added to the yearly vacation time.
- (3k) About the same system applied for everywhere, although according to my knowledge there have been three different categories. For instance at the dangerous jobs like in a gas factory or in a mine, they had more days off or respectively longer vacation time.
- (3l) We had half an hour paid lunch-time. If somebody did not show up one day for work, and if his excuses had not been accepted, he lost not only his pay for that day, but also his paid lunch-time for the whole week.
- For being late at work, one's name was written on the blackboard and told through the loudspeakers three times. In addition, he was held up to obloqui at the ~~plant~~^{planned} production meeting as somebody who was sabotaging the ~~plant~~^{planned} production competition and pushing the wheel of the Imperialists.
- (3m) Because of the progressive norm idea, fashionable in the peoples' democracies, generally every half a year the norms were raised.

The new norm was established by the leadership at the production session and the workers with gnashing their teeth, had to work more and quicker in order to receive the same pay as before.

(3n) There were always production meetings and steady exhortations.

(3o) I received free tickets for the railway and for the ship.

(4) a) The management consisted mostly of former dock workers, in majority Jews. The managing director of the whole concern was a Longshoreman up to 1953. Many members of the management could hardly write and used stamps instead of signature. There were a few more intelligent people among them, the others only drew huge salaries. Naturally all of them were Communists. The workers had been simple, uneducated, ordinary dock workers.

(4b) The workers in the same category had good understanding. The superiors have tried to speak with the workers with a certain descending good will. On the other hand, the workers did not think the management worthy even to speak spit on or they have answered them full of irony, since those have not long ago worked with them and more often than not have been the most despised, lazy and unreliable workers.

(4c) Yes, with some of the younger ones; with two boys especially, who have been working at the technical group and similarly ~~as~~ to me, have had some education. These two have later actively participated in the Revolution just as I did.

(4d) In our workshop, we often talked about politics. The workers had

generally anti-regime attitude. Political jokes were very popular with them. This was so even before 1956, it has not changed at all during the years.

- (4e) Members of the Party have had many advantages. They could count on better working places. Else, in the same brigade there was no difference during the work between a Party member and a non-member. Between members of the Party and non-members was a steady verbal fight and arguments going on. The labourers, I mean the manual workers had been the only ones who have not been afraid to tell their opinion about the Party to their co-workers who had been in the Party. For example, I myself could not tell my opinion in the way they did, since I was not a good kader. On the other hand a genuine worker, stemming from a worker's family, usually was not arrested because of his ~~stark~~ ^{tongue}. Among the workers in our place about 15% belonged to the Party, on the other hand from the management about 90%.

In my position, namely as store-keeper, there were 20 people, all the other 19 colleagues of mine have been members of the Party.

- (4f) It did ~~not~~ not do a thing.
- (4i) There was the Party Secretary, the Director and the head of the Personnel Office. These have directed the whole operation of our concern.
- (4g) Not at our place.
- (4k) Yes.
- (4l) In our place they did not interfere.
- (4m) Good Communists who came from workers' families and who worked hard. It was a great advantage if somebody had some relative

who taken part in the 1919 Communist Revolution.

- (4p) The Port of Csepel had its own special police. This had its agents and informers everywhere, besides its special duty to control and supervise the foreigners, in the first place those who came from the Western countries to Csepel.
- (5) There was no possibility for that at all. Because of the planned production they have been against the migration of working power. We had our working book. This was strictly controlled. There were two different kinds of quitting somebody's job, one with consent from the part of the management, and the other the voluntary. In case of a voluntary leave, or if somebody was dismissed on disciplinary way, the person could not get any new job for six months.

- (5b) I would have liked to work in a chemical laboratory. I always wanted to become a chemist. I had the inclination for this and a great wish.
- (5c) None at all.
- (5d) They tried.
- (5e) I would travel, I would get acquainted with the whole world, I would like to catch up with all what I have missed during the last 12 years.
- (5f) I always wanted to do the same, but before I started out toward the West I was counting on the fact that at the start I will have to work very hard and only later on I will be able to study on my own efforts. It was the most agreeable surprise for me that I was awarded here right away a scholarship and was able to start studying immediately.
- (6) Bad.
- (6a) It was steadily bad.
- (6b) We could afford very little.
- (6c) Badly.
- (6d) Yes, there was no free possibility of choosing one's job and no chance for advance. Besides this there hasn't been consideration for old age. Often people above 65 years of age had to work in order to be able to support their families.
- (7) Generally the workers, if they worked hard, made good money.

- (7a) In 1955 I had 840 ft. monthly.
- (7b) It was a mediocre salary. The salaries started from 600 ft. upwards.
- (7d) We had been five of us at home and of this four of us had been working for the simple reason because else we couldn't have lived.
- (9) It was very difficult to get an apartment. A family consisting of two members could keep maximum 2 rooms. There was a system of apartment-sharing and the petitioning for requisition of somebody else's apartment. We five of us have lived in 2 rooms, plus a cat with us. We had only 4 beds, the fifth had to sleep on a mattress on the floor.
- (9a) Actually there was forbidden to stand in line for something, because the official attitude was that people forming a queue are the enemies of the working class. But inspite of everything they had often to stand in line for 2 or 3 hours to get certain goods. We had to stand in queue for articles which were rare in the stores, for instance eggs, rice, lemons, cocoa, etc.
- (9c) 90% in State stores and 10% on the market. We couldn't afford to buy anything on the black market. One thing was better than here in Western Europe, namely, that the stores were open up to 10 p.m. and there have been such stores which stayed open all day and all night.

- (10) It was very bad, actually it was entirely determined by the community with the Soviet Union. Much was taken out of the country. For example, often there was no flour although Hungary is still a grain producing country. With one word, we had closed doors towards the West and wide open doors towards the East.
- (10ci+cii) I don't know about this, I was still a child at that time.
- (10d) As compared to war time it was some improvement, but as compared to the pre-war time, before 1939, it was a deterioration.
- (10f) From 1955 the MASZEK was permitted, but they didn't dare to do much because they knew that the State will confiscate everything anyway.
- (10g) It was somewhat better.
- (11) It was not the most important cause of the Revolution, but certainly had its importance. If a worker has his belly full, he would stomach and maybe accept lots of nonsense. But try to speak about the beauties of Socialism to people with rumbling stomachs and you will see that it will be futile and in vain.
- (11a) I was dissatisfied.
- (11b) The lack of freedom and independence was much more grave than the economic situation, the fact that one felt himself in a prison where he did not dare even to speak freely.

- (11c) Especially for those who had been better off in the previous social system, the former land-owners, officials, Army officers, etc.

- (1) I had an economic abitur or matura.
- (1a) From 1943 to 1955.
- (1b) The public schools.
- (1c) After the general school I went in 1951 to the traffic section of the economical, technical school. The education was entirely political.
- (1e) I had no choice. After finishing the general school I wanted to go to the chemical, technical school. I was not accepted. To the classical gymnasium I was not admitted either because of my origin. So nothing else remained but this school, since nobody wanted to go to this one because it had the worst reputation.
(Ocska iskola volt)
- (2) No.
- (2a) I wanted to go to the university.
- (2b) I wanted to become an engineer.
- (2c) Everybody has some kind of a vocation, and if I could have followed mine I would have seen a goal in my life.
- (2d) Excellent.
- (2e) No.
- (3) There were political economy, Marxism, and history.
- (3a) None at all.
- (3b) There was 3 hours weekly.
- (3c) Dialecticalmaterialism was included in our course on political economy.

- (3d) No.
- (3e) It was.
- (4) The Communist education of the youth in order that the future Hungary should become 100% Communist.
- (4a) To convince the youth that the Communist social system is the only right one and the only one which has the justification for existence.
- (4bi) Perhaps 1%.
- (4bii) Perhaps 20% of the teachers had been truly Communists. You felt the compulsion behind the words during the lectures of the rest of the teachers.
- (4c) Generally with strong dislike.
- (4i) You had to start in the kindergarten. It can be effective only as far as somebody has no independent opinion yet.
- (5) He was colonel and land-owner.
- (5a) Till 1946 night-watch, from 1947 on unskilled laborer.
- (5b) I did not think that it was a worthy job for a man over 65 years.
- (5c) He had absolved the Ludovika Military Academy which was the Hungarian West Point.
- (5d) Up to Christmas 1944 we thought of it as necessary for the family.
- (5e) We had before the war. We had land, a house, animals, etc.

- (5f) quite well off.
- (5g) Four.
- (5h) They all are living. My father is presently in arrest.
- (5i) Parents and children together.
- (5k) For my disadvantage.
- (6 - 10) N/A
- (11) Good.
- (12) Yes.
- (12a) About domestic and foreign politics.
- (12b) No.
- (13) No.
- (13b) No.
- (13c) No.
- (14) We couldn't speak with each other often for weeks. We lived in the same apartment, but our 4 of us had been working and had different working hours, so that often we could see each other only sleeping in the bed and could communicate through leaving letters for each other.
- (14a) See (14).
- (14b) It was typical for that reason that it showed you a fine example how the Communists had imagined the ideal family life and how they tried to realize it.

- (14c) Sports.
- (14g) Not always. We had often political seminars at the working place and it was obligatory to show up on those.
- (15) In many places they loosened up.
- (15a) There were cases when not.
- (15b) It increased.
- (15c) It differed from family to family.
- (15e) In many cases yes, because the family could not educate its children. They had to bring them into nursery homes where the children received Communist education.
- (15f) Divorce became very frequent.
- (16) I cannot make any comparison since I am only 20 years old.
- (16a) In an early age. Boys usually are married already when they reach 22 or 23.
- (16b) Young people don't think seriously about marriage.
- (16e) Legally it's forbidden, but in practice it was the worst. The youth disapproves the legal restrictions.
- (16g) Birth control was discouraged. They have protected mothers with many children and also unwed mothers.
- (16h) Not many.
- (16i) Yes. All ~~XXXXX~~ women are ^{forced} ~~XXXXX~~ to work.
- (17) It sank.

- (17a) During the winter of 1954 there was the complete bankruptcy of any public security. You couldn't go on the dark streets during the evening, because so many cases of stripping of somebody's clothes have been taking place. (The Hungarian word is "Vetkötetes", which in this connection means that somebody would be stripped of his clothes to the last piece and left on the street, often unconsciously, completely nude.)
- (17b) Frequent.
- (17c) There is.
- (17d) There are. You can recognize them from their behavior, clothing, manners and way of thinking.
~~From their behavior, clothing, manners and way of thinking.~~
- (18) In the school in 1951.
- (18a) A student. He became technician in automobile electrics. He was not admitted to the university.
- (18b) Yes.
- (18c) Sports and entertainment.
- (18d) Yes.
- (18e) No.
- (18f) He died.
- (18g) His perseverance, his willingness to help and his understanding.
- (18h) No.
- (18i) The young people who had the same way of thinking as I did.
- (18j) A harmonious life.

- (18k) Definitely it would have mattered, because the fact would have meant that the person underwent a great change in his way of thinking and ideas.
- (18l) I had no Communist friends.
- (19a) Roman Catholic, the same.
- (19b) Religion is a very important thing, especially with us in Hungary. In many people only religion kept up the belief and the hope in a better future.
- (20) It has affected it.
- (20a) In the greatest measure the Catholic Church, because the teaching of this church is the most diametrically opposed to Communism.
- (20b) They tried to use it for their own ends.
- (20c) They had been in the service of Communism, they tried to use religion for the Communist ends. In their sermons they tried to implant the seeds of Communism into the thinking of the people.
- (20d) They have dissolved the religious orders, have imprisoned Cardinal Mindszenty and Archbishop Grösz and many other priests, and so forth.

- (20f) No. On ~~интерн~~ one's place of work this was ~~not~~ not desirable and perhaps one could even be dismissed for it, but, of course, under a different pretext.
- (20g) There has been.
- (20h) I went, generally, once a week.
- (20i) The older people generally went more often than the young people.
- (20j) (i) Maybe the Protestant Churches have been more flexible therefore they have not been persecuted to such an extent as the Catholic Church.
(ii) Well except the Jews who were not liked very much.
- (20k) It means much less.
- (20l) During the last years they have not shown much resistance.
- (20m) Religious instruction was not permitted up to 1955. From 1955 it was more freedom given to participate voluntarily on religious instruction.
- (21) Mechanical Engineer.
- (21a) Because this has ^a ~~the~~ future and a steady progress before it.
- (21b) To make himself small and to ~~live~~ live only for his studies and thus try to achieve success in his technical field.
- (21c) People coming from workers' families.
- (22) On descending scale the order was: workers, peasants,

intellectuals, MASZEK, and finally the leading strata of the previous social system.

(22a) The last one.

(22b) I did not want to belong to any other stratum.

(22c) They were the best off.

(22d) Good artists had been paid well.

(23) The workers, the peasants, and the new intelligentsia.

(23a) Based only on what I have seen.

(23b) Undoubtedly.

(23c) Bad.

(23d) In the every-day life not. On the other hand, in the political life, yes.

(23g) The code of manners became very loose. In the offices, on the first sight or in the phone on the first hear there is the greeting "Szervusz elvtárs" and right away call themselves thou, in Hungarian "te".

(24) Those belonging to the leading stratum of the past system, the so-called class-aliens.

(24a) The so-called Communists of the '19th, in Hungarian "19-es Kommunisták.

(25) Just as always during the course of history in the Communist system too, they have played the leading role.

(25a) A very small stratum, the so-called poor Jewry, has behaved

passively, the others have given complete support to the regime.

- (25b) They have occupied all the leading positions, both in the government and in the plants and factories.
- (25c) A class-mate of mine, he tried to convince me that how much better, more human, and more socialistic was this system than the previous systems in Hungary.
- (25d) You could not hear much about them, I personally have not met any during the fights.
- (25e) Exactly, because Jews have occupied the top positions everywhere in the hated system, The population was generally anti-Semitic.
- (25f) It was actually steadily growing and deepening in spite of the fact that you could not speak of outspoken anti-Semitism.
- (25g) I cannot make any comparison, I don't know the situation before the war.
- (25h) According to my experience the Jews are such a race which in all ages and everywhere find the best positions for themselves.

- (1) Generally yes. I was always interested in politics. On one hand we were very much pre-occupied with it during our school years and, besides, for us Hungarians the developments in the international politics always have been and remain a question of life or death.
- (1a) It is difficult to answer this, probably one fourth I would say.
- (2a) With no one.
- (2b) Of the Smallholders Party.
- (2c) No.
- (2d) I did not have clearly formed opinions on it, I thought it bad.
- (2e) My own experiences.
- (2f) (11)
- (2h) Armed terror.
- (2i) 98%.
- (3) The requisition of our house in the country and taking away all of our furnitures without any recompensation. Then they have deprived my father from his pension after more than 35 years in service. Then our personal grievances with my brother, namely that for both of us they closed the doors before higher studies and a better future.
- (3a) V vi, x, xiii.
- (3b) iv, viii, xiv.

- (3c) x, vi, i.
- (3d) vii, xiv, xv.
- (3e) xii, xiv, xv.
- (3f) The drabness and boredom of every-day life, the senselessness of life itself could be felt all the time by everybody.
- (3g) People were speaking earlier rather secretly and veiledly. After 59 completely openly and with everybody.
- (3h) This what we have tried with our Revolution.
- (3i) One could not dispose freely with one's free time. You had to go always for demonstrations, for meetings, for seminars, not only within your factory or workshop, but even within you housing block. For instance, for a meeting of the tenantry. Besides, the steady and eternal lying made you nervous too.
- (3g) I could not very well think of any.
- (4) The Soviet government.
- (4f) There was, I cannot compare it with the one before 1944.
- (4g) No.
- (4h) From working kaders.
- (4i) The same. Relatively high salary, had not to work, and it was a good point for his family, if a member was serving in the People's Army.
- (4j) Again from working kaders.
- (5) At the most with that advantage that he was no more

bothered to become a DISZ member. Besides, this was the first step towards Party membership.

(5d) Yes.

(5e) In 1951 in my school, but never have paid any dues always telling them that I have no money.

(6) If somebody was aspiring for a leading position the first condition was to become a Party member.

(6f) They have seen what was in effect in Hungary that was entirely different from what they imagined when they have accepted the beautiful ideas of Communism.

(6h) No.

(6p) No. On one hand I was young for it and besides, because of my social background I would not have been accepted even if I would have wanted to join.

(6r) The central committee.

(7) A sport club. In this sportclub I was admitted without any trouble. There was no politics in it.

(7c) I was paddling in a canoe.

(7d) I loved this sport, but from my own money I could not have bought a canoe and in this way I was able to paddle every day.

(7e) I was a contestant for championship in this sport.

(7g) They have detested them.

(7i) Generally they held propaganda meetings every week or every 2 weeks with the intention of giving ideological training to the people.

- (7m) The role of the trade unions was different according to the individual case. In some places they were useful for the workers. Generally, however, the trade unions did not represent the interests of the workers, but it was only the mouth-piece of the government towards the workers. At my place the workers have not been satisfied at all with the impotency of the trade unions.
- (8) Very few.
- (9) This question is mistaken. The DISZ was never anything that counted either before nor during the Revolution.
- (10a) The entire population has felt the terror which has left its mark on the whole atmosphere of the country.
- (10b) It was two different kind of AVH, the border guard and the government guard. To the latter there ~~has~~ ^{have} been admitted only reliable Communists coming from the proletariat who ~~has~~ ^{have} upheld the regime and fought for it even during the Revolution.
- (10c) AVH informers were planted into each factory and other establishment.
- (10e) To the border guard they were called up through the regular draft procedure, but there was a certain selection even there. To the blue AVH, the government guard, people were drafted through recommendation. For example, schools and plants have sent their most

reliable Party members to this selection.

- (10g) They have often worked in different directions. The events during the Revolution have proved the fundamental difference in the behavior of the AVH and the regular police.
- (10k) The Party and the AVH are one.
- (11) My uncle, my godfather, many of my relatives and acquaintances, my own brother and my father.
- (11a) My brother was called up to the army. He did not tell them that his father was a former officer. When they discovered this he was immediately arrested as a spy.
- (11b) My uncle was arrested because he was formerly the Lord Lieutenant of a county. My godfather was arrested because he was formerly a lawyer and now he was accused that he was spying for Austria.
- (11c) For example, one of the methods of getting confessions the prisoner would be ~~dropped~~^{thrown} into a cellar which would be filled up with water up to the point that the man would collapse and almost drown. Then the water will be let down quickly, the patient would be brought to his senses and the whole thing would start again.
- During the last months before the Revolution the corporal punishment and physical tortures have been less frequent than before.
- (11d) All those who were considered by the regime as class enemies.
- (11g) Nothing special.

- (13) He should not say one word. (Ne szóljon egy árva kukkot sem)
- (13c) It helps.
- (13d) It is advantageous.
- (13f) Not always.
- (14) There were ups and downs. From 1953 up to ^{the} last months before the Revolution there was some ease-up.
- (15) It was the real directing force, the others had been only puppets.
- (15e) On the fields of foreign policy and in economics the influence was the strongest. On cultural fields was the weakest.
- (16) In no way.
- (16c) You have to trust your 6th sense. Often even a friend turned to be your enemy and the walls have ears.
- (16d) We could not very well speak openly about political matters. About other things there was more possibility to speak openly.
- (17) To a small degree it is possible. For example, I have written down on the questionnaire that I come from a peasant family which was only so far true that we had land on the country and I was born there. Only this way could I go to the high school and get my degree

there.

- (18) Its only strength is the possibility to lean upon the Soviet Union. Its weakness is the contradictions and confusion which manifests itself in the economic life of the country.
- (19) Passive resistance.
- (19b) Generally the private section, the so-called MASZEK and the peasantry, with other words people who had some property and something to be afraid of losing.
- (19c) The lowest stratum of the proletariat, because these unquestionably have been given a certain uplift by the regime.
- (191) With the change in the political atmosphere during the last year.

- (1) From the press and the radio.
- (1a) The radio.
- (2)a The comic paper and sport news. Ludas Matyi and Népsport
- (2b) No.
- (2e) We had. It dealt with the life in our working place and domestic and foreign news, sport and cultural news. It should have been changed every week but usually this was neglected.
- (2g), Yes, generally only Communist papers, for instance, the Daily Worker . l'Humanite etc.
- (2j) I saw once a pamphlet from RFE "Nem" movement brought in by balloons.
- (3) I went weekly once.
- (3b) I saw entertaining movies and operas on film.
- (3c) Yes, during the 12 years I went to see 6 Russian pictures, the others had been Western films, mostly Italian, French. Austrian and some from the other peoples democracies.
- (3e) Yes.
- (3f) Seldom, generally I went to see classic pieces.
- (4) Yes, many
- (4a) About 100
- (4b) "Mt. Saint Michel " by Axel Munthe. "Gone with the Wind" by Margaret Mithchel. "Grey Light" by Nexö. "Exiled" by Zelma Lagerlöf and books written by Zola, Dumas, Balzac, Maupassant, Rachmanov.

- (4c) Because I was interested in these.
- (4d) Yes, many books have been put on the Communist index, you could get them only through some friends who had them from previous years. For instance the book written by Rachmanova was strictly forbidden and I had great difficulty to get it.
- (4e) Balzac, Lagerlöf, Dumas and among the Hungarians Jozsef Nyirö, Aron Tamási.
- (4f) See under letter B.)
- (4g) Many of them not.
- (5) Yes.
- (5b) We had a Orion type 1955.
- (5d) Generally only the entertaining programs.
- (5e) About 2 hours daily.
- (5f) At home
- (6) I have ~~written~~ ^{listened} to.
- (6a) RFE, Voice of America, BBC Novi Sad; the first 3 mentioned because of the news, the last one because of its good entertaining music.
- (6b) About an hour during the day.
- (6c) ~~They~~ ^{We} were never able to receive a ~~good~~ ^{clear} picture of the reality, because often even the foreign Hungarian language broadcasts have ^{us} ~~given~~ conflicting news.
- (6d) I thought often of them as just as propagandistic and unreliable as the Communist broadcasts, however, we still liked to listen rather to these Western ~~broadcasts~~ ^{broadcasts} than to the Communist news.

- (6e) Only from hear-say.
- (7) Yes, to my acquaintances.
- (8) In 1%.
- (8d) From the tone of their voice, after a while people acquired a certain practice and ability to find out the truth from the immense amount of lies.
- (8e) From among the newspapers for a while the "Kis Ujság", but since this ceased publication, each paper lied equally.
- (8f) Seldom. During the last months it became critical towards the existing system. I couldn't judge how far was this sincere, I thought that this was again a Communist manoeuvre.
- (8g) Sometimes. I had the same bad opinion about it as about the whole Communist propaganda machinery. It was characteristic of its style that it could use the most phantastically dirty epithets for the West and especially for Tito.
- (8h) I have read all its numbers. I loved its tone.
- (9) They did.
- (10)
- (a) This was used by the Communists very much in the anti-atomic and anti-US propaganda. So we knew much about this. We knew that this had ended World War II and that it caused a great destruction. I myself have great concern in connection with an atomic war because of the example of Hiroshima.
- (b) According to the Russian propaganda the US was the agressor, but in Hungary everybody knew that North Korea had started it.

- (10c) We heard that the US had started to kill off the population with the help of germs. I couldn't see clearly the truth.
- (10d) We were told that, at the latest, for 1958 West Germany would be perfectly and completely rearmed. We believed this and hoped for it.
- (10e) We didn't look upon this favourably because it was entirely unnecessary and superfluous and it gave only fuel to the Russian propaganda.
- (10f) We regarded it as a mighty proof that the German people doesn't want Communism.
- (10g) I didn't know much about it. In my opinion it was a superfluous wasting of words.
- (10h) We did not know anything about it.

- (1) The overdone socialisation and therefore the prohibition of the private sector.
- (1a) Some of the social institutions, for instance, the free insurance, the regular periodic medical examinations, the free vacationing, etc!
- (2) Yes, One party is not enough. On the other hand, too many political parties are not healthy either
- (2a) Yes.
- (2b) No.
- (3) A certain limitation is necessary.
- (3a) For example, it should not be permitted to accuse and disparage the government openly with unjustified and untrue accusations, but I must emphasize that I mean untrue accusation. Critic based on true faults and shortcomings of the government should be not only permitted but encouraged.
- (3b) The ~~legislation~~ ^{legislation}.
- (3c) It depends whether a critic is true or not. Serious critics are always in order.
- (3d) Yes.
- (4) Yes.
- (4b) If the government is not representative of the people and pursues a policy which results in the ~~worsening~~ ^{worsening} of the living standard and the life of the entire population.
- (5) To ~~maintain~~ ^{maintain} economic and other relations not only with the Soviet Union but freely with the whole world.

- (6) I approve of it because these are the fundament of the entire national economy which cannot be left for the pleasure of private interests.
- (6b) Yes, the smaller establishments.
- (6c) Yes.
- (6e) I think them necessary.
- (8) Economic planning is important and necessary in the life of a country but what is taking place to-day in Hungary is chaos and not economic planning.
- (9) Yes, for instance family matters, religion, choosing somebody's vocation etc.
- (10) Naturally, for instance the respect for the laws, the paying taxes, to perform military service, etc.
- (10e) Yes, the taking into consideration and fulfilling the wishes and needs of the population, the protection of life and property of the citizens etc.
- (11) It has improved, this is manifested in the great degree of medical check and health protection. But in spite of this the number of sick people is much higher than it was before. This applies especially for nervous illnesses which are the results of overwork, fear of terror and lack of vitamins.
- (12) I don't know the previous situation. It is a fact that to-day all places of amusement and entertainment are always crowded.
- (13) No.
- (13a) Better.

- (13b) Generally the same.
- (14) People have less clothing, the quality of the material is as good but the taste has remained smart and elegant. It is very difficult to buy something because clothing costs enormously much.
- (14a) Better.
- (14b) Better.
- (15) It increased.
- (15b) Hungary is an agrarian state, the overdone industrialisation was a mistake.
- (15d) It was simply crazy to build up SztaLinvaros, Inota, etc , without having appropriate raw material basis for them.
- (16) Definitely some kind of participation but not in such way that each ignorant worker should become part of the management.
- (16b) Qualified people.
- (17) With the kolchoses the Communists themselves - who claimed to have made the agrarian reform and given land to the landless peasants - now try to prove that the agriculture of the country can be organized only on the basis of great landholdings. In my opinion all these forms would have their role in a healthy agriculture. The state-farms should be left in a certain number for model farms.
- (17.) Only those should be left which were created on a voluntary

basis. The others should be dissolved.

- (17f) 1000 yokes.
- (17g) Except the state model farms.
- (17i) Under 1000 yokes.
- (17j) Yes.
- (17m) Should be maintained.
- (18) The state should guarantee and secure the free activity of the churches. The catholic church should depend on the Vatican and not be a prisoner of the state.
- (18c) They should receive as much as it is necessary for their livelihood.
- (18d) To a certain degree they should but not to the extent to damage the freedom of education.
- (18e) In the first 4 classes it should be obligatory, for the higher classes it should be voluntary.
- (18f) To church school.
- (18g) The same as with civilian properties. Restitution, but only to a certain degree. There should be ecclesiastical schools again but not all the schools should be under church control.
- (19) It depends on the actions of the individuals. In any case the actions of the main party functionaries should be investigated through regular process in the Law-courts.
- (19b) Nothing.
- (19e) The guilty should be punished.

- (19f) Individual judgments.
- (19g) Their cases should be investigated before the courts.
- (20) Hungary was always a bulwark against the Eastern border marching to devastate the West. Thus Hungary has saved Western culture and secured its progress, since each great wave of destruction has been stopped in Hungary. See the Mongolian invasion and the Turkish expansion which neither have reached further than Hungary's borders.
- (21) Yes.
- (21) a, b, c,) Yes.
- (21e) Yes, one can differentiate a so called aristocracy, a gentry, a middle class, and the so-called broad popular masses which all have produced during the centuries certain peculiar types.
- (21f) Yes.
- (22) In spite of all the denunciations against him, Horthy was the man who succeeded in maintaining a country for 25 years, after a lost war and a Communist terror regime, truncated to one third of its previous size, in such a way that under him this unfortunate country did not sink back to barbarism but has progressed in culture and economy.

- (22f) Social inequality was quite pronounced.
- (22g) See under (22)
- (22i) Between 1945 and 1948 there was not yet such outspoken Soviet and Communist Party dictatorship, the terror was not yet as oppressive as later, therefore it was better than what followed that period.
- (23) There is. Each people clings to that territory which has been his for centuries, which he has defended with his own blood. Thus Hungary is attached to its thousand-years old borders and to the territory of the Carpathian Basin.
- (23d) Insofar there is a difference that the Hungarian people does not belong to any greater family of nations in Europe and, just because it is a relatively small nation, the great powers try to use it always for their ends.
- (24) No.
- (24a) United Europe.
- (24d) That has to be thought over.
- (25) The people is living under pretty uncivilized circumstances, but that might be not entirely of its own fault.

- (26) For me, as a discipline, it was very interesting.
- (26a) The whole idea is interesting and beautiful, that's the reason why ~~people~~^{people} can be win over to it and led by it for a while. However, all this is rather Utopia.
- (26b) If I want to prove something and maintain my position, then I have to be careful that what I am saying that should have solid foundations, in order that nobody could easily disprove it. But in the Marxian philosophy and doctrine there are many, many weak spots where one can easily attack it.
- (26c) The ideology of Lenin was that which the self-conscious Communists have always professed to be their own. Therefore you have to suppose that he was a good Communist and a good Marxist.
- (26d) Stalin, especially in his later years, has deviated entirely from Lenin's ideology and therefore his way and doctrine should be rather called Stalinism than either Leninism or Marxism.
- (26e) I don't know enough about Tito.
- (26f) The Hungarian Communists are continuing Stalinism and not Marxism.
- (26g) Neither are they Marxists.
- (26h) According to their teaching, probably it would be possible, but as far as in practice it is very doubtful because in Hungary there is neither Democracy nor Marxism.

- (26i) There was not.
- (26j) He would respect the ideal of equality and freedom and would stand on the basis of human rights.
- (27) In my opinion it is in vain to give different names, Communism remains always the same thing. The most that one could say is that in certain countries they try to achieve the same goal by a little bit different methods than the Soviet Union had done it.
- (27e) No.
- (28) In my opinion there would have been a Democratic form of state created.
- (28b) He would have remained on the head of the gov't for a while. Later, what would have happened, nobody could tell.
- (29a) Good.
- (29b) Bad.
- (29c) Bad.
- (29d) Bad.
- (29e) Bad.
- (29g) Good. (It is a very stupid question.)
- (29h) It is a typical Russian word which, in reality, does not exist in Hungary.
- (29i) Good.
- (29j) Bad.
- (29k) Bad.

- (29m) Bad.
- (29n) Good.
- (30) The Smallholders Party.
- (30a) We don't know. This was a great calamity also during the Revolution.
- (31a) In the middle.
- (31b) Below.
- (31c) Below.
- (31d) Below.
- (31e) Above.
- (31f) Below.
- (31g) Above.
- (31h) Below.
- (31i) Below.
- (32) The so-called Kulaks and the intellectuals and the small raftsmen and tradesmen had it better before '48 than after.
- (33a) Harmony.
- (33b) Harmony.
- (33e) Harmony.
- (33f) Conflict.
- (33g) Conflict.
- (33i) Harmony.

- (34) I had no concern on this matter whatsoever.
- (35) The same who ~~was~~ ^{have} fought during the Revolution against the Revolution.
- (36) Only in connection with the work of the Radio Free Europe. While in Hungary I still believed in its broadcasts to a certain degree, and hoped in what it has said. Since I left Hungary and I am here in Munich, I know that RFE is nothing but bla-bla.

- (1) Anything I wanted to ask from you I have asked already during the conversations.
- (1a) I think that all these interviews would form a very important document for the whole world, if this would be all collected in a work and published.
- (1b) Yes.
- (1c) I would like to warn all of you of people who have been in high positions in Hungary and, as everybody knows, have been ardent members of the Party and now they are active here in the West, but who knows with what intentions?
- (1d) I think that for the most part you will get sincere answers.
- (1e) We have talked just about everything.
- (2) Yes, if the present circumstances would change there.
- (3) I have nothing, besides to ask you to make as many and thorough interviews as possible.
Before saying to you good-bye, I just want to tell you a comic, but true story, which just came to my mind: You asked me about movies and foreign pictures which I went to see during the last years. I recall now that once, on the streets of Budapest, there appeared huge posters advertising 3 Soviet pictures.

I don't know whether it was made intentionally or if it was just not noticed, but the order of the titles printed with huge letters was such that the entire Budapest was laughing for weeks. It said "Él¹ai akarunk", "A felhőkarcolok árnyékában", "Távol Moszkvától". This, the three titles, in the order they were printed, were "We want to live in the shades of the skyscrapers, far away from Moscow."