

- (1) What the foreign lands do not know is what the Revolution was caused by. The fact is that the government let loose of its reins, let the writers and Hungarians express their opinions. At the enterprises, in particular at the enterprise where I worked, a normal situation seemed to be coming in. This was because Rakosi had left the country. No one thought of an armed revolution. The armed Revolution started when the youths were shot at at the Radio Station and the police did not interfere. The youths there demanded that not only the children of the workers be allowed to go to school and to university but all who have the ability. Before the Revolution there was no demand that the Russians leave. The Revolution started when the youths paraded to the Radio Station and demanded that they be allowed to speak into the radio and at the Radio Station the AVH already was guarding the building inside and out. In the crowd there were not only youths but also older folks. First warning shots were fired over the crowd and the crowd did not disperse. Then shots were fired into the crowd. The youths were embittered. I was there, in the distance watching. The crowd now angered by this took arms from the AVH and from the soldiers who were standing around and began to say: "Let us use them against these killers". During the Summer of 1956 things seemed

to be subsiding as far as the government was concerned. The Revolution was not a prepared thing. The Revolution was not successful because the youth did not know how to continue the Revolution and to secure arms. At night on various store fronts written in pencil were placards calling for the former soldiers and older officers to come and assist the Revolutionaries. The older and former officers did not want to interfere because the Radio Free Europe had said the old officers are Fascists. This was being broadcast right during the first days of the Revolution. It is a fact that one could not see, except in very rare cases, a former officer or soldier in the ranks of the revolutionaries. Therefore we who were former officers, because we were called Fascists did not want to interfere and to spoil the Revolution. When the Russians left at the end of October the young revolutionaries, the youths, thought that the Russians were really leaving. But the old or former officers of Hungarian army knew the Russians were merely regrouping and needed more time. At this turn of events when the Russians left the Hungarians began to form their political parties. The Russians were outside of Budapest waiting for gasoline and other supplies. During this time in Budapest cars were running up and down the streets scattering leaflets asking people to join this party and that party.

(2) The Revolution did not start with the gun shooting. I feel it began about August when the writers and the papers were allowed to write more freely about Hungarian problems. This surprised the Hungarian public but the Hungarian people did not agree with the Petöfi circle and the writers because they said that these writers had served the Communist regime. These writers were suspected but the Hungarian people were pleased that the writers and newspapers said what they did. In Hungary those persons who even for one month had served the regime those people were not trusted by the Hungarians. The peasants, the middle class, no one believed in Kiraly, Nagy and Maléter but they said these people should be allowed to do things now, they are our only hope to help ourselves and they are a connection with the East.

In Hungary the people trusted and were given strength because of Radio Free Europe. In 1950 Radio Free Europe said that America and the West would help that nation which used its own strength or of its own accord fought for its own freedom. The general opinion in Hungary today is of hating England, that is Great Britain for the fact that Eden put the Suez question before the Hungarian question.

In Hungary during August everyone felt something was going to start. People held on to a hope. Party life

stopped at the various enterprises, many people did not even say "comrade" to one another. This then developed into the demonstration and parade of the students which went around the country.

- (b) In 1947 the Hungarian people did not know what Communism would be but by 1950 everyone knew what it meant because it has affected everyone. Up to 1949 independent ownership was allowed in certain cases but not after that. In 1947 the general election occurred and the peasants and middle class both believed that the election would be a free election. But quite the contrary, in those communities where the Communists were weak the Communists took 100 voters, pro-Communist, from one village to another to make a majority for the Communist Party in the weak city or weak town. It was then that the Hungarian peasant saw that he could not expect anything from the Communists. The idea of revolution began from that point on the mind of the peasant. When the requirements were made upon the peasant in crops to be served to the state this only added to the revolutionary feeling and tone which was developing. The revolutionary feeling in the middle class was squelched when the middle class in large number was taken to internment camps. Religious leaders, government officials, office holders of various kinds, ~~many~~ clerks, the middle class in general was removed to internment camps. In 1952 the workers saw the

deception of the Communists when the norm system was increased. The minimum of 210 hours a month with a minimum pay to live by. The 240 to 250 hours a month was not rare. By 1952 the workers saw that the Communists were using them also as they had used all the other groups of people previously. The worker who may have been a Stachanovist could not protect his son who had said something against the government. The old or former writers could write only if they praised Communism. In prewar times I myself wrote war novels as a soldier. On the basis of this the Communists or their police appeared every six months at my home searching for manuscripts.

- (bi) The Hungarian people felt that the great power of Rakosi would go when Stalin died. The Hungarian people also had a hope that Russia will fall apart at this time.
- (bii) The people felt that something like a Yugoslavia would be formed although the people did not believe in Imre Nagy. They did not like him.
- (biii) The Hungarian people were angered at this event, that Tito who was a Western oriented man now thought of making an agreement with the Soviet. Up to this time the Hungarians thought may be he would help Hungary. During the Revolution they were very disappointed in Tito, that no help came from him.
- (biv) In general the people did not believe in the changes

brought by the 20th Congress. For them it meant only a transition not a subsidence. The peasants did not believe in these changes nor did the former middle class or the intelligentsia. It is interesting that when the Soviet does something of this sort, brings about certain apparent changes it is a gesture for the West or is covering up something else.

- (bv) This gave Hungary a little enthusiasm and felt that if a strong voice of the press had been present perhaps a change might have occurred. The Hungarians were very happy for it. They felt, however, that alone Hungary could not do anything but if something else breaks somewhere else like Poznan then Hungary might be able to do something and the situation would be eased somewhat. But the Hungarians felt that Poznan would not be successful.
- (bvi) Everyone was happy about these, pictures of Rakosi came off the walls, even Party members began to curse him.
- (bvii) Everyone said Rajk deserved his fate but this also shows that everyone or anyone who has a diverse opinion in a Communist system is not allowed to hold the same.
- (bviii) The Hungarians did not look at Gomulka as a real change in Poland. They felt that the Soviet is playing with Gomulka and trying to show a good face to the West. The peasant didn't care or was not interested in Gomulka.
- (c) Stalin's death looked like the turning point but the

people didn't believe it is a change. However, something started to change, we said.

- (e) It was a great role. It was surprising that they were not arrested after they spoke. Then the rest of the people began to speak also. They began to speak their opinion in the factory, at home, in the office.
- (f) Yes, the Irodalmi Ujsag which openly expressed its views. However, the rest of the papers dared to publish only an article now and then. Even the Szabad Nép had an article bearing a new tone but the people did not believe Szabad Nép.
- (g) The Irodalmi Ujsag articles only in the last weeks before the Revolution. As stated in question (1) above the various strata of society first the peasants, the middle class, and then the workers in 1950 being the last group to see the deception being played by the Communists. Each class was used and exploited by the Communists (see question (1)).
- (3)
- (a) Earlier a Revolution was not possible, armed terror prevented such. Then in 1956 when the press began to express itself more freely and nothing developed against them an independent Hungary as an idea also developed. Perhaps something of a Yugoslavian type of government or perhaps better could be formed. No one thought of an

armed revolution. Various voices said the Soviet forces would have to leave. The fact that the Revolution broke out on October 23rd was that it was spontaneously caused by the events of the youths. They wanted to speak to the world and announce their demands as in 1848 the Hungarian revolution spoke to the world. But when shots were fired into the group this was the given moment for the Revolution.

- (b) The Communist structure held the system together before the Revolution by paying its high placed police and security officials enormous sums. These political officers were a new generation of inexperienced young men who were paid for their services and who would do everything for this pay which was enormous. In the military there was a control upon Hungarian arms. Thus the Soviet did not allow the Hungarian army to have certain arms nor would arms be concentrated in one place. With regard to bombs the firing pins for the bomb would be located at another station than where the bomb happened to be. The same thing with regard to artillery only outmoded artillery and small artillery was allowed. The Hungarian army did not have enough arms to stage a revolution and the Soviets were not afraid of them. During the last 5 or 6 weeks before the Revolution the Hungarian government itself was in an upheaval. Especially the last 5 to 6 days before the Revolution the various mini-

stries awaited some turn in events to see what would happen. In a sense the government was without a head. It had let loose of the reins too much. When Rakosi was let go the people expressed their displeasure against Gerö and his company also. Thus within the government there was a break, that is that the police said they would not take orders from the Gerö government. No one dared to order an arrest when people assembled and nor were arrests ordered for the writers. And thus the people dared and demanded more. During this time of indecision the Russians did not have anyone to give directions to and have the same instructions carried out by subordinates.

- (c) According to me the demonstrators wanted to extinguish all of Communism in Hungary. They wanted various points to be recognized and accepted and to have such a government coming to power as would carry out those points.
- (f) One can say that no one except the highly placed Communist officials and the Communists, the real Communists themselves, opposed the Revolution for when on the second morning of the Revolution it was heard that the Communists had shot into the peaceful crowd of demonstrators every one said that it is right to have a revolution and the people felt that now the Soviet will be pushed out of Hungary. Even old women made Molotov Cocktails to be thrown at the Russian tanks.

- (g) The former military officers, the older intelligentsia. These two groups because the Radio Free Europe said that these groups are Fascists but when these groups were called upon they went and fought with the others. When the Nemzetörség was formed the old soldiers reported and took their place in the middle of the Revolution. At the end of the Revolution the young people were calling the older soldiers to help them. This was done through placards pasted on walls.
- (h) ~~The~~ Russians go home - Freedom for Hungary - Death to the Communists - Free elections - Extinguish the AVH - We want a free Hungary - Justice for Hungary. In one place I saw the following describing the United Europe idea: Long live the United States of Europe. Free Hungarian press -, also the idea was expressed in a slogan I saw: Return the Hungarian lost territories.
- (i) Absolutely yes.
- (j) Simply one: do away with the Communists and Communism and two: bring about the plural-party system, freedom of speech, of assembly the press, and free elections.
- (k) I have to say that the Communist who changed their position did so because at first they believed in a change but the greater percentage turned as opportunists to save their life. The people did not believe them and they don't believe them today, for example, they do not believe the Irodalmi Ujsag in London. The Hungarian people

recognize only a few of the writers connected with this paper as being honest men.

- (1) A great restraining brake was applied to the so-called reactionaries by Radio Free Europe. But later one or two men or larger numbers melted into the revolutionary groups.

- (4) On October 23rd during the evening around 8 o'clock I went with my children from the Apponyi tér to the Múzeumi Korút. The two children liked this kind of demonstration ~~and~~ that we were seeing. At a distance we also witnessed the demonstration in front of the Radio Station. When it became late we went home. The next day the fighting was on and all the children in our particular apartment escaped from the house and wanted to fight. I went out with other fathers looking for the children. I went to the Vármegye út near the Astoria Hotel. About 12 year old boys and girls there asked me to show them how to operate guns. The older men also showed them how to use grenades, also how to attack a tank. At home I made up little typewritten instructions which were handed out to these groups giving various warnings about attacks, that is never to attack from the same place in succession and so forth. We could not leave the house very easily during this period of fighting. My activity up until

October 23th was much the same of giving instructions to younger people. By the 28th we also started to bury our dead. Then on October 29th the commander of the Hungarian Air Force called me by telephone along with some of my friends who also had been officers in the pre-1945 Air Force to come into his office. It was then that we really stepped into the events of the Revolution. I must preface my remarks by saying that during this free week the Hungarian Air Force dropped leaflets stating that if the Russians did not leave the Hungarian Air Force would bomb. In response to this the old officers through various friends were called into the Air Force Command. This was the first time that the old officers were called upon to give any assistance in the Hungarian Revolution. At the command office the Air Force Commander and his assistant both were trained under the former pre-1945 Air Force. They said they did not know what to do. They would like to bomb the Russians but they do not dare. They said that the Air Force boys who were the sons of workers and children of peasants want to go against the Soviets. It had been discovered that the Russians do not have any fuel gasoline for their tanks, nor was there enough infantry in Hungary. It was stated that if at this time the Hungarian Air Force would bomb the supply roads bringing material to the Russian forces, the Russian forces in Hungary would be cut off from their

supplies.

I have documents and the notes that I took at the meeting in the command office bearing out all of these military considerations. The idea was to bomb immediately. It was stated that there were 400 fighters and bombers available for bombing. The rest of the Hungarian ships were not in shape for flight. The task of the bombing mission would be to bomb the Zahony Bridge, the Tököly Airport, the Szentkirály Airport where a Soviet officer was in command. Also at the Komárom Bridge drop parachutists who would not let the Russians cross from Czechoslovakia. Also to drop parachutists into Budapest thus bringing arms to Budapest. Moreover to bomb the Trans-Tisza roads bringing supplies to the Russians. Then only finally to bomb the armed Russian ~~kamks~~ ~~arm~~ camps and tanks around Budapest. Then on discussion came the plan that I would take the following people by an airplane to Munich: General Kiraly, Colonel Nemeth and Colonel Nador. Then another plane would have come along also. It would be piloted by Captain Franhofer who when we would arrive in Munich would have asked permission to fly to Spain and ask for arms from the Spanish government for Hungary to be delivered immediately by plane. We wanted to go to Munich because there we would report to the American Command and also be able to report to Nato and ask if there was any cause

or reason for continuing the Revolution. Whether we would get any help, whether we would get any arms. If it was decided in Munich that we would not get any help then all our Air Force planes in Hungary would fly to Munich, but first they would drop whatever bombs they could in Hungary. The reason for going to Spain was that we knew the Western powers could not give direct armed assistance to the Hungarian Revolution. The United States could not interfere openly and directly. We felt that Spain could do this because it was not involved in the Nato agreement with the West. If no arms would be forthcoming from France then it would be decided that the 400 planes remaining in Hungary would bomb until the bombs lasted, then all the planes would leave for Munich. This happened on October 29th in discussion at the headquarters of the Hungarian Air Force. The meeting was conducted from morning to afternoon in the old Szent Imre Herceg út building which during the last war was the air defense headquarters. When everything was organized Colonel Nádor went to Maletér and Imre Nagy to report ^{to} them about what plans had been laid in our meeting. He was to ask whether or not they agreed and whether or not they allow such a bombing by the Air Force and whether they would permit us to leave Hungary on the mission outlined. While Colonel Nádor was gone the group decided that the bombing should start on October 31, according to the

plan laid down bombing the supply roads at dawn 4 o'clock and during the rest of the day. The only trouble that we would encounter was that the Russians had so ~~be~~ used the supply bombs that the bomb heads in many cases were at other airports than where the main part of the bomb was located. Moreover there would be enough bombs for one day, ammunition for machine guns perhaps for a week to be used by the Air Force and if lucky there would be enough fuel also for a week. When Colonel Nádor returned at 5.30 or so in the afternoon of the 29th he said that General Kiraaly asked that the old Air Force officers wait until he gave the order for the plan of attack that was outlined. He would not allow us to bomb because he and Maister had contacted the Soviet Forces and discussions were going on with regard to a laying down of arms. He would not allow us to drop bombs because complete agreement with the Soviets was now foreseeable as he said. But if we dropped the bombs then that event would be taken as a Fascist provocation outside of Hungary. He went on to say we can still hope for an agreement with the Soviet, we can expect to get our freedom from the Eastern Soviet because we are next to the Soviet and not next to the West. He also said: "Let us be ready if it is necessary to drop bombs". Then he would give the order to do so. Upon this statement we all left the Air Force headquarters and thereafter every day Colonel

Zsolt called each one of us and informed us in concerning the advance of the Russian tank regiments into Hungary. He also told us that in order to confuse the Hungarian military they went South^{toward} Szeged and not toward Budapest. Each day we had urged that the bombing should take place and maybe it was still not too late. This was not allowed by higher authorities, he said. On November 3rd at 8 a.m. Colonel Zsolt called me and reported that in the dawn hours Russian Forces had surrounded all the Hungarian airports and told us that those of us who had been at the Air Force Command office to leave Hungary, escape. On that day he said that according to reconnaissance there were 4,000 tanks in Hungary at that time. When we wanted to bomb the Russian tanks there was only a unit of 400 to 500 Russian tanks in Hungary. The commander of the Kalocsa Airport, I believe his name is Stein or Steiner, was a very brave fellow. Every day he said he would be willing to do the bombing on his own responsibility, however, even that was not allowed by the Air Force headquarters. It was this commander of the Kalocsa Airport who did the reconnaissance on his own. On October 29th when we were called to the Air Force Command office those of us who were former Air Force officers were very reluctant~~at~~ at first to agree to bombing the Russians. None of us wanted to do this because we felt that the Soviet Union

would interfere totally against the armed uprising. Moreover we felt that the Radio Free Europe would continue its castigation of former army officers and say that now surely the Fascists have interfered in the Revolution if we took part in the Air Force operation. However, on October 29th when we were told that the youth had no arms and the rest of the situation was described to us by the Hungarian Air Force Commander we saw the facts as they were and we saw that it was necessary to secure arms by some means we also agreed then and departed from our first reaction, saying that it would be better if we dropped the bombs and cooperated in doing what we could against the Russians. However, we were not able to carry it out ~~at~~ this decision.

- (b) Yes, I saw police give their guns to the demonstrators at the Radio Station. Yes, at the Vármegye building the soldiers stationed there to guard the building went to fight on the side of the revolutionaries. They denied the command given to them. However, there was no uniform leadership from the military to assist the Revolution. On November 3rd General Béla Király gave order to the Hungarian tanks to return to their barracks and disassemble the tanks for the Winter. This is the reason that the Russians could enter Budapest at dawn on November 4th and found no defense opposing them at all. Here again I have details concerning this movement.

- (7) The whole country of Hungary held in high regard the following groups. The fighters at the Maria Theresia barracks or Kilian barracks, the Corvin Square group fighting from the basements, the Széna Tér group and the Stalinváros or Dunapentele fighters. The Hungarian nation held each of these groups as great heroes because they were able to hold out for such a long time and destroyed so many Russian tanks.
- (a) I don't know of any conflict, at least not among these groups.
- (8) At first on October 23rd the Russians were not very brave. They were not very enthusiastic about fighting. In the middle of the battle of the 27th they appeared to be afraid. Before the free week so-called they had many, many dead. On November 4th they were little more brave, at least appeared so. But when the battle ended on the 19th and my family and I were riding a milk truck which the Russians stopped they did not even bother us. To me they seemed so very stupid and do not know anything.
- (a) I couldn't notice this. They were all afraid and when possible they tried to be friendly. When the Mongol and Tartar soldiers arrived this became evident by the fact that one would observe the numbering on the tanks. The tank numbering that was stationed in Hungary was 100 to 500. The second group that arrived had numbers all the

way up to the 800. The numbering above 400 was a new tank group. All of these tanks were freshly painted and of an extremely new type.

- (e) I didn't see any Russians come over to the Hungarian side but I heard of this, that many stood over, surrendered their tanks and infantry came over. Later the Hungarian revolutionaries freed them if they were taken as prisoners.
- (f) In the ten days prior to October 23rd the Soviet authorities in Budapest were not able to exert any influence on the government leadership or it was very little influence because this leadership was confused and reluctant to move in any direction. Of course, prior to these ten days the Russians had ultimate direction of the events. In the Revolution once again the Russians could not influence the government direction as a whole because most or all of the Communist leaders of the government had escaped for the West and those remaining in Hungary could not be influenced. In fact, Kadar himself had escaped toward the West. Speaking then on November 4th in Budapest, again speaking about the whole of the government, The Russians had no influence but it was in Szolnok, other towns, and in Western Hungary that the Russians began to organize the Communists again into the Hungarian government. Immediately after November 4th the Russians were not able to exert direct influence

where their orders would be carried out through the lowest station in the structure of government.

- (9) On the street there was always someone who had come from elsewhere and would tell us what happened. Where kind of fighting was taking place this individual could be a young boy or a soldier or civilian adult.
- (a) There were no newspapers except the revolutionary newspapers. They were discussing the problems present and also tried to prevent certain serious problems. For example, encouraged the freeing of political prisoners, encouraged free elections, demanded the Soviets leave. There were so many of these papers. I can't remember the titles, except for perhaps these: Igazság, Népakarat, Függetlenség, Kisújság. Almost every former party published something during the week of freedom.
- (b) See the answer given in question (9).
- (c) Yes, we constantly listened to both foreign and domestic broadcasts. We had one radio tuned to the Budapest Station and the other toward the foreign broadcasts, such as Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, BBC. We were constantly interested in the Hungarian situation and especially what was going on at the UN. The Hungarian Radio talked about specific happenings.
- (d) The radio was our best source, particularly the foreign broadcasts. We always waited for something new, that is

that would bring some hope to the Revolution. We did not care for the newspapers which began discussing what should exist after the Revolution. This was too early to talk politics. The fight for freedom had not ^{been} won yet.

- (10) The Party organization and the enterprise where I worked came to an end. Everything had stopped. The Party organization leadership did not even show up at work and did not dare to show themselves in public. About the government I have no real connected picture although I know that the Soviet ambassador was in contact with Imre Nagy. Those of us who were former Air Force officers and had been called into the Hungarian Air Force on ~~NOVEMBER~~ ^{October} 29th were told that the government was negotiating with the Soviet about Soviet withdrawal. We felt that this kind of discussion was too early. Among the revolutionaries the youth felt that discussion was important. Discussion of the kind of government to exist after the Revolution. With regard to the Hungarian army, The Communist leadership and officers sadly enough were not dismissed immediately.
- (a) The AVH fell immediately, the police organization fell apart partially and then the Party houses and centers stopped existing or were closed. In general the hospitals remained in existence.
- (b) See above in question (10).

- (g) At the Ministry for Internal Affairs there was a complete change. Even the Kossuth emblem was placed in the office. In general all the old people that is who were still employed from pre-Communist days remained. The Communist leaders or office holders did not appear at the Ministry.
- (h) The local councils in general ended. In Kiskörös the old party of smallholders and social-democrats took over the leadership.
- (j) I don't know of any.
- (k) The Nemzetörség in which anyone was taken in. But there were many former soldiers also, the Katonai Forradalmi Bizottság which was formed in every group.
- (l) Some of the workers' councils were formed without calling together all the workers, others were formed by a general call to the workers. At first they were organized with some Party people in them, later these Party members were not elected to any office. The workers' councils decided about employment of a person, pay etc.
- (m) At first the group around Imre Nagy with Maleter and a few old politicians would take the leadership but this government would only be a transitional government, a kind of beginning, not a definite government. There would be an election and until this election there would be a kind of a military and civilian government. But the people upon a free election would sweep out of office anyone who had any trace of Communist leaning or associa-

tion.

- (11) Yes, because I feel that more could have been achieved if the Revolution had been more organized and if ~~the~~ and Maleter and the other groups would have understood all about the Revolution.
- (a) It was very profitable. Every Hungarian man was convinced that Hungarian people do not want Communism. The Revolution forced everyone to show their colours and the Communists were counted.
- (b) Only in one way if the Revolution would have received arms and received support from the Western powers. But there are two opinions about the Revolution. One, that if the Hungarians would have made a big fight out of this Revolution the Soviet would have made a total war out of the situation. The second opinion is that the Soviet would have ^{thought} ~~gone~~ twice before starting the third world war, a total war. The Soviet would have started discussions because they would have seen a great mass of people against them. They would have decided that Hungary is not worth enough to start a war. The Soviet would not have dared initiating a big war.
- (c) At first we hoped for rifles and arms. We thought that perhaps Hungarian trucks could go out of the country and bring arms back. Then if this is not possible we felt that the West would direct a strong warning against

Russia saying that if they do not stop interference in Hungary they would give them 24 hours to decide to withdraw and if they do not withdraw some consequences would be forthcoming.

- (e) He is a very smart man. He is a university professor. However, he is filled with Communist propaganda. After a free election in Hungary Imre Nagy would have had to go.
- (f) There were a few writers in the beginning of the Revolution. Maleter is important only from the point of view that he could not get out of the way of the demands of the youth ^{and} ~~that~~ was forced into the position in which he found himself, ~~was~~ opposing the Russians. Then ~~some~~ newspaper men like Gabor Föli and the editors who gave enthusiasm to the people. The revolutionary leaders of groups such as Dudas, the leader of the workers. But the rest of the men, like Tildy, were not liked by the people nor did the people believe them. The Hungarian people thought of them as political horse-riders.
- (g) In first place youths, then workers, intelligentsia, soldiers, peasants, finally others.
- (h) No, but we felt that the youths can dare more because they will not be suspected. But we did not think that they would be able to bring this all about.
- (12) When I saw that the situation cannot be changed again at the end of the second attack on November 20th.

- (b) With other friends who were involved with me in the planned Air Force operation.

- (1) Before 1945 I was an officer in the Hungarian Air Force. Along with my duties as an officer I also did some writing. One of my books appeared in print. It was very successful and was even filmed. However, with this background under the Communist system in Hungary I was not able to continue my writing which I really desired to do but was forced to work at various plants and enterprises either as a truckdriver, a labourer, or draftsman. The changes in my jobs can be attributed to the fact that my social origin for the Communists was not acceptable.
- (2) Up to 1950 my time was spent working on the land of my father-in-law who had rather large holdings with vineyards. In time, of course, these were taken from him and we stayed there as long as we could. In 1950 I went to work as a driver at an auto repair enterprise. Then I became a draftsman at this place. My responsibility was to devise ways and means by which to repair autos that came out of the war. After six months I was put out of this job because of my social origin. Next I went to a building machinery repair shop. Here I was responsible for collecting parts for new and repaired machines. I worked for six months at this job. Again I moved to be a building machine design draftsman and stayed there until the Summer of 1952. Then I got a job in the building industry office cataloging , then again to be a draftsmen. From

there to a concrete vibrator factory where I was inspector. When out of this job no one would take me. It was then that I went Stalinváros to work on building machines. There I was rationalized, that is put out of the job, and from there went to the Balaton. Here I worked for a civil engineering enterprise at the canal and sewer construction. Again I was rationalized. From there I returned to Budapest to a plant which repaired all kinds of machines. I was a dispatcher of work here.

- (a) I will speak about the last job I held as a dispatcher of work in the enterprise.
- (d) No.
- (e) This enterprise belonged to heavy industry where we worked upon gasoline, diesel, and steam motors, or upon machines driven by such motors. At this enterprise we repaired all the machines and motors for all the mills in the country, that is flour mills. We repaired and made generators. I had to arrange the order of work, that is which motor was to be repaired when in the shop. This factory had a big repair shop with different kinds of lathes which made separate parts.
- (f) The enterprise had to produce over 1,200,000 frts of work a year. The quarter year plan called for about ^{225,000}~~1,000,000~~ frts of work. Those responsible for this production were the plant manager, the dispatcher, chief engineer, and this group had to account to the ministry if such work

by that production was not met. In former years the Communists did not allow skilled workers to direct plants but last year or in the last two years the Communists did allow a few so-called reactionary anti-people men to be employed, so that last year, 1956, we were able to meet the production norm and everyone was able to receive a few hundred more frts in premiums. Although the plan production norm was met the quality of work was poor. Motors for ~~flour mills~~ flour mills were repaired but very quickly they were returned to us for repair again because they did not hold up. Many of them were returned within a week and stood in our plants for numerous weeks before they were repaired again. When I was a draftsman at the building machine plant there we were asked to design a kind of crane that would be needed to place pre-fabricated concrete. We designed the machine but it was never built for the machine was too big.

- (3) No, I did not like the job. It didn't interest me. I was not interested in being a dispatcher or arranger of production work.
- (b) This job put a person into a situation which he did not understand.
- (c) This last job of mine was better ~~than~~ because the Party did not interfere into my job in 1956. It did not control us.

- (d) The planing machine or so-called milling machine) were 15 to 40 years old in the shop. These machines could not do a good job. Furthermore we did not have material with which to do a good job. The steel was not of quality material so that we would be able to repair the machines. Although health and safety was organized the safety devices put on the machine did not mean much because the production norm demanded such a great tempo. There were many accidents. There was not enough space in the shop because this was one of the first plants built by the Communists when they built a whole string of new factories on the same pattern. That is a rectangular box into which any and every kind of factory was supposed to fit. The quality of production was low because if a man worked too slowly he had to pay out of his own pocket for his slowness. However, if he produced then he earned money.
- (e) By streetcar.
- (f) 9 hours in the factory. This includes 1/2 hour of lunch. Sometimes, however, we worked 10 to 12 hours a day.
- (g) 6 days a week, Saturday until noon.
- (h) Only the workers were paid overtime. The enterprise officials and clerks rarely received any overtime. Although we put in hours of overtime.
- (i) Stalin's birthday, April 4th, May 1st, October Revolution Day. We had to work these holidays off on Sundays before

or after each ~~time~~ of the holidays. The second day of Christmas was a work day when we worked off our holiday of May 1st.

- (j) We had 12 days off a year for every year of work, that is after one year of work on a job. Then for every two years of work at the job we would get one more day off. Thus for six years of work we would be allowed 3 more days off.
- (k) Certain leading positions in the enterprise got 6 or 7 days plus for vacation from the above basis.
- (l) From 1950 to 1955 workers were penalized but after 1955 such penalty was not inflicted.
- (m) When the production norm was put into a fact then the government order said that one hour of work should be decreased to 50 minutes. In effect thereby the hour pay was decreased also, meaning more work for less pay. The norm continued to be squeezed or increased as one would have it. When the government adjuster of the norms or the one who set norms arrived at the plant frequently he would be run out of the factory. He was so hated by the workers.
- (o) Everyone was allowed vacations, sick benefit insurance, free medical and hospital care, however they would pay for only 15 percent of the ^{drugs} ~~trucks~~ used. Once a year a worker was able to go to a vacation spot and have a free vacation. But these free vacations were only for

Party members in practice. There was an advantage in medical care but the doctors had to handle and care for too many patients. Free tickets to events were given only if for political or Party reasons, such as if a Russian musician came to Budapest and the Party wanted to make sure there would be a full house. Even this did not help at times.

- (4) There were very few skilled men as evident in the factories because everyone was afraid of the other man. No one wanted to give out his training and his ability, that is to help another man learn something because as soon as the other man would learn his job he might be kicked out of that particular job. There was a certain indifference which characterized the work. A man did not try to produce something good. In the early years of the Communist rule the trained or skilled men were held until young Communists or Communist Party people were trained by these people. Then the skilled worker or the clerk was discharged.
- (a) In my factory the men were from 35 to 45 years old. The workers in the factory were everything from priest to the ordinary man. No one trained in a particular job was put into that job, which he understood. In general the plant manager, the chief engineer, and the norm officer were all friendly but were afraid of one another.

- (c) It was not a custom to mingle except old friends. However people were tired at the end of a day.
- (d) At work there was political talk even among the ordinary workers, among those who knew one another as non-Communists. There was an increase in this kind of political talk in 1956.
- (e) Yes, if one talked to a Party member this was done cautiously.
- (f) The leader of the trade union for office and plant workers in 1956 tried to defend the interests of the workers before the director or manager of the enterprise. Before 1956 this was not done.
- (g) Pre-1956 the arbitration committee decided half the time in favour of the director and half the time in favour of the workers. But in 1956 they dared to bring ^{more} decisions against the director of the enterprise.
- (i) Yes, they existed but they didn't do anything.
- (j) Only after July 1956 although there were exceptions to this before 1956. In 1956 many political prisoners were freed and in some cases they became chief engineers of that enterprise. But this chief engineer knew that after he would organize things in the plant he would be kicked out of his job because everything would move along smoothly then and someone had learned from him.
- (k) Absolutely.
- (l) Yes, this happened sometimes. If someone opposed the

interference of a political official he would be in dis-favour in the eyes of the Party.

- (m) 1953 showed some change. There began to be more emphasis placed upon skill over against political considerations. In 1956 the question of skill was important.
- (n) The good kader would establish his origin as being of the peasant or worker stock and he would be a better kader if his father was a norm winner.
- (p) They were everywhere. In every more important enterprise they were built in. The AVH put them there. In general sooner or later the workers discovered them and even made fun of them.
- (5) Changing a job was not easy unless a person was put out, that is relieved of his job. There existed an order that stated an occupation cannot be left unless the employing enterprise grants this permission. If a person was taken into a new job, however, that individual could not expect to receive the accumulated benefits of the former job in pay nor even extra vacation. These benefits were lost. In 1956 there was an easing of the situation. One could leave his job with common agreement.
- (a) I would have to try to go to a place where the pay was more and find a job for which I had some skills.
- (b) I would have selected the airplane industry or enterprise and to continue my studies in engineering but the fact that I had been an Air Force officer prevented me from

such a post under the Communist system.

- (c) I did not see any possibility of my succeeding in any Communist order, in Soviet or even a Tito form.
- (e) I would use part of my money to bring my household in order, buy books, continue my studies. My free leisure time would be spent in writing and in research and sports.
- (g) No, I would want a better future for them than I had. I would like to have them go to school but I would want them to learn a trade whatever that trade be, in addition to their schooling. In Hungary, however, they could not go to the university.
- (6) Up to 1948 we were not in a bad position in comparison to other families. In 1948 and 49 they took everything away from us. In 1953 my wife had to go to work and by the end of the month we did not even have 10 frts left. In 1956 things got a little better.
- (b) The finer pieces of clothing such as nylon stockings and wool cloth had to be avoided, even a sandal for 300 or 400 frts was too much money. The decision was either one would eat and keep that money for food or one would dress and go hungry.
- (d) Yes, the Communist regime exploits everyone. The work which it demands of me is tremendous and pays only for a small part of it. But it demands that I put my whole energy into the work and refuses to pay for that same.

- (7) Most of the money went for food.
- (a) In 1947 I was not earning a regular wage. In 1952 I had 1,400 frts a month as a draftsman working on piece work. However, in the repair factory where my pay was fixed I had 990 frts a month. 1955 I had 1,550 frts at the enterprise for I had to stay late to work in order to earn that.
- (b) The worker got more in piece work usually.
- (c) The administrative staff or officials, clerks of the factories would get less pay than workers.
- (d) Two members, my wife and myself had to work ~~the~~ so that we would earn enough in order to keep the family together. My mother received 180 frts pension a month but this was not even enough for rent.
- (8) Budget attached.
- (9) Our family had five members and we should have had at least three room of apartment or house but the housing shortage in Budapest and the fact that I was a former military officer did not give me the privilege of extra rooms. Party members and Party officials got the best houses. Our family lived in one room, the five of us. I had had two rooms but the other was taken away because I had been a military officer. We had many arguments with the individual who shared the apartment. Not only

apartment but toilet and kitchen facilities also were shared. That fellow who lived in the other room was a Communist. He hated me and did various things to cause annoyance. For example, he did not flush the toilet.

- (a) Up to the Revolution there were periods when one would have to wait in line for meats. There would be no meats for a long period of time before holidays and then just before that holiday one would have to stand in line to get whatever meat, That was laid out of the reserve. In 1956 there was some ~~relaxing~~ easing of the situation.
- (c) 3/4 of our monthly earnings went for food. When only one earned for three 3/4 of the wages went for food.
- (10) Non-skilled men were directing the economy and there was no reserve built up but everything was being shipped to the Soviet. The soil was being used up seeding it twice as often as should have been. Bad ploughing practices were ~~employed~~ employed. This economy was ready to collapse in 1956 and therefore there had to be certain loosening of the reins because nothing was progressing or going ahead.
- (c) The 1941 plan was not perfect because Hungary was not furnished with enough machines but the peasant cultivated his land in a skilled way and the peasant was not exploited. These farming folk concerned themselves with agriculture and not with industry.
- (d) The changes from 1945 to 47 did not cause any special

harm to the Hungarian people. Only after 1947/48.

Then the Hungarian economy was exploited up to 1956

with the exception of some reductions in 1953. In 1956

the Hungarian peasant was breeding a little more easily.

(f) Everyone would have bought or tried the MASZEK produced goods but the small business men were so heavily taxed. They could not exist. Moreover the various state enterprises were not allowed to order from the MASZEK except up to 5,000 frts and this the enterprise was not allowed to pay at one time but over a period of months. So existence for the MASZEK was very difficult.

(g) The finance picture was unchanged. Certain things were harder to get in 1956. There were waves of buying of lard, sugar, and etc. However, it was only in 1956 that I was able to stock up one month supply of food. Previously I was ~~am~~ unable to do even this, even if I had the money because the goods were not available.

(11) This was one of the big factor. Everyone worked more than he should have in comparison to pay one would receive in a Western country. The norms were increased in 1956. Because of these high norms in the Summer of 1956 the workers were very close to complete dissatisfaction. A few men, however, did get a change, that is ~~aiixthaxwagesixxi~~ 1956 hourly wages in 1956 because quality work was needed and the only way to get it was

to pay them by the hour. But this kind of pay system could not be over one percent in the nation for in our factory three men out of three hundred workers were employed on the hourly basis. In 1956 they got 8 to 10 frts hourly pay.

- (b) The political terror, that people were not able to express their opinions freely. Workers wanted a plural-party system.

- (1) In 1932 I received my maturity certificate. I have maturity certificates from both the ~~Vasutca~~ Vasutca School of Commerce (Kereskedelmi Főiskola) and the Arpád Gynnasium. From 1932 to 1935 I attended two year of Engineering University. I did not finish the engineering school but went into the armed forces and in one year was able to complete the Air Force Academy. In 1938 I remained in the Air Force.
- (e) At first I wanted to situate myself in the commercial field then I switched over to engineering. While I was in the Air Force I saw the great developments that were ahead of air design and I felt engineering had a future.
- (2) No.
- (a) I wanted to finish engineering school and to go abroad and continue my studies in the airplane industry.
- (b) I wished to go to university but war came. I was in the Air Force and after the war I was not admitted to the university because of my previous social origin and my military background.
- (e) Before the war I had the same opportunity as everyone else but after the war opportunity to attend higher institutions of education were open to good kaders only.
- (4) Chiefly to rear children completely as Communists so that they would serve the Party interests and to re-educate

others as Communists.

- (b) It didn't even reach 40 percent because the children saw how the Communists took things away from their parents, be those parents either intelligentsia or not. The children also saw how much trouble the parents had to face. This 40 percent existed up to 1953. In 1956 the percentage was very little, even among those who received higher education.
- (c) Children laughed about Communism. Students laughed at the Communist subjects and said this was stupidity, or idiotic. The Communist education did not succeed although they were trying to win the young people by every means possible, sports, trips, dances.
- (g) The children are not as ^{disciplined} ~~disappointed~~ as before. They are a little more careless, carefree, and certainly there is more emphasis on a good time.
- (h) The discipline has changed. The Communists exert influence on the children not to go to church, not to recognize or acknowledge God or even to recognize their parents. The children of the peasants and the intelligentsia were not changed. The children of the workers chided the former order but they also saw that the present order was not good for their father either.
- (i) Communism is least effective up to the age 16 to 18 because the child is at home with the parents. Then from 18 to 21 the child goes out to work, goes to school, is

not at home, and from then on and especially during those years the child can be influenced very much and is very bound to such influence. After the age 21 when the child taken to the army or comes home, the child sees the deception of the Communists. He sees that Communism is different than what he has learned about it.

- (5) My father died in 1915. He had been a police inspector.
- (f) Since my father died early in my life my mother lived on his pension. We had a house and lived out of the money she received. My mother could send me to school only if some relatives helped.
- (g) There were two of us, my mother and myself.
- (h) My mother is in Hungary.
- (i) Mother lived with us in Hungary, always lived with me.
- (k) Disadvantage definitely, yes.

- (6) Yes.
- (a) From 1953 on my wife worked in a drug warehouse. She finished a course and study as a pharmaceutical technician and then continued as such.
- (b) November 5, 1944.
- (c) Now two children. One died, the first child.
- (d) Ten years old.

- (11) Good.

- (12) We always cursed Communism. At home we debated when will war come and thus help us out of our plight.
- (14) Unfortunately there were many arguments in our married life. From 1952 on money was very scarce. My wife was accustomed to a better way of life. It was very difficult to apportion money. All the way to the Summer 1956 our married life was very tense.
- (b) Our life was typical in that it showed the regime ruined us and put its stamp on our life and our housekeeping. We were afraid that our family would fall apart.
- (c) There wasn't much to do. I took part in sports, fencing. A fencing group where all the old officers came. All the old fencers were there although we had nothing to do with political parties. The Communists were not there. I would also go to the library and borrow a few books. Some of the old books were in my own home.
- (g) As head of the family I used my time rather freely but frequently the enterprise had conferences for which I had to be present on Saturday at 6 in the evening at the factory.
- (15) They loosened. This I can take from my own family experience.
- (a) Can't generalize this but in some families it occurred the the father had to fear his son or vice versa. This

happened mostly in those families that were not too religious.

- (d) More loose in the city than in the countryside.
- (e) No, it attempted to be uniformly strict and religious. Perhaps only that the children did not hold to it.

- (16) From 1950 on the situation changed. In the school children were reared in a freer way. But this was conquered by the parents at home, I believe, rather effectively. The following kind of inscription could be found on factory walls which I saw: It is not a shame for a girl to be a mother. However, the young people mimic the modern life of which they heard from abroad. The pajtas relationship or a pal relationship was great in Hungary. This showed us that the young people wanted to dress and entertain themselves according to Western patterns. The morals in general did not become worse. The older men and women said that we as adults have to live because perhaps we die.
- (b) I can't think of any essential change. The same rules of behaviour remained as in pre-war times.
- (d) Among the youth I do not believe so. I would say the following: Up to 1950 there was a lower morality in Hungary, then after that period a higher morality existed when the people saw the deception of the Communist ideas.

- (e) This was eliminated.
- (f) It seemed as if they were more strict but they were pleased to have an increase in the birth rate and the Communist were struggling very much against social diseases.
- (h) Yes, they ordered that the illegitimate child must be considered legitimate. I heard there were many illegitimate children born.
- (i) Communism said that women are equal with men but this kind of a change was only apparent. The woman was still given lower pay and they tried to give women the equality by giving them the job of chief engineer in a factory if it suited the Party. Women were most dangerous, more dangerous than men if they served as Communist Party secretaries or as personnel department heads. Such a woman was most harsh. Respect toward women was not the same as during pre-war times, except the respect for older women remained. This change is bad.
- (17) In general I must say they fell. The public didn't know about this. This was not printed in the papers. The Communists pushed morals down.
- (a) When the Communists ended prostitution as a legal existence all the women were forced to get jobs in the various factories. In these jobs these women continued to live their former lives and prey upon society more freely.

In those families where the father died very frequently the woman or mother lived a much freer life afterward. I heard about a great deal of stealing though this was never reported in the newspapers nor was a murder reported in the newspapers. This was done to prove that Communist society does not have murders nor even bribery. The stealing was prevalent among youths and the poorly paid workers. Reason for this being that the pay was so low that they had to try to find ~~something way~~ some way of gaining a livelihood.

- (18) In the Air Force before the war.
- (a) He was a labourer now, was interned for 4 years also.
- (b) Yes.
- (c) Either he came to our place or I to his place. We went to church together, went to see sports events such as soccer matches, we debated politics together, listened to one radio broadcast. This was a ~~daily event~~ daily event.
- (f) Yes.
- (g) That he be of the same mind as I, that he not for a moment give up the training we received before the war at our schools and that he remained what he was before.
- (1) I didn't have too many friends anymore except those former officer friends. A very close friend was my old commander, the former colonel. Now he was a poor man. Those of us

who served under him in the Air Force arranged to invite him to our home in rotation on Sundays and we helped him out financially also when we could for he needed money or any sort of help.

- (k) With us, if there was someone whom we didn't trust we did not hold him as a friend.
- (19) Religion could be practised freely, after 1953 a person did not have to be afraid. Before 1953 about whom the Communists heard that he attends church or that he had priests as friends that individual would be put out of his job. Thus before 1953 religion was practised in secret frequently. We had to teach our children at home about religion. If a child studied religion in school or a parent asked that he be instructed, later in life that young student could not enter the university. In our case a nun came to our home, of course she was dressed in civilian clothes and she no longer was a nun in an institution, we paid her a few forints to teach our children. In 1956 church attendance did not make any difference at all with the Communists.
- (b) I went to church regularly. I didn't care if they found out. It was better not to be afraid. They could threaten only the person who was afraid.
- (20) Very much.

- (a) Not so much the Jewish faith. The Communists hated the Roman Catholic and the Reformed Church, however, the Roman Catholic most. Communists did not care about the Jews attending Synagog.
- (b) My opinion is that they wanted to eliminate it slowly, but in the meantime use it for their own purposes.
- (c) There were certain priests who talked as the Communists wanted them to talk. The Communists gave them some privileges then. These "peace priests" regularly were terrorized or frightened. They did what the Communists wanted. It was rather the older clergy who gave in. They were insincere and forced to say what the Communists required. On the whole though the clergy was strong.
- (d) The Communist Party gave instructions to the various enterprises telling them how the people should behave toward the clergy. The Party attacked the clergy only when the Party received instructions to do so.
- (e) Yes, see above.
- (g) Yes, not a very great number.
- (h) Yes, regularly.
- (i) The country peasant people went to church. They were not afraid of anyone. Maybe after the war the peasant from the Tanya did not come in of his detached farm land because in many cases there were no regular ministers or priests. at some of the villages. In the case of the city workers either the father or mother went to church. In many cases

they didn't go because they were tired or were afraid. The so-called reactionary group, the officers, former government officials, went regularly. But the group which produced the best attendance were the elderly people.

- (k) According to me, the same. I don't dare say more. It didn't change much. However, the young people don't talk much about religion.
- (l) In the country the clergy among the peasants tried to develop propaganda against the Communists. In the city through personal contacts the clergy tried to convince people against Communism or in the case of the Roman Catholics when the Roman Catholic went to confession the priest would try to talk to certain people about politics.
- (21) I would recommend the engineering field.
- (a) Because in Hungary industry still has a future and the situation is a little better.
- (b) To be an excellent student, that is ensure the advancement even if the father is a reactionary so-called.
- (c) The good kader of peasant or worker origin.
- (22) In the worst position at the bottom of a scale are the peasants and the former intelligentsia which includes soldiers, former land owners. Then come the older people in general, then upward the workers and others. In the best position are those individuals who are trusted by

the Party. These are the AVH, officers in the army, police, and generally speaking, the Jews.

- (a) The former intellectuals.
 - (b) I didn't want to belong to any of those groups, that is the upper group which now exists, because I did not want to be associate with the Party. I desired to work on the land of my father-in-law. This was taken from us.
 - (c) They had a very good fortune. They were supported in every way by the Party and they had a better life if they were Party members.
 - (d) They didn't have a bad time either. They could succeed much more easily if they had the trust of the Party.
- (23) Peasants, next workers, thirdly something like the old middle class. These three remained, the aristocracy as such came to an end. The present day youth gladly made friends with the third group which includes clergy and everything.
- (b) Compared to the former order of society, according to me, at least no one wanted the big estates and the aristocracy. But people did want the rest of the structure to remain.
 - (c) I can readily see that there should not be large estates in Hungary since Hungary is a small country. According to me, if a person is skilful and able to earn enough money he should be able to have land.
 - (d) Yes, walls have been raised between the newly developed

middle class which is not educated or cannot be called intellectual at all. Between those who became military officers, higher civil servants on the one hand, and those who on the other hand are peasants and workers there exists a wall. The peasants and workers hate those who became something through the Party.

- (e) There is somewhat greater equality.
 - (f) This in every case is better.
 - (g) Contact is more intimate but it is only an apparent friendliness. The rules of behaviour are worse. Courteous behaviour still exists because they wish to rear the people so. They wish to indicate to foreigners that the Hungarians are courteous. However, by and large, the people wish the old pre-war behaviour would be back. They would like to have what existed before. The previous forms of greeting a formal you, "Magázás" and the expression "Kézét Csókolom" are in general use.
-
- (24) The Communists harmed the Swabians and then later the Serbs.
 - (a) I can't think of any.
-
- (25) Communism helped them in everything.
 - (a) The general or typical behaviour of the Jew was that he served the regime. I can understand that a man as a Jew who had been persecuted would seek the assistance of

a new order. Up to 1950 the Party secretaries, the directors of enterprises, the heads of personnel departments, the head of the police, higher military officers, in the courts, everywhere there were the Jews, the Jews were the leading men. After 1952 the Jews remained only at such posts as in the police, the AVH, the heads of the Ministry of Interior, division heads and personnel chiefs in the enterprises. These were key positions for the Communists. In the countryside where the Jews owned smaller shops and plants many of these Jews behaved very well. There were Jews who had formerly had large land holdings lost their land and their factories.

- (c) Yes, in the countryside where the Jews hated the regime. The older ones and the younger ones up to the age of 20 all saw the deception of Communism. But the group between the ages of 20 and 40 genuinely supported the system.
- (d) In general they stood off from the Revolution and were very much afraid.
- (e) Generally disliked the Jews although people were ready to see exceptions to this.
- (g) It increased some but not in the rude and destructive sense that was employed by the Germans when they said all the Jews must be extinguished. But the Hungarians point to the fact that the leaders of the AVH, the courts were all men by Jews. The hate is directed toward the Jews who have served the regime.

(h) The Hungarian people will not harm them but they will not allow them into important positions of government leadership.

- (1) More interested now than in prewar times because I wish there would not be any Communism in Hungary.
- (a) Now my interest is when can Communism come to an end in Hungary and how much of a role can the West play in ending Communism.
- (c) Never.
- (2) Up to 1950 the political situation did not interest me because I did not believe the Russians would stay in Hungary after 1950. After that I followed the events with great interest as to what the West wants, how it felt. I held that only with the help of the West could a change occur.
- (a) None.
- (b) Never.
- (c) We were conservative in training. As a soldier my training was conservative. My home training was anti-Communist-ic which also reflected the views of the country.
- (d) I dislike them. In fact I took an oath in the army to be against them.
- (e) My mother and relatives told me of the 1919 Communist or Bolshevik revolution and I could not forget this. After 1945 I saw the resemblance of what I had been told.
- (f) (ii).
- (h) Simply because of the police terror, the fear instilled in them by this and the unjust sentences, persecution,

and internment facing anyone who opposed the system.

- (3) First that I could not express my opinion. Freedom of speech was not permitted. I couldn't talk. When a person saw stupidity and mistakes being made, at such times a person was not allowed to speak out against it.
- (a) (vii), (xii), (vi).
- (b) (xv) this could be endured however, (xiii) however, we said that people outside of Hungary know that this is being done, (xi).
- (c) (iii), (ix), (i) because my wife had to work.
- (d) (xiv), (ix), (vi).
- (e) (v), (xv), (iii).
- (j) I don't know of any.
- (4) In the hands of the Party.
- (a) Every instruction, everything needed permission of the Party. The servant of the Party was the AVH. This was the executive power. But the real power was the Soviet Forces in Hungary.
- (b) The Council of Ministers could do only what the Soviet Power wanted them to do. The same with the Hungarian Communist Party.
- (c) Rakosi.
- (d) They did what Rakosi wanted and voted according to the way in which they were prepared previously.

- (f) The Communist bureaucracy was big. To get a job today as before one needed patronage and this was Communist patronage. Before the war things were over-administered, after the war certain things were over-administered, especially in the area of statistics. There were too many statistics.
- (g) Rather frequent and more frequent than in prewar. For example, at my enterprise another enterprise which wanted to have its motor repaired more quickly could bribe someone at our plant to get the job done more quickly. This money for the bribe would come from the fund of the manager. This was common.
- (h) These were trusted Party men who had no skill but were dependable for the Party.
- (i) Only from peasant and worker origin, especially those whose parents were members of a kolkhoz or Party people.
- (j) Only those who were onehundred percent Communist men.
- (5) Only young people took part in the DISZ. If they didn't become a member they were looked upon as enemies. If the young person was a member of the DISZ he ~~would~~ was supported in sports activities or supported at his working place.
- (6) It signified a trustworthy Communist upon whom the Party could always count that he would serve the Party interests

in every case. In time of war or confusion he would fight against the Communist enemies.

- (a) No one was forced to be a member of the Party against his own wish. A person could refuse membership. Many were asked to be members if they did some service for the Party.
- (b) Many of those who wanted the advantages but did not want to work, wanted to reach high positions or those who were convinced Communists.
- (d) At various times before 1950 and even later. Why they became members I can't say. Very likely because they did some service for the Party and they were asked to be Party members.
- (f) Either the Communists took their land away from them or for some reason they were arrested or disappointed in what the Communists were doing in comparison to what they had taught previously.
- (h) No.
- (r) Rakosi and behind him he received instructions from Moscow.
- (t) There were changes when Stalin died, when the disagreements occurred with Tito, the Rajk issue, in 1956 when the production was not moving ahead as result of the elimination of many skilled men.
- (7) The fencing society.

- (a) Mostly old military officers, old sportsmen. Generally the children of old families also.
- (b) This was the post office fencing club. It had 50 members. Some of them were former olympic fencers.
- (c) Only fencing, no politics.
- (d) I was recommended by a former military officer. There was no kader system here.
- (e) We were interested in sports only. This required to attend training and practice regularly, to teach the youth, and to go to fencing matches regularly.
- (g) They despised them. Only the Communists thought otherwise.
- (l) Merely as dispensers of propaganda. They were not well attended. If free food was offered maybe more people went but the success of the meeting was not good.
- (m) To certain extent people trusted the trade unions which increasingly defended the interests of the workers. In 1956 the trade union men spoke up more strongly in behalf of the workers.
- (8) About 40 percent of the Party is convinced of Communism.
- (9) Merely because the DISZ was suitable for what the youth liked, that is sports, gun training, trips, dances. But the youth did not agree with the ideas disseminated in the DISZ.

(10)

- (b) The AVH was organized to be the trusted support of the Party which would terrorize the entire country and its inhabitants.
- (e) I don't know how but I heard that they came from among trusted Communists, those persons whose parents had been persecuted by the other regime, in some cases whose parents had been killed, generally those individuals who had shady backgrounds in the old regime, persons who in some cases were educated in Russia, and I understand the AVH was required to accept the orders of Russians.
- (g) A person could recognize them. They were very highly paid and lived in the best houses, had the use of automobiles, they could buy villas and they didn't associate with anyone. There was an AVH man built in as in informer at every large factory. We knew who they were.
- (j) I don't know. Only when I heard that the police were afraid of the AVH. The AVH worked only on a political line. They were not interested in ordinary crimes.
- (k) I don't know very much except that the Party and AVH worked close together. I would say the AVH had greater power.
- (11) Yes, a friend of mine who was a former army officer. This friend stopped on the street to talk to another friend of his who was a chauffeur for the American am-

bassy. This conversation was photographed. Both were arrested. My friend was arrested because he was talking to an employee of the American embassy. He got four years imprisonment.

(d) Those who openly opposed the Party and Communism, those who openly spoke up against the Soviet, who were anti-Soviet in their politics, the richer peasants, the former landholders, military officers, the clergy, former politicians, and the former gendarmes were put out to be arrested most frequently.

(g) Only that which my friends told me who had been in prison and internment camp. They got very little to eat, got more to eat only if they worked more and fulfilled the so-called quota norms. The housing was inhuman. The roofs were leaky and rained in. It was cold in Winter, not much medical care. The prisoners had no contact at all with relatives, no letters, nothing. This was the internment camp. As regards the prisons, many prisoners were put into small quarters, only Communist books and newspapers could be read, periodic beatings of prisoners occurred without cause. There were daily executions of the prisoners, frequently without trial. Public opinion did not know about all of this. There was an informer system in the camps and the prisons. These informers were discovered very quickly because as such they usually got privileges and better food.

- (13) This is a hard question. Perhaps the way to do it is have very few letters addressed to his house, secondly talk politics only with those friends of whom he is sure and can be trusted, thirdly do not try to secure a higher position at work even if the individual is a skilled man, fourthly be very careful about false provocators.
- (c) No, not according to me.
- (d) This is an advantage. One who is clever perhaps can cover it up.
- (f) Yes, but one cannot say this as a general rule. It is enough if someone is suspected concocted stories can be brought against him.
- (14) As there were changes in government and in the Party policy there were changes felt in the methods employed.
- (15) They completely interfered into Hungarian affairs. Everything was ~~in Marxist~~ according to Soviet thought patterns.
- (e) The strongest interference was in the Party. In the government everything was on the Soviet patterns. There was interference in the economy. In the area of science Soviet influence was present also though not direct. Here less direct interference.
- (16) Really in no way. Perhaps only in the close family circle and among friends.

- (c) Only in the closest family circle, with friends, and clergy.
- (g) Least openly about anti-Soviet feelings and about the Party. More freely about sports.
- (17) There are some possibilities in each case. An order can be circumvented. For example, if a man says he is sick and the sickness is such that is difficult to establish. Or someone would discover some other excuse.
- (18) The strength of the regime lay in the armed power and the presence of the Soviet Forces there. The weakness of the regime was that it did not care or ^{have} any concern for the workers, paid low wages, and built its existence upon lies.
- (19) The workers, for example, did not give quality work. The peasants tried to avoid the required deliveries to the government, clerks and office people tried to do unnecessary work and did not wish to participate in the Communist parades and processions. They did not subscribe to the Communist papers. The peasants cultivated and grew enough crops in general just for themselves.
- (b) The peasants, the old middle class and intellectuals, and even that group of intelligentsia which the Communists educated. The workers ~~were~~ for a time believed the

Communists.

- (c) At first the workers and the old Communists and those people whom the Communists made leaders. The workers believed that the new order would bring them something better. This did not happen.
- (1) At first we believed that it was only government propaganda which allows them to exist. We thought that it was allowed so that through this means and this channel the tension which had been built up could be reduced, the steam let off. I would explain its existence as the result of a national development in which the people wanted to express their opposition and their different views.
- (m) Yes, there were certain friendly circles of friends that were formed ~~xxx the xxx xxx xxx~~ to discuss the situation and find a way as to what could be done. Especially the peasants came together in the Tanya and asked what could be done. The old soldiers also came together to talk.

- (1) Primarily the radio, everybody listened to it. Secondly there appeared bulletins at the embassies, for example, the British Bulletin, and we could get them up to a certain time. And also from the athletes who went abroad.
- (a) The Voice of America and Radio Free Europe.
- (2) I read newspapers but not the Party papers. During the last years only Party members bought them. I went to the libraries where I found foreign newspapers and could read them.
- (a) The Magyar Nemzet which was not entirely Communistic. The literary and art sections were important. I bought the church paper during mass. It was Uj Elet, Az Ember. These church papers could not be received through the mail without difficulty.
- (b) Regularly.
- (g) Yes, in the libraries.
- (3) Only to see foreign films. Preferably not Soviet. They were French, Italian, German. Rarely British or American films appeared.
- (b) More the literary and entertaining films such as Hamlet, etc.
- (e) Very rarely because it was very expensive. Only to see the more worthwhile plays, Shakespeare, old classic Hungarian dramas and operettas.

- (4) Yes, after the war many foreign books remained in Hungary which friends gave one to another. Postwar Hungarian books I read very few of them because they were all ideological.
- (e) "Captain Hornblower" by Forster, Hemingway Jack London, Sinclair Lewis. A very few British books, some French authors, modern and classics such as Anatole France. Also Walt Whitman was a favorite of mine. There were a few good books which appeared in Hungarian. I read Zilahy, Márai, the old classics such as Jókai, etc. and Mikszáth. Books were not very expensive.
- (5) Yes, regularly and mainly to music and news. The news so I could compare with the foreign broadcasts I heard.
- (6) Yes.
- (d) I was interested in what they knew about Hungary and what we did not know. Also interested to learn about American life. There were things in which they were mistaken about 25 percent of the time. We in Hungary felt it was very improper in 1956 to still talk about Fascists. There weren't any in Hungary. We also believed very much that they would support us in Hungary through the radio.
- (7) Yes, from athletes who visited other countries or I heard from others that someone had written him and told him thus and so about things outside of Hungary.

- (8) Not at all trustworthy. No one believed them at all.
- (d) We compared the reports to the foreign radio broadcast and knew immediately what was true and not true. Or news travelled through Budapest very quickly. We never believed what was written about the Soviets.
- (e) Not at all.
- (f) Yes, not regularly because at first the people who wrote the *Irodalmi Ujsag* were the same Communists as the others such as Tibor Déri and the rest. They had served the Communist system. But at the end they dared to write more strongly than before. But the people did not believe in them or trust them.
- (g) I saw it only rarely. People called it the "heap of the lies".
- (h) The *Hetzósi Hirlap* only a few times. This paper dared more than the others.
- (9) Yes, generally everyone tried.
- (10)
- (a) We knew everything about the A-bomb. I was in Bavaria in August 1945 as American prisoner. I understood that the Americans wanted to end the war with this bomb.
- (b) We knew very correctly that the Korean Communist, with Soviet push from the North started the war.
- (c) We didn't believe it. No one believed it.

- (d) Everyone was happy about it and we believed that Germany was completely rearmed. In the Revolution we saw the weakness of the situation. West Germany could not go against East Germany.
- (e) We heard about them on the American broadcasts and from Soviet propaganda. We felt very good that they were coming.
- (f) We Hungarians felt this was too early to do it and did not attach any particular significance to it except that the workers were dissatisfied with their wages.
- (g) We hoped that some secret agreement had come out of the Geneva conference that Russia had to leave Europe at a certain time. We believed that Eisenhower and Eden had achieved this.
- (h) We knew they were operating but in Hungary we felt that many of them had served the Soviet interest. We also learned that there was no agreement among them. We felt that they were living out of their politics.

- (1) Everything which the Communists brought into effect must be changed. It must be redesigned for the interest of Hungary. Nothing is good which the Communists brought in. We should not continue the industrialization of Hungary, not to the extent of the Communist industrialization.
- (a) To allow industrialization but not the extent which the Communists carried out. Nothing else.
- (2) Yes, so that everyone may express his desires and opinions, then it will be decided how many parties will exist after the election as to who gets the votes.
- (3) Must give this freedom. No need for limiting it.
- (c) No.
- (d) If it harms state laws such must be punished. But if the individual is right he must speak and be allowed his freedom.
- (4) Yes.
- (a) Yes.
- (b) If that government oppresses the practice and exercise of human rights as are known in the West. Freedom of speech and so forth.
- (5) The complete mechanization of agriculture making electricity available everywhere, unrestricted cultivation of land and

free marketing.

- (6) Yes.
- (b) Yes, because the owner has his contacts with the rest of the world. Through this personal contacts he could bring more profit to the state.
- (c) Yes, completely.
- (d) State monopoly must exist, for example, salt, tobacco. Here the state is able to produce better cultivation less expensively.
- (8) The government planned economy is proper but this must be done in cooperation with the factories taking into regard the capacity of the factories. Then the factory will accept the final conclusion
- (c) Planning for food products is important. If under a given situation agriculture has been mechanized the crop will come in easily without telling the farmer what the plan is. (Here the respondent understands by planning that the planned economy is trying to increase the production of land. He sees this increase brought about by mechanization and not by planning.)
- (d) The healthy market is based upon needs, however, with certain restrictions at certain places.
- (9) If I observe the laws of a democratic state then the state

will not tell me what I should do with my money nor where I should go for my vacation nor restrict my wants.

- (10) Yes, be a loyal citizen not an enemy or a traitor, keep the laws of the state and be ready to serve the country in the armed forces.
- (e) Assure the human rights of the citizen.
- (11) More modern equipment was available. This was an increase but the standard of life did not reach a higher level. In quality there was no increase. For example, at the university medical men taught students without the necessary basic education and wanted to make them into general doctors which they did become, that is they were graduated. Physicians were not allowed to foreign universities. They were permitted to read Russian literature only.
- (a) The Communist Party people got better treatment everywhere. They had a Party hospital, in fact.
- (b) No.
- (12) I cannot say yes because there were more propaganda performances.
- (c) The higher civil servants and the ~~the~~ Stakhanovist workers had greater opportunity.
- (d) No.
- (e) No.

- (13) No.
- (a) No. It was best in 1947.
- (b) No, 1950 was better.
- (14) No.
- (a) It's hard to say. 1946 and 1947 were better.
- (b) A little better now than in 1950. The women have more selection in clothes but the quality is worse.
- (15) It did increase somewhat but the quality is much worse.
- (a) Many new factories have been built, greater work tempo has been demanded.
- (c) Disadvantage.
- (16) Only skilled and trained men should be allowed to direct a factory.
- (a) To protect the wages of the worker and to protect the worker's interest in full and be interested in organizing the workers.
- (b) There need to be certain restriction but they would operate independently.
- (c) All those workers who want their interests represented must join the trade union.
- (d) Only skilled men.
- (e) They have to have some responsibility toward the ministries of trade and industry.

- (17) They exploit the worker and peasant.
- (c) We have to divide them up. In fact, in the Revolution they dissolved immediately.
- (f) No. If a person is skilled and has more land let him pay more taxes.
- (h) Yes, all.
- (i) According to me, yes. What the Communists took away has to be given back.
- (l) By state loans which will be necessary in the beginning.
- (m) Divide them up and give them to the people and let them see to their upkeep.
- (18) Freedom of religion for all religions should be guaranteed.
- (a) Yes, completely.
- (b) No.
- (c) I think there will not be any need for state tax.
- (d) Yes, on the line of faith and morals.
- (e) Yes, it was proper to require everyone to study religion.
- (f) Hard to say, I would rear them in religion.
- (g) Give it back.
- (19) I would start an investigation to find out who committed crimes against their fellow men and then would sentence them and punish them accordingly. The rest of the Party members according to their participation in the Party let them live freely and so that they can see the difference

between a free life and a Communist life.

- (d) No one believed in the DISZ except the DISZ secretary. Membership did not mean anything. The secretary was a Communist. They should be investigated because they were dangerous.
- (e) Demand a serious investigation of each one. Those who do not deserve punishment, let them free. Those who led the AVH, the officers, send them off to Russia.
- (f) Start an examination. Those who are ~~guilty~~ not guilty, let them free and have them go to learn a trade and not be police. There were some regular and honest men among the police. These few of them could remain in the police force.
- (g) My opinion is unchanged. This does not mean that everything is forgiven them. They should not be allowed to take leadership in the nation, be they artist or writer or anyone.
- (20) The Rákoczi fight for freedom 1703 to 1711, the Kossuth fight for independence 1848/49, the 1876 compromise, and the following and ensuing nationality questions, the question of the Danubian Basin, and, of course, the Revolution of October 1956. As regards cultural achievements, while Hungary fought off the Turks in the East of Europe, the cultural development of Western Europe went on and flowered. Many Hungarian individuals have given

much to European culture. Scientists and artists of great genius have emigrated to the West.

- (21) We can talk about it.
- (a) Yes.
- (b) Absolutely.
- (c) In recent times there are many ways in which it agrees with the American character.
- (d) Yes, to the extent that Hungary does not want the rule of royalty but ^{wants} ~~wants~~ the United States of Europe and ^{wants} ~~wants~~ a democracy at home. 60 percent of Hungary desire this, 40 percent may be divided between the idea of kingdom and republic.
- (e) Yes, they want to get rid of Communism and they desire democracy.
- (f) The groups exist as before the war with their much the same characteristics. Yes, they have ~~wanted~~ to keep their uniqueness.
- (22) It's a very difficult question. Each government had many mistakes. I did not hold any one of them as completely representing the interests or the future of Hungary.
- (b) At that time the various governments did not understand the nationality question. It did not give or allow a wholesome development for the people, thus Hungarian, Slovak, etc. nor were work opportunities allowed according to the

ability to earn a livelihood. This was the fault of the Habsburgs.

- (c) Yes, there were roots all the way to 1945. Perhaps they live today but this rather in the Hungarian emigration which left Hungary after the war.
- (d) No.
- (e) One. Karolyi imagined some democratic form of government which was easily pushed over into Communism. It wasn't good.
- (e2) Many such men were left behind in Hungary who were willing to believe the Communist ideas and 1919 Communism left its seed there for the present Communism.
- (f) Significant.
- (g) It had one good property, that it strove completely against Communism. But its error was that it did not try to make peace with the nationalities and carry on an independent policy and attempt to lift the standard of life of the workers.
- (h) It should have remained neutral. This it wanted to do in 1944. Horthy wanted to do it.
- (i) This period was good. Free enterprise industry began to develop after the war, life was much better than before, and better than that which followed.
- (23) From the Hungarian point of view borders are important. Many Hungarians still live in Transylvania and in the

Northern regions. Relatives of these people live in Hungary and Hungary wants these areas back. The Hungarian holds the separation of these areas from Hungary as a big error and that the problem has not been solved yet is even a greater error.

- (d) There are differences but we are not angry with them. We can live with them in peace but the Hungarian populated areas outside of Hungary have to come back.
- (24) Yes, the people around Hungary have to be given the same uniform culture and the same high economic life.
- (a) A federation of neighbouring states, do away in the Danubian Basin with the customs and boundaries.
- (e) It is all right if some voluntarily wish to migrate to the other country but those who are forcedly repatriated or sent back to Hungary like the Czechs did in order to make certain areas more highly populated by the Czechs or as the Rumanians did in certain areas so that the Rumanian population would be greater in an area. This is wrong. These Hungarians were forced to ~~live there~~ leave their homes.
- (25) The older ones above the age of 30 and 35 are good people and they do not want Bolshevism. The ^{younger} ~~older~~ ones do not know anything but Communism but basically they are not bad people.

- (26) I don't know Marxism as such because I didn't study it in any detail.
- (e) I think not. They say that he departed from Marxism.
- (h) No.
- (i) There wasn't any. I didn't hear that it existed at any time.
- (27) Not to belong to Moscow. What a nation does it does all itself.
- (a) Yes, many. This occurred in the first half of the Revolution but in the second half the people did not want anything but democracy.
- (e) No.
- (28) Things would have completely changed. The people wanted him only up to the time there would be free elections. He could not have stopped these free elections. They did not trust him.
- (b) Not for a long time.
- (29)
- (a) Good.
- (b) Bad.
- (c) Bad.
- (d) Bad.
- (e) Bad.

- (g) Good. This would develop anyway in society.
- (h) Good. The word itself is bad.
- (i) Bad.
- (j) Bad.
- (k) Bad.
- (l) Bad. I don't trust her nor do the people at home.
- (n) Good.
- (30) Independent Small Holders Party or Christian Socialist Party.
- (a) I don't know. A new man is difficult to come to the fore.
- (31)
- (a) Less.
- (b) Less.
- (c) Much less.
- (d) Really nothing.
- (e) Very little.
- (f) Less.
- (g) A lot.
- (h) Very little.
- (i) Little.
- (32) Generally everyone had a rather good life except that at that time there were no TSZCZ members.

(33)

- (a) Conflict.
- (b) Less conflict.
- (c) Coincide.
- (d) Conflict.
- (e) Very little conflict.
- (f) Coincide closely.
- (g) Coincide rather well.
- (h) Many places do not coincide.
- (i) Coincide rather well.
- (j) Coincide more now.

(34) That the United States does not understand what is going on in Hungary and may be everyone coming from Hungary will be considered a rascal or crook.

(35) Only Party members. The police, the AVH, and the high placed military officers, but these not wholeheartedly.

(36) No, none.

- (1) Why did not America help Hungary?
- (a) It's very proper that America should have an exact picture of how things occurred in Hungary in the last ten years.
- (c) Never believe anyone who even once served the Communists. can't trust them. Secondly do not believe the Soviet even if periodically they put on a good face they are stalling for time. Thirdly America must be very careful that the Soviets do not get military secrets. The Soviet does not spare money where it comes to this.
- (2) I can't think of anything.
- (a) I don't think so. If we were younger now there is really no reason.
- (3) One thing that America did not grasp, really not in its program of propaganda was that the people who were in charge of the Radio Voice and various American broadcasts came out of the old order of people and these men have not understood the changes that have taken place in the last 12 years in Hungary. They keep on talking about situations that do not exist in Hungary. Their picture of Hungary is frozen to 1945/46.

Portrait of the Respondent:

This man who in prewar days wrote a successful novel that ^{is a} was/filmed and hoped to continue his career of writing and also hoped to continue the study of airplane design after leaving the Air Force. None of these possibilities became realities because of the Communist system which prevailed after the second world war in Hungary. He sees a good many years cut out of his life with no advance whatsoever. He is a man who demands honesty and straightforwardness. His military training and discipline have influenced his bearing. He represents a large group in Hungary that tried to eke out an existence when everything was taken away from them.