

(1)

In connection with the antecedents, only that much that, generally, there was an apathetic resignation prevalent in Hungary, people did not hope anymore that any change might come from within. That's the reason why the demonstration had to be arranged, so to speak, officially, and directed centrally. But when one point followed the other, and one concession followed the other, spontaneously the demonstration became an oppositional one; and when the crowds of the streets were "plugged in", then everybody realized that there was no difference of opinions among people. (For years it was known that theoretically Communism has been a failure in Hungary). The mass movement encountered everybody's approval and thus, when no more dams were present, suddenly the realization came that the opposition is in a very small number, that actually the opposition is represented exclusively by the professional AVO's.

The movement was organized originally in order that the "will of the people" should back up those dispositions which were contrary to the ones given in the past. In other words, the government wanted to be able to say: although we scientifically decided to do otherwise, as the will of the people matters more, we are going to do everything as the people wishes. In other words, the government did not want to contradict itself but tried to justify its future regulations, dispositions and laws by saying that they were somehow "dictated" by the people - but, it did not figure on freer and freer slogans coming up. Government officials did not figure that, once in a ten year history, there is

going to be a demonstration where people are going to applaud sincerely and not be following a given beat. The root of this new attitude on the part of the government is to be found in Moscow, rather in the 20th Congress, which had to be put into practice in the Soviet Union and in the Satellites. But the "great" leaders seemed to have forgotten that their system is a dictatorial one and that it is contrary to the concept of dictatorship to permit any type of slackening because necessarily one loosens more than one originally intends to; the person on which this manipulation is applied feels that he is much freer than he actually is. To illustrate, respondent said that a person who is squeezed between paragraphs and strict discipline, after a while, starts to learn where the loop holes are, how he can get out, without getting into trouble. At this point, the girth has to be pulled again; if it is not pulled, but, on the contrary, loosened, then it appears to be much looser than it would to a person who has never been squeezed in his life. In other words, the same regulations, which are keeping tight a person for a year, will not work in the future because then he already has learned how to move freely, under given circumstances. The trouble really starts when one starts loosening in the directions of how conditions were, let's say, two, three, or five years ago. At that point, the individual is going to jump around without any inhibitions, and will feel completely free although, to an outsider, the squeeze is still very apparent.

✓ (It was apparent that the respondent is a good horseback rider because he accompanied this illustration with the movement, one uses in horseback riding)

Thus, the movement spread spontaneously like wild fire and moved the "broad masses". (It is visible that the respondent hates any expression used by Communists - the way he pronounced "broad masses" indicated this very clearly. After he used this expression with a grimace, he said would I please excuse him if ⁱⁿ his speech some Communistic expressions are to be found - he is sorry indeed for it). Another fact which should be noted is that, even if people did not actively take part in the shaping of the events, they tried to help the Revolution attain its goal with the means they had at their disposal - it was an unique feature in Hungary history - all social classes unanimously having the same goal (an unskilled worker and the chief engineer of an enterprise met in their desire of wanting the Russians to leave). Respondent will illustrate this with an example of a Communist manager of an automotor factory, ATRA (Automotor Javitó Vállalat). The name of the person is [REDACTED], but he could be called "Bologató János," "Yes-man". This Communist manager was overjoyed that the Revolution was taking place, although there was a great amount of fear in him, as far as his own person was concerned. He kept emphasizing that he had always been a good boy and that he certainly hoped that nobody will harm him. This quality, respondent believes, must have been

in many party members who honestly felt that the Revolution was the solution to the problems of the country and yet were afraid, as far as their individual lives were concerned.

The third characteristic feature of the Revolution was the fact that everybody was constantly milling around although sometimes the population would pay with its life for its curiosity. The explanation of this lies in the psychology of the citizen of Budapest and mostly in the fact that the Revolution really mirrored the will of each individual. Coming back to the Budapest citizen, it is known that his life is taking place in the streets, and, when this life was as intensified as during the Revolution, it was only natural that he was more in the streets than ever. This is the explanation of the thousands of dead among the population. Actually, few freedom fighters died, the majority of the wounded and the dead ones were "furnished" by the so-called peaceful population which was scrambling around during volley-fires; and, if these people got mixed up in the armed fight, it was natural that they would help the Hungarians and not the Russians. That's the way most of the freedom fighters were recruited. Nobody left his home; rather few people left their homes saying: "I am going to be a freedom fighter." But once in the street, he could not help taking part in a given fight and, once he had past the fire-baptism, he could not stop. That's why many physically weak people performed heroic deeds. It

was touching to see the transformation of peaceful bourgeois into fierce fighters for freedom without them realising what process they were going through.

Thus, the main characteristic and the so-called unique feature of this Revolution was its moving the "masses" (as much as respondent hated to use this word again).

It was a participation in which everybody played a part - everybody saw everything and everybody knew about everything. It was a historical sensation and unique in its "genre". (Respondent frequently uses French words.) It is easily understandable that people, who had gone through this Revolution, will cherish ^{it} for the rest of their lives. It is going to be the food the "emigrés", and the ones who had to stay at home, will live on. It was one of those occasions which happens only once in 100 or maybe 1000 years, namely that each member of a society, no matter how small the day before, is becoming suddenly a giant, and, if one is nationalistically inclined, as most Hungarians are (and as respondent certainly is) one will feel more than ever that the Hungarians had and have a mission!

In connection with the milling (nyüzsgés), it is interesting to mention the last disposition taken by the Central Workers' Council before its dissolution, namely the silent demonstration - not to go out in the streets between two and three o'clock, at a certain day: and, as if one had pushed a magic button, this milling crowd suddenly disappeared. Budapest, in a matter of one second, became a haunted city. Haunted only by the Russian armoured cars driving from one

place to the other, but to no avail, the silence was more eloquent than any shot which would have been fired at them. This silence, in such great contrast with the preceding milling, showed symbolically how unanimously united the nation was in its not wanting Communism.

(2a) Definitely yes.

- (2b) I The fermentation started definitely and precisely at Stalin's death - but maybe even before. What he is going to say now, might be considered by some - who don't quite follow the Soviet mentality - as a romantic theory: namely, that Stalin had died before his death was made public. There definitely were dispositions which were not as concise as the ones during Stalin's life. In other words, the dispositions were more flexible. When the Communist leaders realized that they cannot hold Stalin's line, without his personality, that's when they published his death. This, again, is according to "their" way of thinking. The Bolshevist logic is peculiar, just because the theories are completely illogical - "they" had to "manufacture" a special "philosophy", which way of thinking had to be taught in order that the theories be made palatable.
- II This was only a consequence of Stalin's death, the primary factor.
- III This was again a symptom like all the events following Stalin's death - they were touchstones, so to speak, of a fermentation.

- V The events of Poznan had the most powerful influence on the Hungarian Revolution; this could be labelled as a direct influence.
- VI At the time, the winds blowing were of such a nature that Rakosi had to be replaced.
- VII It was a window display affair and not essential.
- VIII Acted indirectly.
- (2c) This definitely was a turning point, but he could not pinpoint it. The basis of it was undoubtedly Stalin's death. That's where the fermentation started which brought after it the above mentioned symptoms.
- (2d) There was a feeling that the situation is mature, that something should happen in the coming years - of course, this feeling did not take concrete forms, but the perspectives were visible.
- (2e f) When a couple of writers dared to voice an oppositional opinion and, at the end, were "excommunicated" from the Writers' Union and from the Party, this produced an atmosphere which could be formulated in the following ways: Once somebody dares to speak openly and look what happens to him!" A change of atmosphere in the press could definitely be detected, which was partly done according to orders received from above, namely: the writers should "force" the people to express its will and thus justify the change of directions the Communist Party intended to adopt in many fields.
- (2g) There were many of them in the Irodalmi Ujsag, and even in the Szabad Nép. The subjects of these articles did not really matter. What mattered was the changed tone, what

mattered was the attitude that meant: We writers, who represent the people, we writers, who plead for the people dare to voice an opinion which not was approved ahead of time by higher circles. Look at us, we are not only numbers, we suffer, we want to live, we want to see the world - we cannot take sacrifices anymore, in the name of socialistic utopias, we want to live now. Life happens today and you are robbing us of our essential and basic rights.

Within this area, respondent remembers that there was a series of articles about the oversized participation of women in types of work for which they were not cut out by nature. It was finally said that although women had equal rights they organically cannot bear the same type of burden. It was finally proclaimed that a woman was a woman. It was a revolution made for the average woman and man, the average people of the streets who had no sins, and who did not know why its life was squeezed into such rigid paragraphs that even breathing was made difficult.

(at this point, respondent said that he felt very sorry for me that I am writing what he is saying, in other words, that I am working, while he is enjoying himself. Although this thought was expressed many times, the way he put it made me think that he is coming from a social stratum where a certain stereotype politeness is learned at a very early age).

(I definitely have the feeling that the fact that I am a woman greatly contributes to respondent's "oratorical" show-off).

(3) The necessity of the revolution was a living reality in the souls of the people four or three years ago. Thus in connection with this question in final analysis one can only talk about how could it have happened.

The basic reason was economical - the situation was so close to a bankruptcy that the regime had to find a way out - if it had not tried to ^{remedy} the existing situation, then within half a year, it would have had to announce complete bankruptcy, that's why the concessions and that's why the Revolution could break out.

(3a) The people were extremely impatient. Actually, the Revolution broke out too early, it would have attained much more if it had broken out now. If the people had gone along with the intimate desire of the government, namely: ~~to~~ express their "own will" the ensuing modifications would have produced ~~such~~ the rightest swing in Hungary which, in Moscow would have been most welcome, and would have, in its own eyes, justified its politics. This would have brought with it the general ~~relaxing~~ slackening in the Soviet Union and in all the Satellites. ~~When~~ this slackening, ~~when~~ this "thaw" would have been so deeply engrained that a Revolution ~~which~~ would have broken out, ~~which~~ ~~could~~ could not have been smothered, as the October revolution ~~had~~ had been. A revolution, taken place in 1957, would have necessarily had a completely different reaction.

(3b) The system did not collapse easily it only became completely superfluous - 50,000 people can check 9 million people only

in case of peace. Furthermore, the AVO was not guided by a conviction or by faith, but an ideal but only by an economical boom, by the fact that it meant an easy getting ahead - under these circumstances, it can be clearly seen why, if one brick is taken out, the whole building is bound to collapse. The conclusion the respondent personally draws of this is that the Soviet system will never again collapse from inside. It may get into bankruptcy and, in that case, the solution will be that people will eat even less but never more will a brick be allowed to fall out. From now on, the Soviet system can be only attacked from outside.

- (3c) One could divide the answer in two distinct categories. The arranged demonstration had as goal the bringing about of a more human and freer life. The goals of the crowd were directed against the Soviet Union. Thus, the original goal was to find ways to better life within the present system, but the goals of the crowds in the streets were directed against the system itself.
- (3d) It happened at the Radio. The AVO shot at the unarmed crowd which, at that point, was not conscious that it wanted to shake the existing form of government. Not only shake it, but overthrow it.
- (3e) No. The unanimous goal was the ceasing of the status quo.
- (3f) During the Revolution, nobody dared oppose it. But in theory, many opposed it - many of those who were brought up from the "dark" proletarian stratum, during the Rákosi period. (The way respondent pronounced the word "dark" proletarian stratum", it clearly showed what his feelings were in connection with

These people opposed the Revolution due to a simple and egotistical viewpoint. As an example; At the enterprise he was working at, there was a steward - it was an extremely good position, one could wonderfully steal thus only good Communists or Jews would be considered for it (when respondent pronounced "Jew", he watched me very carefully), and he used to play chess with this steward. This man opposed radically any type of rightist movement. He was a "dark" person. In the beginning, he loudly protested against the demonstrations but, when the events turned out as they did, he did not dare voice any opposition, he immediately and cowardly accepted the present situation.

(3g) During the Revolution all those who were somehow connected with the Communist regime but one should note that their neutrality was no obstacle, as far as the Revolution was concerned.

(3h) ~~THE~~ Independence of the country, ~~THE~~ demands that Russian troops should leave, then the neutrality of the country and a democratic form of government (not popular democracy).

(3i) It categorically was against Communism, but the freedom fighters were not necessarily against a popular democracy. In other words, there was no concrete conception about how the situation should develop, about what form the government should take - everybody was unanimous in the desire of not wanting ~~that~~ the type of government they were fighting at that moment.

(3j) The attitude was 100 per cent against the omnipotence- of the ^{Party.} Personally, he doubts ~~the~~ reason for ^{the} existence of the Communist

Party and the reason for existence of socialistic ideas; this does not mean though that the majority of the Hungarian people would be as opposed to Socialism as he is. (At this point, I was only trying to figure out whether respondent is a count or baron).

(3k) The fact that somebody was a member of the Communist party did not imply that he was a Communist. But, if he happened to be a Communist, then he did not take part in the Revolution.

(3l) If we mean by "reactionary" the type of person who desires the bringing back of the past regime, in that case there were very few reactionaries.

Generally, the Hungarian nation is not reactionary in the sense that it does not want to restore an old regime, but there were many of those who wanted to shape a new life, in a Western democratic sense, and thus desired the ceasing of the socialist system. If by "reactionary" this type of person is meant, then there were many reactionaries among the revolutionists.

(3m) A new constitution would have been created and the popular democracy would have ceased also formally; a very strong rightist shift, with extremely emphasized anti-semitism, economically a transformation leading toward a capitalistic system, and the wiping out of the Communist party. Hungary would have been wrenched from the sphere of the popular democracies.

(Respondent asked me point-blank if I was Jewish and before I could answer he continued: "You are very careful in not reacting, whenever I pronounce the word antisemitism or Jew. Coming from you, this is unnatural, he continued, because you do react to every wince of my eyes, to every syllable I utter or don't utter, I have never been watched with such "nonchalant intensity" and what is unintelligible for me, is that I enjoy

it tremendously. I have the feeling, he said, that in a way you do it l'art pour l'art. You are not a professional interviewer, which means that you are much better than a professional one - you do give me the impression that you are personally extremely interested in me; and, he continued you do not have to answer - you are not Jewish. But it's up to me to find out what makes your eyes be racially not Hungarian. As much as I am attached to my race, he said, I must acknowledge that there is something cold in Hungarian women's eyes and you have warmth. What nationality are you? I answered that I will not spoil his joy of finding it out by himself.)

- (4) He did what everybody else did. He was in the streets - he ran around on foot and by car.
- (4a) He lived right in the heart of the great fights, at the József Körút and Rákoczi út, close to the Üllői Ut and to the Radio. He saw the fight the first night between the AVO's and the population, rather he saw the AVO's shoot at the population. After November 4th, he saw fights between Freedom Fighters and the Russians.
- (4b) Of course, they were everywhere ("csellengtek"). He personally was there when the Freedom Fighters took over the barracks of the Üllői street.
- (4c) He saw when one AVO was hanged at the corner of the Aradi street. Actually, there was no life in him when the people got hold of him and hanged him and pushed into his mouth 10,000 forints found in his pockets. This AVO officer (a lieutenant), had previously shot his own wife and children because they refused to let him

into the apartment then he shot at random in the crowd - he behaved like a wild beast.

- (5a) Yes.
- (5b) And in addition, "uszitot" (he enticed the people).
- (5c) Two Freedom Fighters slept in his quarter, but everybody did at least that much. He was a revolutionary just like any other person in Budapest was who was not past seventy.
- (5d) He was the crowd who shouted ("5 volt a nép aki üvöltött"). He was not on top demounting the stars, he was not directly under them to avoid their falling on his head, but he was one person who, together with thousands and thousands, was, in final analysis, responsible for the falling of stars.
- (5e) Yes, he took part in the distribution.
- (5f) No, he refused the offered membership. In a window shop, one can do always less than behind the scenes.
- (7) The Maléter group. It behaved like the defenders of the fortress of Alcatraz.
- (7a) One could easily suppose that there were differences, but not basic ones, not theoretical discussions mainly executionary ones.
- (8a e) Before November 4th, they were unorganized and fought inconsistently; after November 4th, they were more combat-ready and much more irate. Nevertheless, some soldiers defected even then.

At the corner of the Rákoczi Ut and of the Kiskörút, three tanks sided with the Revolution - they put out the white flag and embraced the Hungarians who were extremely happy how decently the Russians behaved. After a couple of minutes of embracement, the Russians shook the Hungarians off themselves and ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ crawled ^{back} / into the tanks, closed ~~it~~ ^{them} and started to rotate the machine guns in order that nobody should dare approach the tanks. After two minutes from the Keleti station on the Rákoczi Ut, five tanks approached who "cleared" the way with machine guns. Around 20 dead people were the result of this street sweeping. Arriving at the three tanks, they started to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{unload their ammunition.} What had happened was that the previous three tanks only sided with the Revolution because ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{their supply of ammunition was} exhausted. The minute they were informed that ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{ammunition} were coming they knew perfectly well on which side to be on.

- (S b d) The Russian civilians disappeared completely. They were immediately ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ transferred to secure place.
- (8c) Generally they "retrieved" a very ~~small number~~ ^{small number} participated, together with the Hungarian students, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ in the events.
- (8f) 1. 100 per cent.
 2. Their influence was in direct proportion with their fighting. But directly on the Hungarian people their influence was nil.
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
- 3. Their influence was again 100 per cent.

(9) He found out about everything from everybody. Only a person who does not know at all how the Revolution actually happened

can put this type of question. A person has ears, has eyes and knows. He sees the dead people. He slips on the blood which is in the street and, when he steps on an accumulation of some garbage he does not know whether he steps on a corpse or on the remnants of a bombed building. In other words, the communication could not have been more immediate, more direct.

(9a) Publications were issued which printed the newer and newer demands.

(9c) The radio was going everywhere, especially the Hungarian Radio. Listening to it, one could draw conclusions about ~~the~~ the strength of the Communist government ~~in~~ and after the victory, the broadcasts of the free Kossuth Radio were most realistic; while ~~before~~ before, one would ~~preferably~~ ^{also} listen to Radio Free Europe and the Hungarian Radio, ~~after~~ after the free Kossuth Radio began to broadcast, the RFE was completely ^{superfluous} ~~superfluous~~ because the Kossuth Radio was the one which would bring the newest and most concrete news. The importance was depending on the news and not upon the media.

(10) The government was functioning formally at the beginning of the Revolution, but it lost its appeal minute by minute and could not deter the course of the events. Nobody took ~~its~~ its demands or pleads seriously.

The above was mainly in reference to the first act, during the second act, the old government ~~had~~ ceased to function and the new one did not function yet. It really was ^{more} ~~an~~ ^{an} of/intermission ~~than~~ ^{the} a beginning of a second act.

(10 a b g) The personnel offices in ministries and enterprises were dissolved; the regional party organizations, although it lost its influence, remained legally, while the enterprise party organizations (pártalapszervek) ceased to exist 100 per cent and it was ~~IXXWA~~ very frequent that they ceased to exist ~~although~~ ^{also} legally.

The party buildings of the different enterprises became the offices of the newly formed workers' councils. The municipal (public) party buildings were transformed into apartments, rather ^{were} used as apartments and the party building, as such, was dissolved. One could say that ^{the} Communist party shrunk to 50 per cent of its previous self.

(10c) The majority sided with the Revolution.

(10d) Was dissolved.

(10e) The courts did not function.

(10f) In majority it sided with the Revolution and the remaining part stayed passive.

(10h) The functioning of local councils, as offices, ceased.

(10i) They ~~XXXXXXXX~~ followed the events with full steam and, wherever possible, tried to put in a word, rather an oration.

(10j) Partly the Trade ^{Unions} ~~XXXXXXXX~~ in a modified form, the Workers' Councils and the Army.

(10k) Workers' Councils and the newly formed parties.

(10l) They were molded according to the models of the 1919 revolution and figured as transitional organizations; they were supposed to represent the Democratic will of the "broad masses".

(10m) Definitely a democratic form of government and, in its final outcome, bourgeois democratic and not popular democratic.

- (11) It had a tremendous importance from the viewpoint of world politics but from the viewpoint of Hungarian history no.
- (11b) The Revolution did succeed, as a matter of fact, it did not have, as revolution, any enemies around. But how could it have won, when confronted with the Soviet Union?
Although if the Russians might have intervened one day later
- From November 4th, respondent lived for 10 days with an old acquaintance of his, a pilot officer from the Horthy regime. The best friend of this pilot was one of the most decorated Hungarian pilots (decorated during World War II); the latter told ~~EMX~~ the first one that he had the assignment to leave in the morning ~~on~~ ^{of} November 4th, into Western Germany and bring back ^{the same day} a big plane load of ~~XXXXXX the same day~~ ^{bazookas.} If this had been ^{the} ~~the~~ case, then the Nagy Imre Government could have pursued a type of a fighting which could not have been labelled anymore as revolution or counter-revolution, but would have been necessarily called a war against the Soviet Union. Whether the Soviet Union would have been willing at the time, to engage into a war with the Hungarian government, would have been a question only the Soviet Union could have answered anyway in that case, the situation would have been "slightly" different.
- (11c) Definitely. Hungary did have the right to expect the Western powers to unanimously hand the Soviet Union an ultimatum and not a note.
- (11d) The sons of the Hungarian nation have racial characteristics which, unfortunately, qualify it for this type of behavior. "Neki fejjele a falnak" (they are more than willing to beat

- (11e) There is no doubt that good intentions guided Imre Nagy ^{that} and he became aware of the fact that the politics pursued up till then was not in the interest of the Hungarian nation and that the primary interest of the Hungarian Nation is to put an end to the Communist regime. In his own situation, he did behave decently.
- (11f) Maleter represented the action. Respondent does not have a definite opinion about him and is not 100 per cent ^{con-}
^{be}vinced about his honest intentions but ~~EM~~ it cannot ~~denied~~ that his part was extremely important. Mindszenty did have an important part after October 30th, but not of the nature the present government wants it to be seen. But it cannot be denied that the main part was played by the crowd and mainly by the so-called "stricis" ^(Halbstarke) - as painful as it is to acknowledge it it is nevertheless true that they were the real heroes. It is also true that they were not driven by idealistic goals. The motivations ^{of} ~~EM~~ their "heroic" actions lies in their adventurous spirit and in the fact that they looked at ^{the} fight as a good sport.
- I don't have any doubt that respondent is an aristocrat. When he mentions the proletariat, there is a characteristic ^a look in his eyes, look which I would not call kind.)

- (11g) V
VI and IV
I and III
VII
II

- (11h) It did come as a surprise because the university students of today were the pets of the present regime.
- (12) He decided to leave in the middle of November but only actually left ~~at~~ the 22nd of January.- after having looked for different possibilities of leaving which ~~turned~~ ^{all turned} out to be bad. He finally ~~he~~ managed to go into Yugoslavia, where he stayed two months. In Yugoslavia the situation is inhuman. The quarters are beyond ~~description, they are worse than~~ ^{description, they are worse than} the prison camps. The food was the worst one could imagine and the ^{promised} ~~clothing~~ ^{never} was ~~not~~ given. His explanation of this horrible situation is that in Yugoslavia everybody steals just like in Hungary. By the time the money allotted for the refugees would get to the refugees, it is not there any more.
- (12a) During the Communist era, he ~~was~~ ^{as a} class alien could not live a human life. He might tell me the details of his life, he added, not to cry on my shoulders, he is much too proud for that, but just to prove how ~~impossible~~ impossible the Communist system can make the life of a class alien, of a "bad kader."
- (12b) He talked it over with almost everybody he knew, ^{which meant that} ~~and~~ he talked it over with different types of people ~~too~~. This was a central question in everybody's mind, after the ~~re-~~ ^{does not mean} volution, and the fact that "only" 200,000 refugees left ~~that~~ ^{that} not one million tried ~~to~~ at least ~~to~~ in their imagination .. to do so.

(1a) Chauffeur

(2g) Unskilled worker, then soldier from 1950 to 1952, while a soldier, he passed a driving exam and ever since was employed as a chauffeur at different enterprises. Respondent was employed at Honvédségi Tiszti Iskola as a civilian, Bányászati Vállalat, Gépjavító és Anyagforgalmi Vállalat, Magyar Szovjet Olaj R.T., ~~Országos~~ ^{Ormánykúti} Állami Gazdaság. ^{was} (At this point, the interviewer interrupted and I saw it fit to take respondent into an elegant restaurant. He behaved according to my expectations, meaning that he knew exactly when to let me go ahead, when he had to take the lead, I ~~XXXX~~ how to talk to the waitress, when to ask for the wine list, what type of wine to order and so forth. I waited until I saw him use a fork and ~~XXX~~ knife and then said: "Alors Monsieur l'aristocrate?!" He is ^a baron and his mother is ^a countess. The next step was to talk about his childhood and it turned out that he also is from Transylvania and that we both had lived in the same city, went to the same university at different ~~XXX~~ times, I am sorry to say ~~XXXX~~ ^A he is a couple of years younger than I am. Talking about Transylvania, he described the situation of the Hungarians in Rumania and said that, although the regime there also emphasizes the friendship ~~among~~ ^{between} the Hungarians and Rumanians, just like it does in Hungary, it is nevertheless true that never have Rumanians hated Hungarians more than presently, and in all fairness, he must say that they do have reason because Hungarians did enter the party. Of course, in the case of

the Hungarian minority, he very well understands that ~~they~~ ^{adhered} it adhered to socialistic ideas ~~in~~ because that was one way of having ~~their~~ equal rights guaranteed. Yet it is unquestionably true that the Transylvanian Hungarian did enter the Communist Party in ~~big~~ big numbers and the Rumanians stayed Rumanians by that he meant that whether they entered the party or not, they kept their chauvinistic attitude. They did not bother their fellow country ~~men~~ men, whether they did enter the party or not, but they certainly tried to be as unpleasant as possible to their colleagues ~~in~~ in partymembership if those colleagues ~~happened~~ happened to be Hungarians. At this point, he stressed that he personally does not hate the Rumanians and ^{that} they only do what their chauvinistic feelings dictate them to do. Hungarians would do the same thing - but, talking about hatred - and I ~~knew~~ knew what minority ^{would} ~~will~~ come up ^{next} ~~as~~ - he said that never before has in Hungary anti-semitism been ^{as} virulent as it is now and he accused the Jews of selling the Hungarian nation, of using Communism to revenge themselves for the events during Hitler's time etc. ~~etc.~~ It was so unbelievable and yet so true within Eastern European frame that a "civilized" person would sit in front of one and while he would cut with the utmost care the meat and be careful ^{about} ~~how~~ to sip the wine and, generally, about his manners, expose such ~~barbarian~~ a barbarian attitude of hatred and prejudices. I must say that, at one point, I almost forgot my good manners - of course, I do not have aristocratic ones - and almost threw everything the fine meat, the even finer wine in respondent's

is proving how sad it is that a man who should know better does not know better because he interrupted me by saying: "You must have Rumanian blood - I see it in your eyes and I notice it in your temper." So, we did "uncover" each other. I asked if whether there are many people who think like he does and he proudly said that he is not alone, on the contrary; although the so-called "Hungarista" movement does not have a following around among recent refugees, it does exist. Its head is János Gömbös, the son of the ex-prime minister Gömbös, and the ex-aide-de-camp of Szalasi. Gömbös has lived in Innsbruck for the last twelve years and for 5 years was financed by the so-called Arrow-cross party. That's why respondent feels that Gömbös is - so to speak - sold to this cause and feels it his duty of "honor" to stay with this doctrine, although he is not fanatic himself, and private conversations, one can detect a lack of belief in the theory of the movement. I should not get the wrong impression, respondent added, Gömbös is not so antisemitic as he has ever been, but it is a different kind of anti-semitism he believes in now. He would be glad to get in contact with Gömbös in order to convince myself of the human value he represents. He has two doctorates, one in Economics and one in Law and is, no doubt, an intellectual and not what one would call a fanatic. He could prove to me, point by point, why the eternal enemy of the Hungarian nation is the Jewish nation much more efficiently than respondent, with his limited means could. And, to introduce me to the Hungarian student body en bloc, respondent invited me to attend a

student meeting of the "Katholikus Magyar Diák Szövetség" (Catholic Hungarian Student Union). I will see, he added, how promising the Hungarian youth is, what crystalized, definite ideas they have about antisemitism, about revisionsism, etc. Hungarians will always remain Hungarians, he proudly announced and this was the first time, during the conversation, that I had to agree with him.

(2a) Driving.

(2b) Truckdriving, with the exception of the job he held at the Hungarian Soviet Oil Company.

(2c) Six years.

(2d) See question 2.

(2e f) They were most varied, according to the nature of the different organizations.

The Hungarian-Soviet Oil Company (Magyar-Szovjet Olaj R.T.) The Russians did develop the Hungarian oil industry but, at the same time, exploited the wells to the point that they drained them completely; after they had "taken the grease off", they sold their shares, at half value, to the Hungarian state. Starting from the Soviet enterprise director, who had the rank of a Soviet deputy minister, respondent drove all the division chiefs. His immediate boss was the chief of the finance division. Individually, they were not bad people; generally, they had military ranks and some of them were good technicians. They all were very sorry when they had to leave Hungary and commented that never in their lives are they going to have it so good - they all hoped to be back some day.

The state farm of Orménykut (Orménykúti Állami Gazdaság). This was a 6,000 hectare model farm. Respondent was the personal chauffeur of the director and "being so close to the fire", he learned that all the state farms operate with an unbelievable deficit. The cost of running and administering it surpassed greatly its income.

Ngillet Karbantartó Vállalat was an enterprise which took care of the upkeep of the military building in the whole country. Driving from one place to another, respondent got a pretty good inside view in the operation and organization of different military units - he can state that he had seen every barrack, whether Russian or Hungarian, on Hungarian territory, whether it belonged to the Airforce or to the Infantry. The conclusion he drew after having seen the operation of this one part of the state apparatus was that it cost an unimaginable amount of money and is absolutely unreliable, as far as the regime is concerned.

- (3) He did like the above three.
- (3a) He enjoyed the variety of experiences these different jobs provided - the state farm would have been financially rewarding, if he could have stayed.
- (3b) The cars were bad and the demands were too great.
- (3c) Twelve hours to 24 hours and sometimes 3 times 24 hours of work. The average daily load was 14 hours.
- (3d) Minimum 6 and mostly 7 days.
- (3e) Yes. He was paid for overtime.
- (3f) Yes, ~~there~~ ^{there} were about as many holidays as in the Western World with the difference that they were not religious but Communist "holy" days.

- (3j) The length of the vacation was dependent ~~upon this continuity~~
~~fixing~~, upon the legal continuity. - he had 12 days as
basic vacation days and each two years one day would be
added.
- (3l) Definitely unless he could justify it.
- (3m) The basic workday consisted of 10 hours but then ~~there~~^{there} were
variations as far as overtime pay was concerned - overtime
was paid better during holidays or Sundays.
- (3n) This was the general policy from above - but, the so-called
executive organization never obliged.
- (3o) He did not live as monotonous lifetied to one spot and he
had more possibilities to steal than others did.
- (4a) The chauffeur is an international type.
- (4b) Not taking into account ^{ie} that, ^{that,} act for individual advantages,
sacrificing was going on in the background, certain
"lighter honor" (betvár beedlet) did develop - everybody
knew something compromising about everybody else, everybody
knew that everybody else was stealing. There was no re-
spect and authority among co-workers.
- (4c) He was superficially friendly, meaning that he did not meet
his colleagues socially.
- (4d) Permanently and the mentality was unanimously against Commu-
nism.
- (4e) The non-party members did not trust the party members and
generally the two groups did not mix.
- (4f) Finally the way the party described it.

(4g) It went parallel with the internal political party line.

(4h) No.

(4i) Two angles would constantly ~~not~~ ^{not} to the third angle - ^{to} the party secretary, and sometimes the three angles would unite and steal together.

(4j) Even though he was explicitly unreliable, he could get ahead as a ~~man~~ means to be used to the utmost.

(4k) Yes, this was a matter of public knowledge.

(4l) They did interfere looking at things from the characteristic Communist viewpoint - not taking into account the concrete work results but whether an obtained result was usable politically or not. It was not advisable at all to remonstrate.

(4m) No.

(4n) a) The fundamentals, the things ~~XXXX~~ ^{agreed} upon were that the respective individual should be completely ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{deplete} of money even in the past (his family should be extremely poor) ^{an} that no predecessor of his should have been/intellectual ~~XXXX~~ should have played a part in public life. The conditions were to be an active member of the party.

(4o) In essence the personnel department of each enterprise was a "confidential" department and built in AVOs were present in every ~~great~~ enterprise.

One could recognize them from the fact that they would "push their nose" everywhere and, if one hated someone ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{spontaneously}, one could bet one's bottom dollar that the respective person was an AVO. Somehow they had a bad smell.

Hungarian this meant being kicked out. If an enterprise needed the services of a certain person and if the person was employed by another enterprise fights for changing jobs were going on for months on different levels.

(5a) He was constantly "rationalized" whenever his kader material would arrive he would be spontaneously kicked out.

(5b) He would have become a mechanical engineer because he is very interested in the technical development but unfortunately he cannot count ~~on it~~ ^{at all} ~~on it~~. ^{Or} ~~ALL~~ he might have become a doctor because he is extremely interested in the human mechanism.

Definitely material rewards would have had a part in his choosing the above mentioned careers but mainly the fact that they seemed to provide a certain independence to the person practicing them.

(5c) No - 10,000 per cent no.

(5d) He would ~~satisfy~~ ^{satisfy} his cultural pretention but he would not forget ~~ALL~~ about satisfying his frivolous ~~INXENSE~~ pretentions either.

(I looked up at this, and he ~~asked~~ ^{begged} me not to ask him to specify. I gladly obeyed). This disappointed him greatly.)

(5f) Exactly the same.

(5g) Of course not. His mode of life was a question of necessity and not choice.

(5) His family was in an impossible situation-

(6a) They did not change much - starting from 46 he had to get used of not eating as much as he could have eaten.

As far as his living standards are concerned, they did not improve much since he has been a soldier (1950-1952); they could not have deteriorated very much after that period.

(6b) He could afford minimal requirements and allow himself the "most minimal" joys - if very thirsty, after ^{an} inward conflict "lelki tusa". he would decide to buy himself a glass of beer. It is true too though, that every five months he got extremely angry and then he ("sulatott eget"), got drunk and did not eat for two weeks after it due to lack of funds, and not to remorse. But, as long as his wife usually got drunk together with him, this did not produce a major family discord.

(6c) Yes, he was well paid as a truck driver.

(6d) Of course, the maximum output for the minimum salary.

(7a) I In 1947 he was a student, at that time he had only debts.

II In 1952 his salary was 900 forints per month.

III In 1955 his salary was 1500 forints per month.

(7b) Compared to the real average salaries, his was around 160 per cent (compared to the official ones, it was around 200 per cent).

(7c) In view of the fact that he could not stay on one job for a longer ~~longer~~ period of time because of his bad kader ("class alien"), his salary was about 50 - 20 per cent lower.

(7c) He lived together with his wife, who worked herself, and their little three year old son.

(8a b) 1600 forints - his wife made around 1200 forints, as a technical designer (she was an industrial designer).

(8c) He undertook black shipments ("black" road haulages) and

stealings (they did not bring any monetary advantages ~~XXX~~ -
he usually would steal what was needed in the household)

(8d) The insurance was ~~not~~ paid by the employer; ~~XXX~~ the trade
unions/^{fees} and compulsory loans would come to around 50 - 100
forints ~~XXX~~ ^{per} month.

(8e) Out of what? He was generally in minus.

(9) Instead of ~~XXXXXXXX~~^{rent}, he would pay court costs (costs of the
proceedings). He would sue the tenant and usually win but,
as the tenant ~~XXXXX~~ ^{did} not pay the costs of the proceedings,
he deducted them when it came to pay the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ rent.
In court,
they had equal chances - namely, once the tenant said that
the "baron" ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ pointing at him, and ^{at} this gesture he
replied by saying Mr. so and so former big landowner.
The judges knew that both were class aliens, ~~XX~~ in their
~~XXXXX~~ ^{XXXXX} justice ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ won.

The housing conditions were miserable he had a small room
where he lived with his wife and the little son and the
use of the so called kitchen, which, at the same time ~~was~~ was
the living, bedroom and kitchen ^{of} ~~XXX~~ the tenant a former
landowner of around 5,000 ~~XXXXX~~ ^{hectares.} He was a very low character
and ^{on top of it} ~~constantly~~ drunk - so was his wife.

Many times when they would arrive home very tired, they would
find their kitchen furniture ~~XXXXX~~ which, as said, was ~~XXXXX~~ housed
~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the living ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{bed room and kitchen} /of the tenant, in the streets.

The next day he would file a complaint against his landlord."
Morally respondent ~~XXXXX~~ ^{feels} that ^{morally} he has been 100 per cent right.

- (9a) About 250 - 300 forints.
- (9b) The conditions were criminal. See number 9.
- (9c) ~~XXXX~~¹⁰⁰⁰ - is 1400 forints
- (9d) 2500 per year
- (9e) He stole it regularly; he did not have any telephone and the electricity and gas cost about 600 forints ~~XXXX~~^{per} year.
- (9f) 2400 per year.
- (9h) 1200 " "
- (9i) 600 per year
- (9j) 60 forints per month. He was not subscribed to any papers, but he usually would get what he wanted on loan.
- (9k) Nothing. About 100 forints per year.
- (9l) 400 to 500 per year.
- (9m) Nothing.
- (9n) Miseries connected with the housing situation would amount to about 3000 per year.
- (9o) Almost every shop was state owned, but he does not ^{know} too much about this ~~type of problems because~~ his wife was the one who did all the shopping.
- (9p) No. In the proportion of the changes of his income.
- (10a) It was unnatural, thus unhealthy.
- (10b) Nothing was right.
- (10c) He did not live in Hungary, he was born in Transylvania in Erzséka, county of Szilágy.
- (10d) It was a categoric deterioration. In what? To what extent? In everything.
- (10e) Of course he heard about it.

- (10f) During the first reign of Imre Nagy the private sector started to flourish but then it was brutally stopped.
- (10g) The situation showed a definite improvement. Maybe some of the reparation payments to the Soviet Union started to diminish and another reason for the improvement might lie in the fact that people started to learn how to use the ~~given~~ given possibilities, how to steal, in other words; he saw a cross section of many professions and he can state "honestly" that everybody was stealing, by "everybody" he means people on different social scales. ~~He~~ He would carry out black shipments not only for himself but also for the chief engineer of the enterprise.
- (11) If the standard of living would have been as high as in the United States, there would not have been any revolution.
- (11a) In direct proportion with his ~~love~~ ^{want} of a higher living standards.
- (11b) The reasons for the economical situation were to be found in the political suppression.
- (11c) The intelligentsia and all those who had some type of ~~wealth~~ ^{wealth} (land or houses) in the past. The second group which was most afflicted was the one of the workers-- ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ it was more exploited than it had ever been in the past.

- (1) He had four semesters in law, two semesters in Economics, two semesters in agriculture.
- (1a) From 1934 - 38 elementary school, 38 - 46 gymnasium, 46-50 University - *Miyai Tudományegyetem - Kolozsvár (Transylvania)*
- (1b) He attended both.
- (1c) Around 48, the university was in fermentation the emphasis was more and more put on ideological subjects and, in those times the class struggle was made clearly observable. The professors ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ were being exchanged and the new professors were strongly leftists.
- (1d) No.
- (1e) Due to financial reasons - he originally wanted to study medicine but the school of medicine was in Marosvásárhely and among the schools at Kolozsvár, the legal one interested him most. In Kolozsvár he was ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ to speak at home. He had so many acquaintances that there were no housing problems, and, if he became hungry, ^{he knew} ~~that~~ somewhere ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ somehow he would get a free meal.
- (2) No. He was kicked out. It was not legally ^{done} because at that time there was no law which would have prohibited ^a ~~classé~~ alien to pursue higher studies. He flunked ⁶ / out of 8 exams ~~in~~ The professors had him flunked and he was told by the students union that he could take the exams again in the fall but at such time he would ~~only~~ flunk two subjects so he would have ^{had} / to repeat the year and would have never been able to pass the second year. Thus his kicking was done indirectly, at that time. The same day this happened, the dean

said in company that he flunked one of the Titans of the Transylvanian aristocracy because he does not believe that this class has the right to exist. (I happened to know personally the dean referred to, and I doubt it very much that the above words were his. My impression is that respondent was a bad student and his flunking had nothing to do with his descent).

- (2a) He originally had in mind to acquire two doctorates.
- (2b) He had cultural requirements and he was of the opinion that the capital in one's head cannot be expropriated by any economical or political regime.
- (2c) Due to his situation, his life necessarily had to follow the outlines permitted by the regime, rather imposed by the regime.
- (2d) Below average.
- (2e) No.
- (3) Sociology, Dialectical and Historical Materialism, the doctrines of Marx and Engels.
- (3a) ~~He~~ He mostly disliked the ideological subjects.
- (3b) Not yet^{at}/the university, and not yet at the gymnasium - one of the "pleasures" he was spared.
- (3c) The premises of the doctrines were very hard to swallow - even the smaller middle class and the peasant middle class had trouble in "accomplishing" this.
- (3d) No.
- (4) To create a stratus called by them "progressive intelligentsia".
- (4a) Political education.
- (4b) It developed in people a critical sense, as the system itself furnished a wide basis to criticism.
- (4g) They lack breeding.

(41) It is a known fact that a young soul is more receptive but, in final analysis Communistic education is not effective.

(5) Landowner - 800 acres.

(5a) He was a landowner and from ~~XXXXX~~⁴⁰⁻⁴⁴ representative of the Transylvanian party; then he was imprisoned, became afterward a physical worker, and in 1948 fled to Austria and is living in Innsbruck ever since.

(5c) Diploma of agricultural academy.

(5d) Till 1944 they had five servants and how did he feel about it? He found it extremely comfortable.

They owned land, a castle in the Szilagy~~sag~~ with many outhouses (annexes) and in Budapest they owned a big apartment house.

(5f) Much better off.

(5g) They lived five together. He had one sister and the great tyrant of his family was his grandmother. She was the

"Tökölomos." As a matter of fact, this grandmother ^(ringleader) ~~was the~~ ^{the mother of his} ~~father,~~

reason of many family discord, ~~XXXXX~~

~~XXXXX~~ she ^{respondent's} ordered ~~his~~ mother around and his father never

defended his wife. Ever since he ^{feels} ~~XXXXX~~ that if wife and

husband don't get along, ~~XXXXX~~ they should rather divorce ~~XXXXX~~ than try to make a go of it.

The atmosphere at home was always dense. There ~~was~~ ^{were} always a cloud formation which announced great storms.

In 1941, his parents separated and the children were much better off because they would ~~XXXXX~~ partly

live with their mother and partly with their father and enjoy both ^{modes of life.} ~~XXXXX~~.

He wishes his own wife would share

his viewpoint on divorce because, in that case he would gladly divorce her today, for the good of their child and for their own. He did ~~like~~^{love} his wife, rather he was attracted to her when they got married but this appeal was quickly lost. Bad financial circumstances might have contributed to it. The fact that, ever since they have been married, they were obliged to "live on each others' neck" ~~XXXX~~ ~~XXXX~~ did not help their sexual or any other type of relationship. His wife is the daughter of a formerly rich bank director and was not educated to become the wife of a poor man. She would do beautifully as the ^{"love-partner"} ~~wife~~ of a rich man ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{she simply could not} ~~XXXX~~ ^{their} adapt herself to ~~XXXXXX~~ circumstances. She is extremely disorderly which is much more aggravating in one room than it would be in six.

They have been married for ⁴ years and they have not talked to each other for about 3 years. They both are stubborn and his wife is, in addition to everything^{else}, also extremely jealous, with good reason, he added. (But if he had not added this comment, I would have added it.)

(After this a somewhat unwarranted outburst, he said that, since his early childhood, he felt the urge to confess, to undress psychologically and this compulsion could not be satisfied during the last ten years. He is sorry indeed, he added, that he subjects ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{me to these outbursts of} intimacies, but I am partly responsible for it, because I seem to display an interest beyond my call of duty. I was not aware of any particular interest I might have displayed but it is interesting to note that a person who has been overlooked

for so many years should be flattered and slightly ~~unbalanced~~ ^{unbalanced} by attention ~~unfocused~~ ^{focused} finally/on him.

(5h) His grandmother died. His parents separated in ~~50~~ ⁴¹ and divorced in 1951. His sister married a former police officer who recently has been ^a physical worker in Budapest. His mother lives in Budapest and is a physical worker herself.

(5i) He lived with his wife and little son.

(5k) It was indeed a great mistake to have been born as an aristocrat in the 20th century in Hungary but if he were to be born again, and if he had a choice about it he would like to be born again in the aristocracy of Hungary even at the expense of undergoing the last ten years.

(6) Yes.

(6a) Industrial designer.

(6b) In December 52.

(6c) One three year old.

(6d) ~~two years old~~ Two years old.

(7) One subject they agree on is their child. They do like him.

(8) Of course, if was part of their daily life.

(8a) What sort of things were not said?

(8a) No, whenever they would talk, whenever they were ^{on} speaking terms, they would talk about politics.

(9) Not applicable-the child is too small.

- (11) They did argue with their mother but they loved her very deeply. They never argued with their father but the relationship between him and them was much more strained. (It is interesting to note, he added, that the same relationship is still existent, as far as his father is concerned. When his father left in 1948, he was more or less a child and now he is a grown up man and ~~his~~ ^{yet his} father ~~did~~ ^{does} not seem to realize that years ~~had~~ ^{have} gone by. Furthermore he ~~accused~~ ^{accuses.} him of being poisoned by Communistic ideas and of being a traitor to his class. The subject they mostly quarrel about are problems of nationalization (I will treat the problems in Sections G and I.) What surprises respondent mostly in his father ~~was~~ is the latter's rigidity. He does not seem to accept that life has changed in Hungary, he is ~~axxxxxxxxx~~ ^{staunch} royalist. ~~and~~ Although the son understands the father's position, he does not get the same type of treatment from him. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the father does not ^{take} into consideration that the son has lived in Hungary, in a Communistic Country, and, although he hated it deeply, it still ~~had~~ ^{left} some traces in his mentality. It is difficult even for him to acknowledge, he says, that there are some hated Socialist ideas, which are becoming more and more his own.)
- Coming back to the relationship which existed between respondent, his sister, and their mother this was the most sincere. There never was any "swallowed" opinion among them. Everything was in the open and that's why every small misunderstanding was caught in its roots and remedied.

(12) See above 11 and he would like to add to it that his mother did evolve with the children.

(13 a b c d e f) I don't know.

(14a) See 11.

(14b) It was absolutely not typical.

(14c) The sad answer to this is that he mostly slept. He was dead tired. Very little time was left for entertainment or readings ~~WNE~~ and he feels justified for having done so. He always took time out to flirt and have mistresses.

(14d) He would go to theaters and ^{the} opera with his wife.

(14f) Mostly frivolous things, things which would have proven to him that he was ^{still} young.

(15) Taken in the wide sense of the word, family ties have loosened. Taken in the narrow sense of the word, they did not change. (The relationships between children and parents did not change but the cultivation of relatives was diminished)

(15a) Generally yes.

(15b) Yes.

(15c) Generally there is no cause to worry.

(15e) Yes, but this is a general phenomenon and is not to be attributed to specific Hungarian conditions.

(15f) The enemies of the churches could openly curse them.

(16) They did change.

what earlier.

(16b) Of course, but the parents don't have anything to do with it.

(16c) To a certain extent, he approves it because the relationship is more natural, thus healthier; but, it is also true, that the Hungarian youth does not stand on such a moral level that it should be able to "dominate" this more direct relationship - it does not stand on a level where this loosened relationship would not bring about a sinking in morals.

(16d) Yes. Due to the fact that the state represented a completely materialistic conception, it did not try to successfully oppose this sexual sore.

With an undisguised superiority, respondent asserted that, although the sexual manners are more loose, it is a sad fact that the proletariat does not display any imagination in seeking pleasures. They are intellectually and sensually poor. No voyeurism exists in Hungary, no refinements, no perversities. (At this point, respondent asked me whether I want more details on the subject. I said that, as I am an expert in these matters, he needn't bother. This is a long interview, isn't it?!)

(16e) Yes, with the difference that, under the present regime, secretaries, women officials would also sell themselves but their price was slightly higher than the one of the professionals. The methods of the latter were more honest more "pure" than the ones of the "privates". The professionals played with open cards, thus not falsely. Fact is though, that "half prostitution" was extremely wide spread.

(16f) Less strict.

- (16g) There were great variations in policy on this matter. ~~XXXX~~ Finally it was decided to put legally birth control into practice because of the tremendous number of ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{legitimate} ~~XXXXXX~~ and illegitimate children. ~~XXXX~~ the state could not afford to pay the tremendous sums allotted for birth assistance ~~XXXXXX~~ and ~~XXXXXX~~ leave.
- (16h) It did change - the concept lost its pejorative significance.
- (16i) Although this has also good sides, it is nevertheless true that the bad sides weigh more in the final balance.
- (17) It had declined.
- (17a) People are not ashamed for ^{this -} that's why they don't try to cover up. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
- (17b) It is general. The fundamental cause is obviously the low standard of living, the low ^{salary} ~~XXXXXX~~ and the fact that everything belongs to the state, which does not represent the individual interest. So, ~~XXX~~ stealing becomes almost a "sacred" duty.
- (18) During the last years he had no real friend; he had chums, he had buddies. "No friend" because there were always some basic differences between him and the others.
- (18h) It was easy to ^{"fraternize" but} ~~XXXXXX~~ that it was not easy to have a friend.
- (18i) It was extremely mixed.
- (18k) Of course, and this ^{situation} ~~XXXXXX~~ would have been existent not only if a close friend of his had become a ~~XXXX~~ Party

official, but even a superficial acquaintance because "ab ovo" one would not have deemed the relationship with a man who had joined the Party interesting or pleasant, thus one would have avoided any type of contact with him.

(19a) Catholic and their attitude toward religion was similar.

(19b) He accepts Catholicism without being bigoted.

(20) Yes.

(20a) No. Due to its nature, due to its political attitude (if one can speak this way in connection with any religion), the Catholic church opposed Communism in Hungary more than any other church did.

(20b) Communism wanted to make religion superfluous, thus powerless.

(20c) ~~XXXXXX~~ They did not belong in the category of people with backbone, but it is imaginable though that some of them might have been guided by good intentions.

(20e) There were times when the regime would keep tab on those who would practice their religion and of course, all kinds of disadvantages "followed" those who dared to do it.

(20f) There was no police cordon in front of the church. One could go in freely, but one had to pay for this later.

(20g) Of course, many did.

(20i) Mainly the elder age group from the middle class but also some younger groups from the same middle class.

(20h) Very rarely, he had no time for it.

- (20k) It is less important because, due to ~~the~~ changes in the ways of life, ~~the~~ church ~~attendance~~ attendance is ~~becoming~~ becoming less and less an engrained ~~habit~~ habit.
- (20l) Due to their nature, the churches represented opposite poles; thus, generally, the priest and ministers ~~would~~ would ~~combat~~ combat ~~more or less~~ more or less ^{openly} the dogmas of Socialism.
- (21) Mechanical engineer.
- (21a) ~~The~~ The Socialistic state form needs people with technical background, regardless of their political convictions.
- (21b) This way, due to his profession, he would not ^{have} ^{make} to ~~compromise~~ compromise.
- (22) ~~Party~~ Party functionaries, AVH. 2. The older generations from the middle class and the upper class.
- (22a) He belongs to the upper class.
- (22b) To the one he belonged to.
- (23) Peasants, workers, leading technicians (in this group belonged also the doctors), leading ~~party~~ party functionaries, leading party functionaries (in this group belonged the ministers and deputy ministers), officers and AVH personnel.
- (23d) Yes.
- (23e) Yes.
- (23f) It is good from many viewpoints.
- (23g) ~~There~~ There have been changes to the worse in manners, etiquette, etc.

(24) Does not know about it.

(24a) ^{would be}
If the Jews ~~XXXXXX~~ considered in this category, ~~XXXX~~ then they would be the ones who had most benefits, under the present regime.

(25) They used Communism ~~XXX~~ to further their own goals which during history were always in contradiction with the goals of the Hungarians.

(Respondent said that if for some strange reason he would not feel a compulsion to be sincere with me and if he, due to this compulsion, ^{had not} clarified his position in connection with anti-semitism, his answers would be different now: ~~meaning that~~ he knows perfectly well what America expects ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Hungarians to say on this score and, in the interest of his country, he might lie - he would not do it to further his own cause. He himself has a Rockefeller scholarship, at the moment; and, although he knows that it comes from a Jew, he still dislikes the Jewish race intensely. I did not tell him that Rockefeller was not a Jew. Maybe some moments in his life will come when he will feel ashamed to have accepted ^a ~~XXXX~~ scholarship from a Jew.)

(25a) The Jews supported to the utmost the regime, not out of conviction. They were much too smart for that, but because they knew perfectly well that ^{this} ~~was~~ was the way for revenge.

(25b) They played the leading part.

(25c) Whenever they opposed the regime, they did it only out of shrewdness, out of the desire to awake sympathy for

themselves.

He did have a Jewish mistress, while married and this did give him a double pleasure. Pleasure No. 1: cheat his wife, number 2: the Jewish girl had very sad eyes. Yes, it was a sadistic pleasure, but he could not deny it to himself. He liked to look in her eyes and see that her race did suffer in the course of history. She herself did not.

(25d) They behaved passively. They were very afraid.

(25e) If ~~THESE~~ one is a real Hungarian, one feels toward ~~THE~~ Jews like he does and there are many real Hungarians ^{inside and outside of} ~~IN~~/Hungary

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

(25f) It increased.

(25g) It increased many fold. The Jewish nation was the most faithful servant of the Communist ^{cause} ~~XXXXXXXX~~, ^{which,} ~~XXXXXXXX~~ as far as the Hungarian Nation was concerned, ^{killing} was "nemzetölö"

~~(XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX)~~

(25h) If they want to avoid the manifestations of anti-semitism - and by this he means not less than ^{pogroms} ~~pogroms~~ - then they have to completely retire from public life.

(1a)

Yes and No. Yes, he is interested in the overall picture and he is not interested in the details. If by politics one means the desire to influence events, then he is not interested, because he does not consider it fair play. If on the other hand, a general theme of conversation is meant by it, then he is even less interested. Although he does not meditate on the daily news, he does have a political attitude. He knows that the differences between the two opposing poles will have to be solved through a third world war and he knows where he will stand at such times. (The fact that respondent is not interested in the daily news could be traced back to an incident he told me when he was talking about differences between his parents about the general 'charged' atmosphere at home. His father, who was always very active in politics and became a representative for the Transylvanian party in 1940 to 1944, did not allow the children to listen to music ~~on the~~ radio, because he would say that there is no more battery left for his news)

(1b)

No.

(1c)

Yes in 1945. He was on the preparing committee (Előkészítő Bizottság) as a delegate of a Small-Holders party. They prepared the first free elections and were to decide which citizens have the right to vote. The way the Committee ~~handled~~ ^{handled} the ~~questionnaires~~ ^{questionnaires}, on the basis ~~of~~ ^{of} which the right to vote was decided upon, cut his appetite for good. If the writing was bad or of an uncultured person, he automatically had the right to vote. But if it

would be carefully noted. Of course, with special predilection those observations which were compromising; knowing this, everybody tried to keep his "accusing file" as thin as possible. Everybody tried to furnish as little data as possible which meant that one tried to retire modestly in the background. Nevertheless it is true that the kader accompanied one as a dark cloud.

(3a) The list should be divided into theoretical and practical grievances. This way it is very difficult to decide which type of grievances - economical or political - ~~weighed~~ ^{weighed} more. What hurt him most was the punishment for departing from the stereo type personality Communism aimed to develop. In connection with this - X and XI.

(3b) Are there any of that type? I ~~as~~ ^{did} as long as he ~~didn't~~ ^{did} not know to what degree they interfered directly in his family life it did not hurt him too much. He did not have too many sleepless nights for this reason. Of course he was aware that indirectly - economically - they did interfere with his private life.

II. Nobody can interfere with his religious life because it is of such a private nature.

V. He learned early in his life to eat whatever was available, and did not suffer because of inadequate food.

(3c) Here again a division should be ^{made} between the so called "original" ^{primary} intelligentsia and the "young" intelligentsia which could-relatively speaking-get ahead to the degree it was willing to compromise.

For the old generation of intellectuals number VI and XI were most painful and the constant threat of being kicked out of one's job. For the younger generation of intellectuals, the theoretical grievances were more painful than the economical ones, since they were quite well taken care of from their latter viewpoint.

XIII

XV

III - this was a general symptom of the Communist system but it was a great problem for the young generations of intellectuals who, not having any privacy, could not work as well as they would have under human circumstances.

(3d) XIV and VI and as third grievance I and II would be equally important. These two points had a greater impact on the rural population than on the municipal one. XII was generally painful to everybody.

(3e) Generally ^{about the worker} it is true to say ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{is} that he is not interested who ~~XXX~~ the ruling class ^{are} if he himself lives well. His particular grievances ^{in his case,} ~~are~~ XV, III and VI - ~~XXXX~~ ^a VI ~~XXXX~~ ^{one} was not of political nature, rather ~~of~~ pertaining to civil law. - The workers were constantly afraid when their different ^{stealings} ~~XXXX~~ would be discovered, ~~and~~ XIV under the form of compulsory loans.

(3f) In the evening when he was particularly tired he became particularly angry not to be able to voice his opinion.

(3g) One would talk this over usually with people with the same type of intelligence, not the same type of profession - of a person in Hungary, during the last decade the intelligence/was, by

no means, an indication ~~XXX~~ of the profession ~~the~~ of the particular individual ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~. The overtness changed proportionally, as time went on. People got more and more used to the political terror and found ~~the~~ ways leading to each other much quicker. Thus, the feeling of being of the same group was intensified with the passing of times.

- (3h) ~~XXX~~ in that political and economical system?! Certainly not!
- (3i) Millions of them. One could not say: "I don't like this" - a special style was developed in official circles; one could never talk openly, one had to approach everything from the political viewpoint. It was in vain that it was clear as daylight that $2 \times 2 = 4$, ~~if~~ ^{if} politically this was not deemed to be useful. In other words, one had to approach facts and people from behind and this particular approach produced many times apoplexies in cases ~~where~~ ^{when} people did not believe in these methods, and yet had to follow them.
- (3j) The level of the theaters and of the Budapest opera.
- (4) The Soviet Union and its intermediary party, thus directly the party indirectly the Soviet Union.
- (4a) This was public knowledge.
- (4b) The council of minister staged a play of which the party was the director.
- (4c) ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{Personally} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~, it was Rakosi. Who directed him specifically in Moscow respondent has no knowledge of.
- (4d) Applause and approval without any criticism.
- (4e) Because it is customary to baptize children.
- (4f) It was greater but of a different nature. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

- ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The political mistrust of the regime toward the population was the reason for this change in the nature of the bureaucracy.
- (4g) The question is not formulated well because nobody had to be bribed ~~XXXXXXXX~~ to become corrupt. Everybody was feverishly looking for the occasion to make money and he ~~XXXXX~~ ^{certainly did} not have to be looked up by the occasion.
- (4h) The leading functionaries were recruited from the kaders of the party and the average functionaries were gray sparrows.
- (4i) The majority came out from the youth of the agricultural proletariat. The political officers were usually Jewish they were the ones who held in every area the economical and political key positions.
- The advantages of being an officer in the Hungarian Army are just about the same in every army in the whole world as he knows relatively little work and relatively good living.
- (4j) Those who would ~~XXXXX~~ ^{obey} without any deliberation ~~XXXX~~ were generally either stupid ~~XXXXXXXX~~ people or gangsters.
- (5a) It did not have any advantage or disadvantage.
- (5b) As one could not pull oneself out of it under certain circumstances it was obligatory.
- (5c) One could not avoid joining it. Nobody could say "I am in the opposition" (only ^{passive resistance} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ could exist).
- (5d) Yes.
- (5e) While in the military service in 1951.
- (5f) None. In theory, he would have had duties ^{prescribed} ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ by the

regulations, but here is ~~where~~ ^{where} the passive resistance came in, - he just did not take upon himself any duties.

(5g) His job was to swallow his disgust.

(5h) As much as it was absolutely obligatory.

(6a b) It offered economical advantages and possibilities to get ahead.

But, due to the fact that the party was an elite organization one could get out of it without endangering one's individual freedom - sometimes it meant losing ~~of~~ a job, in cases of those who had gone up the technical ladder.

Thus "boom knights" (Konjunktura lovgok), opportunists had to, rather wanted to enter the party.

(6c e) See Organizational regulations of the Communist party.

(6d) This is a naive question. He knew many but did not keep count of them.

(6e) They did not change afterwards because, basically, they were that type of people.

They were decent people, though, among party members, namely those not too intelligent people who slowly realized that they had been running after utopias ~~which~~ which, in practice, lead to gangsterism. Being honest, they slowly left the ranks of the party but this was considered a greater sin than if they had never been members.

(6f) See subquestion 6e.

(6h) No.

(6p) He might have become a candidate until his kader file would have made their appearance.

- (6r) The Rakosi clique - racially Jewish; from above, Moscow.
- (6t) It changed like a Chameleon. The momentary interest and Moscow's momentary interest mainly was the reason for this change.
- (7) No.
- (8) Very few gullible idiots.
- (9) They never were columns of Communism - only the Party decided that they be columns - they only played a part ~~in~~ the Party had distributed. The real column of Communism is human baseness and this is the cause of the famous fear one experiences constantly; if one lives in a Communistic country - one never knows when this baseness is going to be directed against one. Hundreds and thousands of cases of innocent victims are around and one cannot help ask oneself: "When will my turn come up?"
- (10a) Everybody felt it constantly. The primary factor in each field was in variably the Communist politics. Everything revolved around it. One had to look at everything from this one viewpoint,..And those people who did not choose to pull the wagon of this shaby ideology had to be always aware of not being crushed by it.
- (10b) The AVH were political detectives and the executioners of the different ignominies.
- (10c) Does not know anything concrete, thanks God.
- (10d) In every greater enterprise there was a "built-in" AVO among the workers. Usually he would have an easy job, like ware-

house manager, for instance. At the same time he would ^{usually} be a party member. The baseness was written on their faces - one would hate them without any concrete reasons.

(10e) Does not know but ~~the~~ fact is that "each bag finds its patch" (Minden zsak megtalalja a maga foltját).

(10f) The professional AVOs were racially ~~mostly~~ ^{mostly} jews. As far as their religion was concerned they were atheists. The age group was between 25 and 40.

(10g) He cannot start to enumerate the advantages. The fact is ~~that~~ ^{the} that they did not have/problems the average Hungarian citizen had during the last decade (housing, food etc.).

(10h) The AVO was the persecutor but many of them became persecuted - this, of course, was never brought to the attention of the public ~~which~~ ^{which} did not mean that it ~~was not~~ ^{did not take place}.

(10i) The secret informers were usually not AVOs; ~~they~~ ^{and} usually they were politically threatened ~~and sometimes condemned people to~~ ^{and sometimes condemned people to} be let out of ~~the~~ ^{the} prison with the condition of becoming a secret informer. These people did not have any backbone.

(10j) The AVH despised the police.

(10k) The AVH was the political police of the party, its executive branch, thus the party was the one which directed the AVH ^{abuses} but, nevertheless, ~~some~~ ^{some} ~~abuses~~ of power did occur, see example of Peter Gabor.

(11) Of course. Actually there were very few people in Budapest who were not arrested and who would not have been arrested, at one time or another.

(11a) His cousin, who used to be a chauffeur at the American

was arrested and condemned to 27 years of prison on ~~the~~ the basis of false accusations. He was freed during the Revolution, after having been imprisoned for four years, and is now in America.

(11d) Those who were in leading positions and the class aliens.

(11g) no.

(13f) If a person has the self-control to keep his mouth shut, and not say anything in a given circumstance, then he can avoid trouble, unless he, by the nature of his job, is bound to get in trouble like ~~XXXXXX~~ in the case of his cousin Legation who used to be a chauffeur at the American ~~XXXXXX~~.

(13b) He is more likely to get into trouble then. The risks are greater just like a person who steps on ice is more likely to slip than the one who stays on solid ground.

(13c) According to respondent, no.

13d) Of course, one can only temporarily conceal an unfavorable one.

(13e) Only temporarily.

(13f) See 13.

(13g) No more -- at present the ^{bureaucratic} ~~XXXXXXXX~~ system was up to date in Hungary which means that the tremendous human material was worked up on an individual basis, and not on a nationalistic one.

(14) There were no fluctuations, there definitely was a thaw, leading up to the revolution, but this was done from above, and did not have a fluctuating nature.

(15f) The heavy ~~heavy~~ industry, ~~enterprises~~, research institutes, ministries and different branches of ^{the} Army.

Till 1954 there were mixed Soviet Hungarian enterprises.

(16d) One was freer to ~~criticize~~ ^{criticize} economical mistakes with the motto: ~~that~~ "This is meant to be a constructive criticism." ^{than political ones.}

Always emphasizing the constructive side and the good intention one could ~~criticize~~ ^{criticize} not the ~~principle~~ ^{principle}, but ~~the~~ ^{its} execution of ~~the~~ ^{its} ~~principle~~. Of course, all this had to be done with extreme caution.

(16e) During the last year it became more and more fashionable to criticize.

(17) People could only exist if they knew how to circumvent in everyday life the regulations not ^{by} ignoring them, ^{on the contrary,} ~~but~~ ^{by thoroughly} knowing them and thus finding the ~~these~~ loop-holes.

(17a) Yes, he managed not to concretely oppose his interest to the legal regulations.

(17c) Most efficient way of avoiding this would be to smell the oncoming change and act accordingly, in advance.

(17d) The ~~enterprise~~ enterprise usually approves the move, if the worker proves that he wants to move from one town to ~~another~~ another.

(17e) No how unless he becomes a ~~political~~ political informer. In that case he ~~would~~ ^{would} have to ~~move~~ move in circles which would have confidence in him, ~~thus~~ ^{thus} the members of which will talk openly in front of him.

- (18) It was built on human baseness and apparently this is a strong pillar. The weak point was the ^{general} corruption the cause of which can be detected in the fact that nobody identified himself with the regime.
- (18b) ~~MMZ~~ People were not guided by ideals but by ~~monetary~~ monetary interests and the regime did not have, at its basis, a natural establishment but a dictatorial ~~was~~ one.
- (19a) The opposition was expressed through passive resistance and corruption.
- (19b) Obviously the older generations of the Christian (racially Christian) intelligentsia. Besides these, everybody else not described under point c.
- (19c) Those to whom the system gave an existence they could not have gotten under their own steam.
- (19d) The resistance increased.
- (19e) It did increase.
- (19f) It was a personal matter.
- (19g) From ^aCommunist viewpoint, this could not have been labelled as opposition. In the ~~Party~~ ^{Party} there were fractions, ~~but they~~ but they ^{only} ~~represented~~ ^a bickering for power.
- (19h) In lesser degree coming from the officers and mostly ~~from~~ from the soldiers. They were the ones who resisted passively.
- (19i) Does not know.
- (19j) Knows about it as much as it was published.
- (19k) Everybody sabotaged within his area.

- (1) The changes should be basic and complete.
- (1a) The socialistic improvements (SZTK), raised to the level they are at in Western countries.
- (1b) The cessation of the great differences between social classes.
- (2) There is no need for political parties. But, in Hungary, until the crystallization of a new government, political parties would be absolutely necessary - until an economical unity is reached, through which the ~~the~~ political aspirations of the majority of the country should be expressed.
- (2a b) yes, exception of the Communist party.
The Arrow-cross party would be so unviable in Hungary that it would be absolutely unnecessary to hamstring it. It is true, that, for the present generations, the Communist party is just as unviable but, nevertheless, it has to be completely smothered because there is no assurance that the new generations might not be taken in. In addition to this, the Communist party would be always financed by the Soviet Union.
- (3) Everybody should be free to say anything (the Communists can also talk but they should not be allowed to organized themselves)
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Yes..
- (4b) In case the government represents a dictatorial system -

then
but ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ only in a dictatorship an armed uprising
would be necessary.

- (5) Only those changes would be necessary ~~XXX~~ which would be brought about by a natural development.
- (6) If heavy industry were in private hands, the danger would certainly be present that a too ~~powerful~~ powerful capitalist might try to influence the state in the wrong direction. (At this point, respondent said that if his father were to hear the above, he would again say that ~~he~~ ^{his son} is poisoned by socialistic ideas).
- (6a c) Private profit is not only very good but it is absolutely necessary for the smooth running of an economy.
- (6d) State banks should exist parallelly with private banks.
- (6e) Yes.
- (6f) He has in mind certain commercial and some industrial monopolies. He would exclude ^{the} railroad system, though.
- (6g) The Kőzért was not a 100 per cent monopoly because for instance the selling of fruit was also in private hands.
- (7) He disapproves of it and, as far as he knows, this question is purely theoretical because it has never been put in practice anywhere.
- (8) It is bad.
- (8a) It is bad.

(8b) It could not have ~~been~~ worked out worse.

(8c) Very serious knowledge is needed to answer ~~this~~ ^{this} question and he is not willing to answer it superficially.

(8d) Economics is concerned with this problem ~~(these)~~ ^{with} factors like demand and supply, production, standard of living, geldstrom), why is he asked this question?

(9) The state should not interfere in the greatest areas of human life. The socialistic system narrowed ~~private~~ private life. This will have to be taken care of rather sooner than ~~later~~ later and it can be taken care of without producing anarchy.

(10) Of course, can a state exist were duties toward it would not be respected!?

(10a) He thinks that the American and English system of progressive ~~taxation~~ taxation is fair.

(10b) He finds it necessary, although the ideal aspiration should be to abolish it. Actually he believes in it more from a pedagogical viewpoint than from a a strategic ~~viewpoint~~ one because he strictly believes in selfdiscipline and this is given by military service, there is no doubt about it.

(10c d) To the extent they are fair and just their obeying must be carried through with the utmost severity.

(10e) In the same ~~proportion~~ ^{perhaps} proportion as ~~is~~ vice versa, ~~even more~~ ^{perhaps} because the state has to bear more responsibility than the individual.

- (11) It definitely has improved but not as much in essence as it may appear on the surface.
- (11a b) Within the frames of SZTK, every social stratum can afford medical care.
- (11c) Those individuals ^{can} take advantage of private physicians who can afford ~~it~~ ^{them} financially. Private medical care compared with public health service is similar to an art object compared to an object manufactured in factories.
- (11d e) It comprises wide circles ~~it~~ is frightfully bureaucratic and always soulless. Example: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Since he left Hungary he had to undergo intensive dental care - 17 ^{of his} teeth needed attention.
- (12) No, he does not have more opportunity but more people have the same opportunity ~~it~~ before only privileged classes had.
- (12a) Unfortunately not, due to his irregular working hours.
- (12b) Yes.
- (12c) The peasants don't have too much occasion to go to operas but they have movietheaters in every little village; of course, it is another question what movies the peasant has to look at.
- (12d) People don't have time.
- (12e) Not always.
- (13) He has heard that people ate better before the war.
- (13a) Better.
- (13b) Better.
- (13c) Yes. In order for somebody to eat according to his ^{gastronomie} desires,

He has to have a very ^{good} income, much above the average.

- (14) Generally yes.
- (14a) Yes.
- (14b) Yes.
- (14c) The differences are not as great as they used to be, but the quality of the clothing has visibly deteriorated.
- (15) Of course.
- (15a) They wanted to transform an agricultural state into an industrial one.
- (15b) Heavy industry.
- (15c) ~~It~~ It is unfavorable.
- (16) None. Whether the factory would be in private ownership or whether it would be nationalized. Of course, this doesn't mean that the directorship should not take into consideration the advises of skilled workers and technicians.
- (16a) The moral and economical defense of the workers.
- (16b) Completely independent.
- (16c) It should not be compulsory.
- (16d) The private owner or the state (in case of heavy industry), the state represented by a delegated director.
- (16e) To the director, whether he is private or whether ~~it~~ ^{he delegated by} is the state, and of course the management should be also responsible to the workers in as much as humanitarian conditions should prevail.

- (17) Deplorable.
- (17a) Bad.
- (17b) They represented a terrific expense, if managed within the frame of planned economy. It is nevertheless true that a limited number of model farms is necessary but they should be managed within the frames^{of} autonomous economy.
- (17c d) Let the members decide.
- (17e) As long as the lands of collective farms were supposedly added up from individual lands, let the original owners decide what should happen with their property.
- (17f) A limitation is necessary and the higher limit should be ^{hectares} 2,000 ~~XXXXXX~~ (this quantity can be managed by the landowner himself).
- (17h i) See above.
- (j) Let the members decide.
- (17k) This question should be dependent upon a free decision.
- (17l) Definitely, by means of providing advantageous loans and by supplying good quality seeds (these measurements would serve the interest of the state and of the individual landowner).
- (17m) They should be kept until the individual landowners would attain/^{such} a financial level where they could provide themselves with machines.
- (17n) No.
- (17o) They should be put on a free market.
- (17p) Would not dissolve them.
- (17q) Yes - does anybody in the 20th century answer "no" to this question?

- (18a) Completely independent.
- (18b) No.
- (18c) Yes.
- (18d) Yes, because the experience does show that the church schools kept up a high scholastic level and gave a good education and a good moral basis.
- (18e) Yes. See d.
- (18f) He would send them 4 classes to state schools and 4 classes to church schools.
- (18g) The schools should be restored (see d) and the land should be handled according to the above statements (of course it would be illusorical to apply rigid rules, these would very much depend upon circumstances).
- (19a) Unless they had concrete aims, nothing should happen to them.
- (19b) They should be taken care of by using their own methods.
- (19c) They should not be left in responsible positions (let them become physical workers).
- (19e) You are not asking this seriously, are you?!
- (19f g) They should be treated according to their "merits."
- (19h) These are by now historical facts.
- (20) It is acknowledged, even by Western historians, that ^{the} Hungarians were the defenders of christianity.
- (21) Yes.
- (21a) He is more temperamental than the German, individually more gifted, but not so perséverant.

(21b) It differs from the Russian in mentality.

(21c) He does not know the Americans yet.

(In connection with these problems, we had a long discussion about how he would ~~bring up~~ ^{raise} his child in America. Respondent insisted that he would want him to stay a good Hungarian, meaning that he should not lose any of his special national characteristics. This would be very easy to carry through, he asserted, because the Americans are not a nation, only a people, thus they do not have a national character and are uniquely the sumtotal of different nationalities. Once again, respondent gave me occasion to be amazed at his lack of knowledge in judging other nations and at the huge mass of his prejudices. To put it almost as simply as he put it; America is nothing more than a place where he could make big money. In a land of no culture and tradition, he definitely would be a great asset with his 1800 years old history and (prejudices). He might condescend to make a good living in America, but America, in return, ~~definitely~~ ^{certainly} should not expect him to raise an American out ^{of} his unfortunate child. I said "unfortunate" because respondent does not have the foresight to ~~see~~ ^{realize} what a serious break he could produce in a young soul, if he'd apply his pedagogical methods. What he is mortally afraid of, he added, is the fact that America might make a stereo-type person out of his son. He does not ~~think~~ ^{see} ~~with~~ ^{with "stereotype"} that ~~the~~ ^a ~~stereo-type~~ ^{stereo-type} person ~~will~~ ^{with} democratic ideas is still far better than a so-called individualist whose soul is burdened ^{with} chauvenistic hatred. What was so sad in

this whole discussion was the fact that he is so proud of his shortcomings and ~~what he is proud of~~ ^{what} he wants to transplant. ~~are exactly his shortcomings~~ ^{are exactly his shortcomings}. In answer to question 20, he never mentioned the cultural contributions of Hungary to world history - those are not the types of values which really matter to him).

(21a) Yes - but the differences are not so sharp that they could be easily defined - profession and cultural level have been mixed independantly from each other.

(21f) Yes, in a greater degree.

(22c) Gombas' government was the best "independantly of his person", in its ~~time~~ time.

Individually, respondent admired Pál Teleki but his government was not different from the usual ones.

Talking about the old regime, it could not have been different than it had been, because before the 1st World War everywhere ~~the~~ feudal systems were in force more or less.

In Hungary this feudal system was a direct consequence ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ agricultural nature of the state. Economically, it was undoubtedly ~~the~~ ^{"choked"}, that's why a healthy economical and social development was not possible. This is not the fault of the various governments. The 2nd World War somehow lifted Hungary from its isolation and that's how special developments in socialistic directions could take place. The tragedy of Hungary was that these developments could not take ^a normal course, they were forced and

thus deviated from the original goal.

- (22d) Thus feudalism was unavoidable at the time, because of the economical backwardness of the country.
- (22a) There were many good and bad sides to the story of the monarchy. The bad were not as exaggerated as one makes believe at the moment.
- (22e) According to his information, it was a dark period - .
- (22f) They were unhealthy significant - he himself does not believe in the strong isolation of certain social classes.
- (22g) His opinion is much better than the opinions I will get as answers to this question.
- (22h) According to his opinion Hungary was not in the position to determine its politics.
- (22i) Compared to the last years of war, the period of 1945-48 was presented a picture of economical vitality.
- (23a) This question within the frame of popular democracies has no significance whatsoever. But political borderlines certainly do have significance, from an economical and national viewpoint.
- (23b) Definitely, Hungary is legally, politically, economically, and racially entitled to Erdély, Felvidék, Délvidék.
- (23c) It has been taught in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, that they are the ones who are entitled to the Felvidék. Délvidék and Erdély.
- (23d) Definitely ("no matter what you think of me for giving this answer")

- (23e) They get along fine but they don't get along with the Czechs.
- (23f) No matter how attractive ~~European women~~ Hungarian women are, ~~they~~ do hate Rumanians and vice versa.
- (23g) For the time being, they get along fine.
- (23h) The Yugoslavs hate the Hungarians and they have proven it many times.
- (24a) ~~Great~~ Hungary is his private answer. The answer the Americans would like to hear is Central European United States.
- (24b) Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary - one should emphasize the common interest and stop the differences (which will be eternally there). The ~~countries~~ ^{politics} should not be chauvinistic. (Am I not a good boy?), but respect the individual national characteristics.
- (24c) Its natural weight should decide it - cultural and economical - the differences have to be brought to a common denominator. This union, which eventually might form a strong block, would take over the part Hungary has played in the past and which surpassed her strength. Russia belongs to Asia.
- (25) It is a good human material and basically well intentioned.
- (25a) The Russian is only one people of the many peoples which form the Soviet Union.
- (25b) Yes. Some of the peoples of the Soviet Union are bad and some are good.
- (25c) The People is not Communistic in Russia.

(25d) Yes, see section on work.

(25e) Mixed.

(25f) Rather unpleasant experiences.

(25d h) The feeling did not change much.

(26a) It is a theoretical experiment toward the bettering of human condition.

(26b) Nothing makes sense.

(26c)(d) Lenin was a good Leninist.

(26d)(e) Stalin was a good dictator.

(26e)(j) The skillful gangster!

(26f)(c) None.

(26g)(f) No.

(26h)(g) Marxism is an utopistic theory and has no reasons of existence, if carried into practice, democracy is concrete, thus the two concepts cannot be tied together.

(I looked at him and he commented: This was a Rumanian look - but I want you to know that I consider myself a democrat)

(26i)(h) As a proof to the above he said: "I can give you a definition. Democracy means to respect people individually and ethnically."

(26j)(i) There was no democracy in Hungary ever.

(27) It is the same thing as International Communism in red, without antisemitic ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ politics.

(27a) Yes.

(27b) They wanted to create the idealistic Socialism in contrast with the present freak.

- (27c) Looks pretty skillful, as of today.
- (27e) They are in contrast, naturally.
- (28)
- (28a) Free system.
- (28b) Not long, but his departure would have been honorable.
- (29a) Bad.
- (29b) Bad.
- (29c) Bad.
- (29d) Bad.
- (29e) Bad. It is ^{an} antiquated conception
- (29g) It is a reliable stratum.
- (29i) Doesn't exist. ~~It~~ is an invention of the regime.
- (29h) ~~XXXX~~ Nil.
- (29j) He might have wanted ~~XXXXXX~~ something good.
- (29k) Gangster.
- (29l) Doesn't know him.
- (29m) Doesn't like her.
- (29n) He might be too conservative, but respondent admires him greatly.
- (30) It would depend upon how many parties would be created.
- (30a) At the moment, he does not know any such leader.
- (31) A. less, b. less, c. less, d. less, e. compared to the other groups, according to their merits, but looked at their situation realistically, they received less, f. with the

exception of leading functionaries, less, g. more, h. less, i. less.

(32e) More.

(32f) did not exist.

(32g) more.

(32h) more.

(32i) Doesn't know.

(32j) Less.

(32k) More.

(32l) More.

(33a) Their interests complement ^{each} ~~the~~ other.

(33b) Coincide.

(33c) Conflict.

(33d) Conflict.

(33e) Coincide.

(33f) Coincide.

(33g) Depending how aristocracy is being judged. If it is looked upon as an absolutely worthless category with no right to exist, then the answer is obvious. But if one looks at the aristocracy like one looks at any other social class, meaning that one sees that it is composed of good and bad elements then the interest of aristocracy and intelligentsia coincided.

(33h) Conflict.

(33i) Coincide.

(33j) It is mixed. One would have to judge the cases individually.

(34) He does not share "some people's feelings" as far as the United States is concerned.

(35) If it were a war, the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{soldiers} would unanimously fight against the regime. But are we talking now about an internal or external war, or are we talking about a revolution?

(36) No.

(As a conclusion to this chapter and as a foreword to the next one, meaning Section C, I must add that the interview took place at an altitude of 2300 meters, on top of a mountain in Innsbruck. I did hope that the perspectives of the interviewee would change, that ⁱⁿ ~~or~~ looking at the beautiful scenery his inner turmoil would be pacified, but, to my great surprise, it did not affect him this way. He kept complaining about his wife, he kept bringing in the Jews in the conversation at the most unwarranted places. In other words, the altitude did not elevate him. But I must admit it did make me less belligerent. I took things more ^{placidly} ~~passively~~ and, although I occasionally delighted in the thought of seeing him ^{trundle} ~~trundle~~ down the mountains, I did nothing to help the World get rid of this creature.)"

- (1) Radio, newspapers, word of mouth.
- (1a) Radio.
- (2a) Judas Matys, Irodalmi Ujsag, Esti Budapest.
- (2g) Of course, the press of the other popular democracies.
- (2h) Not before the Revolution.
- (3) once or twice monthly.
- (3a)b) Musicals and films with classical themes.
- (3c) Yes, mainly Italian and English ones.
- (3d) Unfortunately very rarely.
- (3f) About 2 - 3 times a month, and he preferred classic comedies, operettas and operas.
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) About 25 per year.
- (4b) Literary works, mainly writers on "index."
- (4c) Mostly poets. ^{Aprily, Ady, Vörösmarty.} He liked their styles.
- (5) Yes.
- (5b) A very bad one.
- (5d) Mainly music. Classical and Jazz.
- (6) Yes, whenever ~~XXXXXXXX~~ he could get access to.
- (6a) BBC, Berlin, Voice of America, KFE.
- (6b) The English Radio was the most reliable.

- (7) Yes, from those who would regularly listen to the Western broadcasts.
- (8) He did not read newspapers from this viewpoint.
- (8d) He could tell by listening to his own logic.
- (8e) Generally the English Radio and then Voice of America.
- (8f) Yes.
- (8g) No.
- (8h) Yes.
- (9) They were pretty well informed without trying hard.
- (10a) He did not approve it.
- (10b) North Korea.
- (10c) Was not interested.
- (10d) Approved it wholeheartedly.
- (10e) Thought it was Communistic propaganda.
- (10f) The suppression of it depressed him enormously.
- (10g) It was not different from any other conference, which evaded the issue.
- (10h) He does not find it significant.

(1b c d) He said he wants me to take his answer verbatim (as if I hadn't done so before, without his specific orders). If America wants stereo-type answers and stereo-type people do want stereo-type answers, they should not send you out as a interviewer. You solicit sincerity, thus the material you collect is useless, from an American viewpoint, because Americans never know what to do with real data. They have an idea about the world and expect the world to conform to it. If you hadn't been you, meaning if I had met an ^{average,} ~~XXXXX~~ a real ^{expected} ~~XXXXX~~ nary American, I would have myself given them the ~~stereo-~~ type answers. So please tell higher circles to fire you in their own interest. About subquestion a) respondent said that he might answer it later. I should give him my address, which I would have given anyhow, meaning the Columbia address. To question 2 his answer was that he would fly back to Hungary if it would be devoid of Communism.

The days after my coming home from Innsbruck, I did get the promised answer. In the first part of the letter he ^{gave} ~~XXXXX~~ me the address of Dr. Erno Gomboe and then continued:
"I hope that your trip was pleasant and that you have gotten over those tiring Innsbruck days. Although I know for sure that among your subjects, I was the most burdensome and difficult, ^{starting} ~~XXXXXX~~ from the premise that to me the meeting with you meant a real joy -- I have had so few of them during the last years -- I am asking you to keep me in your memory and although our short acquaintance does not motivate this, number me among your sincere good friends".

In connection with this respondent, I would like to add that one evening I attended a meeting he took me to - it was the meeting of the Catholic Hungarian Students' Union; but as other two interviewers of our team were present, and as one of them happens to be a founding member of this organization, I am sure that they will report about it in more detail. All I have to say, on an impressionistic basis is, that ~~maybe~~ on rare occasions have I been so happy ~~with~~^{to be} ~~as~~ an American. This meeting brought back the dense atmosphere of Transylvanian student meetings, when Hungarians would call each other names for not hating Rumanians as they should, as good Hungarians, ^{and vice, verse}

The question of revisionism was brought up in connection with a lecture given to the students by their history professor in which he gave an account of how Western historians look at Hungariaism. ~~XXXX~~ the general consensus was that revisionism should be aimed at, but done more shrewdly this time, meaning that ~~XNX~~, although the ultimate goal should be Revisionism, this word, which has a bad taste in a Western mouth, should never be pronounced. Hungarians should distinguish themselves culturally and then Revisionism will fall in their lap, so to speak. I quoted ~~now~~ the opinion of the civilized segment of the group but, I am sorry to say, ~~XXXX~~ there were others, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ who, with fiery eyes, wild expressions claimed that anybody who does not believe in a great Hungary is a traitor. This attitude was brought out by an older refugee, a former Horthy officer, who, with a real ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ oratorical ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ gift, instigated hatred. Coming back to my own feelings ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the strong ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ over-currence and under-
of the heated discussion

NO. 407

"A" INTERVIEW

SECTION X

JLB

p. 79

to date for having lifted me out of my past environment.