

- (1) The most important thing the world should know about Hungary is this: Among <sup>nine</sup> ~~the~~ million Hungarians about 8.9 million ~~hated~~ <sup>hated</sup> the Communists and the Russians. <sup>born in</sup> The Americans in particular ~~should know~~ <sup>should know</sup> that most of the Party Members were not sincere Communists. ~~And~~ another thing to be born in mind is, in particular for the Americans, that the Party Members did not necessarily do wrong. I ~~think~~ <sup>think</sup>, this is not taken into account enough by the Americans.

(Interviewer's Note: At this point I should like to mention that the respondent ~~was~~ <sup>complained</sup> at the beginning of the interview about his ~~failure~~ <sup>failure</sup> to get an Entry Visa to the United States, <sup>T</sup> ~~three~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~sons~~ of his son living in America. They all escaped from Hungary after the Revolution. The respondent, however, was rejected on security grounds. Throughout the interview I had the feeling, as I will explain it in my ratings, that the respondent addresses himself in particular to the Americans, and that he is very much concerned to prove that it was a great injustice to reject him on security grounds.)

(2)

- (2) In discussing the Revolution I would like to point out the followings:

The Revolution in Hungary was the outgrowth of the Russian policy's failure to liberalize the Hungarian Communist ~~regime~~ <sup>regime</sup>. I believe that the liberalisation

was bound to fail in Hungary. From the Russian point of view it was a ~~mistake~~ mistake even to try liberalization, because it could not succeed. Hungary could be kept ~~as~~ <sup>under</sup> the communist rule only by means of Stalinist policy. Once the country ~~was~~ <sup>sensed the air</sup> of greater freedom ~~was~~ <sup>in the wake of</sup> the liberalization policy, the situation was bound to get out of control. The country was so strongly anti-communist that it was impossible for the Communists to grant more freedom on the one hand and to keep their rule on the other. Had the Communists continued their ~~repressive~~ <sup>repressive</sup> policy in Hungary nothing would have happened. I firmly believe that a Gomulka ~~mistake~~ type of solution in Hungary was not possible. The situation in Hungary would have exploded, even if Imre Nagy would have assumed the leadership earlier.

There were simply not enough Communists in Hungary ~~with~~ with whom Imre Nagy could have maintained a liberalized Communist regime. The fact that he assumed the leadership at a time, when the situation was obviously critical, aggravated only the situation. But even had he been returned to power earlier, his task ~~of~~ of creating a liberalized Communist regime in Hungary would have proved impossible. In order to keep Hungary in the Communist ~~orbit~~ <sup>orbit</sup> ~~throughout~~ <sup>were</sup> the Russians forced to intervene. On the other hand, I believe, ~~had~~ that had ~~been~~ <sup>the</sup> UN intervened at the right moment, which was during the few days, when the Revolution seemed to be victorious, Hungary could have been extricated from the Communist orbit.

In the case of a UN intervention, I think the Russians would have withdrawn. I do not think, namely, that the Russians would have started a Third World War because of the loss of Hungary.

- (2b) The events during the last few years contributed to a relaxation of the Communist terror in Hungary. But I would like to stress again that the whole policy of liberalization was bound to fail.

(Interviewer's Note: I probed the respondent what he thought of the ~~most~~ individual events during that period of liberalization. The respondent's answer:)

I would not discuss these events such or at all, because I don't think that this is important. What is all important is that in Hungary you could not maintain a liberalized Communism. You could not combine freedom with Communism. I repeat that <sup>a</sup> liberalization could have ended only in a total collapse of Communism in Hungary.

- (2c) Well, the turning-point was Gerö's radio address on ~~the night of October 23rd~~ the night of October 23rd. This radio speech infuriated so much the Hungarians that the <sup>tide</sup> ~~the~~ of Revolution, which was <sup>it</sup> rising rather rapidly throughout the afternoon, by nightfall became a mighty torrent no one but the Russians could have suppressed, had they used immediately extreme measures. During that night the Hungarian Communist regime collapsed completely.

When I saw <sup>on</sup> ~~from~~ the night from October 23rd to 24th the burning of the Russian book store "Horizon" from my window, I came to the conclusion the end of Communism came in Hungary.

(2e)

You should understand that the role of the writers, played in the Revolution, was actually a part of the Russian liberalization policy in Hungary. ~~That~~ They gave that freedom to ~~xxxxxxx~~ the writers in the expectation that ~~they~~ <sup>the writers</sup> may be instrumental in carrying out Moscow's policy. The Russians have miscalculated however, because the writers took advantage of the greater freedom and took things into their own hands. They did not obey Moscow or the Hungarian Communist Party instructions. In this sense one may say that the writers paved the way towards the Revolution.

(2g)

I have read many articles in the liberalized press, but I must say that I was not impressed by them. I thought that the writers, Communist writers that is, are doing a job assigned to them by the Party.

(3)

The prime factor leading to the Revolution, as I have already said, was the policy of liberalization. And the failure of this policy led to the Revolution.

(3b)

The reason for the collapse of the Control System <sup>Great</sup> was that there were not enough Communist ~~xxxxxxx~~ <sup>any</sup>

people became Party Members ~~WIDER~~ under pressure, ~~the~~  
~~for them~~ But they hated the regime no less than those  
who were no Party Members.

(3c) The demonstrations of October 23rd were staged by the  
students. The students were no doubt demonstrating for  
freedom. The students were demanding reforms.

(3f) No one opposed the Revolution. Everybody was on the side  
of the revolution.

(Interviewer's Note: Upon probing the respondent, whether  
there were not people opposed to the Revolution after all,  
the respondent answered:)

Oh yes, of course, those few thousands of Party Members,  
especially in high positions, were against the Revolution,  
those who <sup>were</sup> concerned both for their lives and their posi-  
tions.

(3g) The opportunists were neutral, and also those people  
whom I would call smart people. These were the  
people who did not want to take risks, the people who  
did not believe that the Revolution could succeed against  
the Russians.

(3h) I don't remember the ~~slogans~~ <sup>slogans</sup> too well, but I would say  
that the most popular among them was the one that ~~the~~ de-  
manded that ~~the~~ the Russians should go home.

(3i) The Revolution was both anti-communist and anti-russian.  
You could not be anti-communist without being anti-  
russian, because it was the Russians after all who  
brought the Communism to power in Hungary, and the Re-  
volution was against the Communists, who were in power.

- (3k) Those Communists, who joined the Revolution, were either Communists, who actually were no Communists at all, or those who switched sides ~~in~~ in order to save themselves.
- (4) On October 23rd I was mostly ~~at home in my apartment in~~ Budapest. I took several walks through the city and saw the demonstrations, but I did not participate in them. I did ~~much~~ the same thing on ~~xxxx@stet@xx23~~ October 24th. On October 25th Dudas had sent for me; The message I received was that I should go to a café in Buda, in the neighbourhood of Szena Square. I have met Dudas in prison, when I was in jail in Szeged. It was a prison acquaintance. I did not know much about him, neither about his past, nor about what ~~happened~~ happened to him after he was released from prison. But it was a sort of friendship which one makes with people in jail. He ~~is~~ must have sent for me also for the following reason: In 1944 I was working with the International Red Cross and he knew about that, and he needed someone with the kind of experience I ~~had~~ <sup>have</sup> had. When I arrived at the café, there were many people sitting with Dudas there, and he told me that he needed several reliable people. He also told me that he would entrust me the organization of ~~xxxxxx~~ food shipments from abroad. He referred to my experiences with the Red Cross, and he said that I would be the right person, because we will ~~had~~ have to work again with the Red Cross abroad.

he

(Interviewer's Note: I have probed the respondent<sup>o</sup> what he ~~knew~~ knew about the people around Dudas.)

I do not know exactly who were the people around him. I remember that Gyorgy Egri was among them, also Gyorgy Paludy. Following this meeting with Dudas I became a member of the Hungarian Revolutionary Council, of which Dudas was the head. Our headquarters were in the former offices of the Communist newspaper "Szabad Nép". I had my office there, and I would consider myself as one of the leading members of the Dudas group. //

(Interviewer's Note: Probing again the respondent what he knew about the people in the Dudas group, he said again that he does not remember the names. In general, he said the people <sup>around</sup> Dudas <sup>were his</sup> old friends, mostly people whom he met in prison. They were both workers and intellectuals. Upon probing again that he must have known after all who were the people he was working with, respondent said: The chaos was too great to know who the people were. About his work with the Dudas group respondent said the followings:

I was mostly making trips into the countryside to the border, where we received food shipment from abroad, and I have organized the transportation to the capital. On November 3rd I have returned from one of my trips, and I was at home on November 4th. Early in the morning we heard shootings and we turned on the radio, and we heard Imre Nagy's appeal for help. Thus we learned

about the Russian aggression. On November 4th we stayed at home, on November 5th I went to the headquarters in the ~~szabadszék~~ Szabad Nép Building of the Dudas Committee. I talked to him and advised him to flee, but he said that he would stay. His wife urged him also to flee, but he declined. Dudas told us that the revolution will prevail after all. He ~~also~~ expressed also the hope that the West will intervene.

- (5) I consider myself a non-fighting participant in the Revolution, although I had arms, I had to have on account of my trips to the countryside, but I did not use the arms and I did not participate actively in the fightings. Except, perhaps I should mention, that after November 4th, after the Russian attack, once I was helping in building barricades on the streets of Budapest.
- (5f) I was member of the Hungarian revolutionary council.
- (6) (Not applicable)
- (7) Among the revolutionary groups the greatest authority belonged to the Dudas group, <sup>i.e.,</sup> ~~also~~ to the Hungarian Revolutionary Council.  
Why? Because it was the only revolutionary organisation which had a nation-wide organisation. It was actually a state within the state.  
 (Interviewer's Note: I have probed respondent asking how did it happen that the Dudas group was able to or-



ganize itself on a nation-wide scale. Respondent's answer:)

I don't know anything about the organisation, I don't // know how it was organized or who organized it, but I do know that the nation-wide organisation existed. I have seen it during my trips across the county wherever I went, there was a committee which belonged to Budapest's Revolutionary Committee revolutionary council.

(7a)

This is a difficult question. only Americans can ask, because you are not aware of the fact that there were no conflicts among the revolutionaries. There was only one and sole conflict, and this was the conflict with the Russians.

(Interviewer's Note: I probed further respondent whether there weren't conflicts after all. His answer:)

liar.  
Anyone who says that there were conflicts is a ~~liar~~.

- (8) During the October period of the Revolution the Russian troops tried to behave in a friendly manner. They acted as if they were ~~stay~~ staying only for one or two days more in Hungary. It was different during the November period of the Revolution. Then they behaved like savages. It was a repetition of what happened in Budapest during the siege in 1944. They raped women, they stole watches, and broke into the homes of the people. I have seen from the windows of my apartment how the Russian soldiers broke into a jewelry shop and robbed it.

- (8e) I have heard about ~~massive~~ defections by Russians during the Revolution, ~~x~~ but I have not seen any concrete cases.
- (9abc) Since I had the leading position in the revolutionar-  
y council I have received most of my information through  
the council by word of mouth. I have seen the papers  
and here and there perhaps I tuned in the radio, but I  
did not have much time for doing so.
- (10) The old government and party institutions ceased over  
night, or ~~at~~ least they ceased in their old composition.
- (10a) New people came, who took over the positions.  
(I pressed the respondent concerning the Party.)
- (10b) The Party ceased too, but it was then reorganized under  
new leadership. Under Kadar's leadership.
- (10c) Same answer as above under (10a)
- (10d) The name of the local "councils" disappeared, but they  
continued to function mostly under new leadership.
- (10j) For instance we used the organisation ~~used~~ of the Red  
Cross, or the Social Democratic party used the framework  
of the trade unions.
- (10k) The new organisations which emerged during Revolution  
were the revolutionary "councils", and of course the  
suppressed parties. They organized themselves, but these  
were actually no new organisations. They were revived  
organisations.
- (10l) I have no personal experience about how the Workers'  
Councils have been organized. I would like to say, how-

ever, that everyone regarded the Workers' Councils as representing the strength of the nation.

- (10m) The probable government structure would have been a coalition of strongly leftist parties, such as the smallholders party, of course in a new form, and not in its rightist form as it existed under Ferenc Nagy.

(I probed respondent what he meant by 'rightist smallholders party under Ferenc Nagy.)

What I mean is that the smallholders party after the Second World War was shifting more and more to the Right as the oppositional Party to the Communists. Then another member of the coalition would have been, of course, the Social Democratic Party, and the third party, probably a Christian party, but not a rightist party either.

- (11) Of course, I think a lot of the Revolution.

- (11a) For those who succeeded to escape to the West the Revolution was useful, but not for the nation as a whole. I would like to add, however, that apart from the question whether the Revolution was useful for the Hungarian nation it had a great significance for the world; for because it proved to the world that a nation can resuscitate itself from the oppression of a foreign power, that force cannot suppress the will of the nation, because whenever the opportunity offers itself the nation will rise against the oppressor.

I ~~was~~ have no doubt that the Revolution could have succeeded, if it had received help from the West. As I have already said, the help from the West could have been rendered through the United Nations.

(11e) I think that Imre Nagy could have served as a transition to a democratic government. This could have been his role, nothing else.

(11f) I cannot think of any individual, because the nation as a whole was only important. The individuals were not important.

(11g) According to their ~~participation~~ degree of participation I would mention first the youth, students and young workers.

second the soldiers,

third the workers and intellectuals.

The peasants had little role to play.

And as to the irresponsible elements, I think they played a role only after November 4th, not in the first phase of the Revolution in October.

(12) I was anxious to leave right after the Russian attack, but my wife was opposed to the idea. She was afraid of life abroad. On November 10th one of my sons left, in December two other sons escaped, my wife and I left in March 1957.

(I probed respondent, why his wife was afraid of life abroad.)

My wife lived abroad, she  
lived in America, before she became my wife, and she did  
not like it in America.

(I probed respondent whether he was not afraid on account  
of his activities during the Revolution.)

No, at that time I was not afraid, in retrospect, how-  
ever, I would say that I had ~~made~~ a mistake in delaying  
my departure. It is very fortunate that nothing happen-  
ed to me.

asked

(Respondent ~~says~~ to add something to his answers, and  
he said:)

I have to explain that I married my present wife in 1953,  
x but in a church marriage only. We did not want to lose  
my wife's pension. We got married according to civilian  
marriage only after the escape to the West, here in  
Austria. My three sons are from my first marriage. My  
wife has a son from her first marriage, he is living in  
America.

(1) ~~ms~~ As for my primary occupation. I am a newspaper man, but I am also a baker. After my Matura in 1920, my father wanted me to become a baker. I learned my trade abroad, I was living between 1920 and 1924 in Germany, in Holland, in France. ~~After I came back I was eager~~ to continue my studies and in 1924 I became a student at the Budapest Economic University. I have my doctor's degree in Economics. In 1934 I founded a news service. The name of the news service was "Publicitas". This news service was functioning until 1938. Because of my ~~Yanxy~~ Jewish origin I had to discontinue it. I became a baker, or rather a sugar-maker, in 1938 again, a trade which I continued until 1944, when the Germans invaded ~~Germany~~ Hungary. Shortly thereafter I became associated with the International Red Cross, and I was continuing this job until the spring of 1945. I was commanded with the work to ~~a~~ save the Jews from Nazi persecution. In 1945 I have joined the Social Democratic Party and ~~got~~ a job there.

(2) These are the jobs I have held since 1945: As I have said, I entered the Social Democratic Party, and I was director of the Party's welfare cooperative from 1945 to 1948. In 1948 I was ousted from the Social ~~Dem~~ Democratic Party, or rather from the Hungarian Workers' Party, following the fusion of the Communists and the Social Democrats. Then I became manager of the welfare co-operative of the ~~smallholders~~ party, a job I have held from 1948 to 1950. In 1950 I was accused

of improper dealings at the Smallholders Party Welfare Co-operative. I was accused of distributing gifts which were illegal. I was tried and sentenced to prison. From 1951 to 1953 I was in jail. Released from jail in 1953, I worked for a while as a kitchen help at one of the Budapest factory restaurants run by the state-owned company for feeding the workshops. In 1954 I became one of the Company's managers in Balaton Alsóts. In 1955 I became manager of the workshop restaurant in Inova, and finally in 1956 manager of the Budapest workshop restaurant.

- (2b) As manager I was responsible for buying the food and setting out the menu in the workers' restaurants.
- (2c) These factory or workshop restaurants were set up by the regime and served meals at 3 ft. The company contributed to each meal about 2-3 ft. This cost the government quite a lot of money. Of course, it was partly to ease the economic plight of the workers, who were underpaid. Nevertheless, I am inclined to believe that this was one of the good things we had under the Peoples' Democracy. Speaking about my place of work, I must mention that there was much corruption in this field. I was known as a man with clean hands and I owed my job at Inova to this good reputation. To explain, why I did not take advantage of what a job of this kind could offer for corruption, I would explain that I did not steal merely for ethical reasons. To begin with, I have realized that you cannot steal alone. You have to do it in co-operation with others, and in my experience such

teaming up with others, as a rule, ended in disaster. Sooner or later the improper conduct of business was discovered. Second, most people, in jobs of my kind, were eager to steal alcoholic beverages. But I am no drinker and I was not tempted. Third, my income was enough to take care of our needs. Here, of course, I would like to mention that my earnings would not have been enough. My wife, however, had a pension of 600 ft monthly and also her son from America was sending us regularly ~~packages~~ <sup>packages</sup> and money.

- (3) Yes, I liked my job, and especially the one at Inota. It gave me a certain independence, decent housing, and, of course, as manager of the workers' restaurant I had no trouble in feeding ourselves.
- (3d) Working conditions were very poor, especially if you compared them with restaurant business in the West. They had obsolete machinery and not enough machines. Most of the work had to be done by hands. At one of the places I worked at, we had no ~~running water~~ running water. It was in one of the factories on the outskirts of Budapest. You can imagine what it was to run a restaurant without running water. We fetched the water from a well.
- (3f) As manager I had to work particularly hard, as a rule 16 to 18 hours a day.
- (3g) As a manager I worked practically 7 days a week.
- (3o) We had the usual benefit including medical care, but this was very poor. Fortunately we were in good health.



I was ~~entitled~~ entitled officially to 21 ~~days~~ days of vacation, but I never was in the position to take advantage of the 21 days. I took vacations of shorter duration ~~whenever~~ whenever it was possible.

- (4a) Most of the people working in the workers' restaurants were declass  elements: former high officials of the civil administration and the army, countesses, ~~actresses~~ actresses, and down to prostitutes. It was hard work and poorly paid. Therefore there were few Party Members in this business, e.g. at Inota there were about thousand employees and among them no more than thirty Party Members.
- (4b) Relations were good among the employees, misery taught us to be decent and good to each other.
- (4f) The trade unions had no significant role to play. They were window-dressing only.
- (4i) There was a "shop triangle" in the places of my work, but after Imre Nagy's ministry in 1953/54 the shop triangles lost much of their importance.
- (4l) At the jobs I have held the interference of the political officials was not strong. After I became manager I did my job well and there was no reason for interference. In my experience, as a rule, interference from the political officials was stronger there, where things did not go well.
- (4n) People of working class and peasant origin constituted the good kader.

- (4p) I was told at each place, I worked at, that there is a secret AVCOinformer, but I have not known them at any of the places I have worked.
- (5) In general it was very difficult to change jobs. There was some improvement around 1954/55.
- (5b) I have actually chosen my jobs freely and ~~it~~ <sup>they</sup> proved to be ~~the~~ the best jobs I could have thought of under the circumstances.
- (5e) I would travel and read a lot and also play chess, which I like very much.
- (5g) No, I would not have wanted my children to do the same kind of work. Although I ~~was~~ could eat and drink as much as I wanted, this was no goal of my ~~life~~ ~~life~~ ~~life~~ life. I considered my way of life as very inferior.
- (6) There were people who did worse than we did, but we did not do too well either. We were taken care as far as the bare necessities of life were concerned.
- (7) In 1947 I made 3 000 ft a month.  
In 1952 I did not make anything, because I was in prison.  
In 1955 my monthly income in money was 1 500 ft.
- (8) (See attached list)

- (9) (Interviewer's Comment: I made this interview before the revisions were handed out. I did not ask this question, but I remember respondent saying that his dwelling conditions at his best job, that is to say in Inota were good and that the housing conditions were comfortable ~~it~~ too. If I remember well, respondent said that he and his family had three rooms.)
- (10) I felt that the Hungarian economy was in a state of complete failure.
- (10c) Before 1941 my economic situation was good. As far as the country's economic situation goes, I think it was generally improving.
- (10cii)(Interviewer's Comments: Again I should say that I made this ~~interview~~ interview before the question revisions were handed out and I did not ask this question, or this point.)
- (10d) Between 1945 and 1947 there was an improvement in the economic situation. Thereafter, I think, the economic conditions deteriorated. There was a slight improvement before the revolution.
- (10f) The privat sector did well. But it was exposed also to dangers. Profit was low and goods scarce. Therefore the people in the privat sector were bound to commit all sorts of improper transactions and this exposed them to the danger of imprisonment.
- (10g) There was a slight improvement during the last years before the Revolution, as I have already said.

- (11) I think, the economic plight of the population was a very important factor in making people desperate. I think, economic conditions were a primary factor in causing dissatisfaction.

- (1) (For schooling see Section "W" No. (1).
- (2 +3) (In view that the respondent completed his schooling before the Communist take<sup>over,</sup>~~over,~~ these questions are not applicable.)
- (4) The main ~~objectives~~<sup>objectives</sup> of the Communist education were these:  
To estrange the children from their parents.  
Second, to make them into atheists.  
~~Third, to achieve a social equalization by lowering the standards.~~  
Three, to achieve a social equalization by lowering the standards.
- (4b) The Revolution is the best proof of how ineffective Communist education has been.
- (4c) In my experience the school children felt about Communism the same way as they parents did: They hated it.
- (4f) I have seen no change.
- (4h) (Same answer)
- (4i) Since I don't think that Communist education was effective I don't know how to answer this question.
- (5) My father was an elementary teacher, later he became a baker. He died in 1944.
- (5f) We were comfortably off.
- (5g) I was an only child, x but the family had 5 members since my grandmother and my aunt, the sister of my mother lived with us.
- (5h) My father died in 1944, my mother died in 1941, my

grandmother died in 1935, my aunt is still alive and is in Budapest.

- (5i) In 1956 I lived with my wife, my second wife that is, because my first wife ~~died~~ <sup>died</sup> in 1949. My three sons of my first marriage were away in school. Two of my sons were studying in Budapest, one at the university, one at the middle school, while my daughter was also in Budapest studying to become a doctor.
- (5k) My social origin was to my disadvantage.
- (6) As I ~~was~~ have said, my first wife died in 1949 and I married my second wife in 1953, but only according to the church. I married her in a civilian marriage only after our escape from Hungary in 1957 in Vienna.
- (7) We got along very well.
- (8) Within the family we were talking freely about political matters.
- (9bc) We had no conflicts whatsoever with my children over their education or otherwise.
- (10) I have noticed in my oldest son some Communist influence at one time, but it was not serious. It did not cause any conflicts within the family and this influence disappeared before long anyway.

- (11) I got along with my parents well.
- (12) I don't remember talking with my parents about political matters.
- (13) (Not applicable)
- (14) Our family life was very good and close.
- (14b) I think, our family life was more intimate than the average.
- (14c) I was reading in my leisure time, I played chess, and sometimes we went to the T theater.
- (14g) After 1945 I could not do ~~me~~ what I wanted with my leisure time. To begin with, I had very little leisure time.
- (15) The impact of the events since 1945 had a twofold effect on family life: There were families <sup>where</sup> ~~were~~ ~~famili~~ ties became loosened and other families where they became ~~tighkser~~ tightened. But frankly, I did not pay much attention to this problem and I don't feel qualified to speak about it.
- (15e) The <sup>objective</sup> ~~objective~~ of communist education was to estrange the children from the family, but this policy proved itself a failure.
- (16) Generally speaking the relations between boys and girls have become freer.

- (16b) As far as courtship goes girls who were unwilling to go to bed with boys were not considered as desirable for courtship. As far as marriage goes, they became more businesslike. Young people ~~mar~~ married, because the earnings of both, man and wife, made life easier. As far as sexual aspects went, pre-marriage virginity became out-dated.
- (16e) There was no prostitution, legally. Illegally, however, it was ~~max~~ the more wide-spread.
- (16f) The Communists ~~it~~ liked to pose as being more strict in sexual matters as the previous regimes. But actually they were much less strict.
- (16h) The difference between legitimate and illegitimate birth disappeared entirely.
- (16i) The status of women has deteriorated. They suffered under the equalization of sexes and received no benefits from it.
- (17) The general state of morals has sunken very low.
- (18) My best friend I have met in the gymnasium. We were friends for over 40 years.
- (18c) We talked a lot, endlessly, about politics during the past decade and we were, of course, opposed to the Communist regime. Before that we talked less about politics.
- (18g) I value most in a friend the willingness to help.



- (18i) My circle of friends consisted of ~~many~~ enemies of the regime. The main theme of our ~~many~~ conversations was politics and criticism of the hated Communist regime.
- (19) My parents were Jews.
- (19b) Out of respect ~~with~~ <sup>for</sup> my parents, I stayed a Jew.
- (20) The Communists affected religious life, because of their anti-religious policy.
- (20b) I think, the Communists were trying to use religion for their own ends. They wanted to create churches loyal to the regime.
- (20c) I do not know, what I should think of the "peace priests" I just cannot imagine how they could have supported the regime out of sincerity.
- (20f) People could go freely to church, except of course the Party Members.
- (20i) People, who went most frequently to church services, were those, who were anxious to demonstrate their anti-regime feelings. People who went ~~in~~ least frequently were those, who did not have such desire, then people who just did not take the trouble to go to church, and finally those who were concerned about their job. The point I am trying to make is this: Going or not going to church was not connected with religious sincerity. It was conditioned rather by considerations of outside the realm of religion.

- (20k) Religion to-day is less important to young people than it was to their parents'.
- (20l) I believe that the church increased political opposition during the last five or six years.
- (21) I would advise my young friend to become a doctor.
- (21b) I would advise him to study and study and study.
- (22) I would set up the following groups of people:  
First, the new aristocracy of Party functionaries.  
Second, a small middle-group of privileged or relatively  
~~xx~~ privileged people.  
And third, the great majority of the population living as proletarians.
- (22a) I belonged to the small middle group. Not that I made enough to belong to this group, but rather because of my wife's pension and because of the packages and financial assistance we received from my wife's son from her first marriage. As I said, he lived, and he is living in America.
- (22b) Although it was better to belong to the group which I described the small middle stratum of the society, doing better than the rest of the people, nevertheless, I think that I would have preferred perhaps to belong to the third group, to the vast group of proletarians, because it was less dangerous to belong to the great majority.

- (23) I would distinguish between the same three groups which I have described above. I would add perhaps another group: The intellectual aristocracy, the musicians, the scientists, the writers. Those whom the ~~the~~ regime had favoured, not because they were necessarily for the regime, but because the regime ~~is~~ was anxious to maintain an intellectual aristocracy as a proof of its success and also as an inducement <sup>for</sup> of the younger generation to encourage their ambitions.
- (23b) ~~Of course~~ Of course this is a significant change, because the class stratification of the Hungarian society before the war was different.
- (23d) There are great barriers ~~amongst~~ between the privileged and the not privileged. But otherwise there are no barriers among the members of the present Hungarian society.
- (23e) As a result of proletarianization, ~~proletarianization~~ the social equality of the Hungarian society is much greater as it used to be.
- (23g) Manners in Hungary have deteriorated, especially among the younger people.
- (24) I have no information on national minorities.
- (25) Because most of the Jews in Hungary were engaged in business, the Communist regime affected them very gravely.

Second, I would like to point out that, since so many Jews found themselves in leading positions, of the regime, this had also detrimental effects on the situation of Jews in post-war Hungary, because so many people identified Communist rules with the rule of Jews. This, I, as a Jew, would point out, was very unfair, because, when Szalasi ruled Hungary, the Hungarians did not make him responsible for what he did on account of his being a Christian. But when Rakosi ruled in Hungary, people thought of him as a Jew.

(25c) (In view of the fact that respondent himself is a Jew, this point is not applicable.)

(25g) In comparison with conditions between 1939 and the end of the Second World War, the perils of anti-Semitism decreased considerably after 1945. The very life of the Jews was not endangered. As far as anti-Semitism goes, I would say, there always was anti-Semitism, there is anti-Semitism, and there probably will be anti-Semitism.

(25h) I assume that you are thinking of the future when the Communist regime had disappeared. Now, I think, the position of the Jews in such a future would depend entirely on the attitude and policy of the post-Communist government.

- (1) As a professional journalist I am of course very much ~~interested~~ interested in politics.
- (2) After 1945, because of my Jewish origin, of course I had the feeling of freedom. In 1947, when the Communists began to behave more and more aggressively, my feelings towards the Regime have changed considerably. As a proof of my changed sentiments I could cite that in 1948, when the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party fused, I resigned my membership in the Social Democratic Party. I would point out, however, that the Party without accepting my resignation, excluded me. <sup>Since</sup> The beginning of the era of the so-called "people's Democracy" my attitude towards the system was that of complete negation. As I have said, between 1951 and 1953 I was in prison. I often ~~found~~ <sup>felt,</sup> while in prison, that this was my punishment for the ~~my~~ stupidity that I did not leave the country, when this was possible.
- (2e) In addition to my experiences with Communism my initial attitude towards Communism was based on my economic studies. As an economist I was always opposed to Communism. I always believed that the whole Communist system is based on false ideas.
- (2f) I would choose (ii) Always against the regime.
- (2h) There is nothing strange about the population obeying the authorities, when the authorities are using terror. Any group in power using force and terror can drive the population into obedience.

- (3a) I am unable to choose three. I would choose (vi). This much I know, but I do not know which should be my two other choices.
- (3b) (xiv), (xv), (xiii).
- (3c) (ii), (vi), (iii).
- (3d) (ii), (vii), (ix).
- (3e) (iv), (iii), (xiii).
- (3j) Offerings in the field of social welfare could have acted as a sort of compensation, but I do not think that this was really the feeling among the population. There was just nothing that provided satisfaction, gratification, or relief.
- (4) The real power in Hungary was in the hands of the Russians.
- (4f) There always had been a bureaucracy in Hungary, but under the Communists it was even greater and, of course, different. In the past, the bureaucracy as the guardian of law, was more effective. Under the Communists the huge bureaucracy could not make the law prevail. It was terror more than bureaucracy that ruled Hungary.
- (4h) In addition to power-seekers, the novelty was that after the Second World War was that the Communists favoured people of working class and peasant origin to enter government service.
- (5) As far as I could see, <sup>the</sup> young people did not take seriously the DISZ. As far as advantages go, perhaps in

the beginning the young people were expecting something from the DISZ. Later they became cynical about it.

- (5a) I do not know ~~whether~~ whether there were any draw-backs. The whole organisation was a failure. It proved the failure of the entire regime which boasted itself as <sup>being</sup> built on the youth.

(5d+e) (not applicable)

- (6) What did it mean to be a Party Member? Under all circumstances <sup>it</sup> ~~it~~ meant a larger slice of bread. For people of working class and peasant origin the Party membership opened great chances of becoming something. For middle class people these chances were rather limited. Nevertheless, even for them Party membership offered great advantages: Better jobs, greater salaries, and so forth.

- (6f) The cause of disappointment: Here I would distinguish between people who became Party members out of leftist sympathies and people who joined the Party out of opportunism. In the first group disappointment was a result of realizing that Communism is a big lie. In the other group it is hard to speak about disappointment, because these people never really believed in Communism. They might have not gotten what they expected, but their disappointment was not in Communism as an idea. They were just disappointed because they did not get from the regime what they expected to receive.

- (6h) I was never a Communist Party member.

- (6r) The Party, as everything else, in Hungary was run by the Russians.
- (7) I belonged to my trade union
- (7c) On paper the purpose of the trade unions was to defend the interests of the employees, In reality the trade unions did not do anything of this sort. They were completely subjected to the Party.
- (7d) I became member automatically as an employee.
- (7e) I was paying dues and nothing else.
- (7g) Most people thought of the trade unions as an unpleasant necessity. The people thought the same way about all mass organizations.
- (7i) All mass organizations functioned <sup>under</sup> ~~under~~ Party pressure.  
trade unionists
- (7m) Whether old <sup>trade unionists</sup> who knew the difference between past and present, or new members, who did not know, they both hated the trade unions.
- (8) I do not think that there were more than 1 to 2 % who really believed in Communism.
- (9) Groups such as the Youth Movement became centres of opposition because the youth was forced into it. They never really were what they were supposed to be or what the regime thought of them being, namely pillars of the regime.



- (10) The terror is everywhere. It is the essence of the Communist regime.
- (10b) The AVH was the security pillar of the regime. The regime could not exist without it. Its work consisted of keeping the population in terror to prevent any outbreak of dissatisfaction.
- (10c) Members of the regular army were recruited into the AVH by transfer from the army into the AVH. In addition, reliable people were assigned to the AVH, who volunteered. But I am inclined to believe that there was a greater number of people, who were just forced into the AVH, than the number of those who volunteered into it.
- (10d) I do not know.
- (10e) (same answer)
- (11) I was arrested in August 1951 during my trial which was opened against me for ~~the~~ distributing illegal gifts in my capacity as manager of the Smallholder Party's welfare co-operative. Subsequently I was sentenced to prison, as I have told you before.
- (11a) The people who were exposed to arrest most were:  
First, the so-called class aliens.  
second, former Social-Democrats.
- (11b) I know from my own experience how inhuman the prisons are. I was imprisoned in Szeged and ~~the~~ Balassagyarmat. Although I did not suffer as much as political prisoners did, I do not like to remember what I have undergone.

- (12f) I was not maltreated physically.
- (13) The ~~na~~ best way to ~~a~~ stay clear of trouble is to leave Hungary. This will be my advice.
- (13c) Personal connections are usual, but very hard to get.
- (13d) Good class background is no doubt helpful, but not always.
- (13f) Yes, it is possible to avoid trouble by keeping one's mouth shut. I think this is the main ~~differe~~ difference between the ~~fa~~ <sup>Under</sup> ~~fas-~~ <sup>ciem</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>On</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>as-</sup> ~~xxx~~ <sup>xxx</sup> ~~xxx~~ <sup>xxx</sup> it did not help at all, if you kept your mouth shut, ~~xxx~~ <sup>I am</sup> speaking of course as a Jew.
- (14) The terror was strongest from 1949 to 1953. I myself I was released from prison through amnesty in 1953 as a result of the relaxation of terror.
- (15) There is no other will but that of the Soviets that prevails in Hungary.
- (15e) Soviet interference was most ~~int~~ intensive in economic affairs. I cannot think of any area, where the Soviet influence was least intensive. It was intensive in all areas of life.
- (16) You could manifest your feelings only among your most trusted friends.
- (16c) You could be frank with your trusted friends, who shared your opinion, no one else.

- (16d) You better did not speak of anything ~~ka~~ that was critical of the regime.
- (17) There were hundreds of ways how to sabotage the regime. I, for one, I approved of any kind of damage you could do to the regime. But I disapproved of such sabotage which caused harm to the people. To give examples, I would say, it was sabotage which I approved of, if you prevented that machinery for exports should be kept inside the country, but it was sabotage that I disapproved, when you lowered the quality of articles of consumption.
- (18) The strength of the regime is the power of the Soviets that stands behind it. The weakness of the regime <sup>stems</sup> ~~stems~~ <sup>from</sup> ~~from~~ ~~on~~ the fact that, as I have said, out of 9 million Hungarians 8,9 millions are enemies of the regime and of the Russians.
- (19) Opposition to the regime manifested itself in two ways: One was talking against the regime, the other was committing sabotage.
- (19b+c) I do not think that you can answer these questions by naming groups. Both attitudes were a matter of individual temperament.
- (19l) The emergence of the Petöfi Circle I explain as a result of the regime's ~~relaxation~~ relaxation policy.

By contrast, the emergence of the MEFESZ was the initiative of the youth. In other words, while the initiative to the Petöfi Circle came from above, the initiative to the MEFESZ <sup>from</sup> below.

- (1) I got most of my information from foreign broadcasts.
- (1a) The most important sources of informations were, in this order, Free Europe Radio, BBC, and Voice of America.
- (2) As you know, I am a professional journalist and I was practically reading all newspapers and magazines.
- (2g) From abroad I have seen only Soviet publications, or publications from other People's Democracies, nothing from the West.
- (3) We went to the movies rather often, twice or three times a week sometimes. Of course it depended a lot on my schedule. When I had nightwork to do, we could not go to the movies.
- (3b) I liked foreign films of whatever kind.
- (4) I did not read books for entertainment. I preferred professional books, mostly in economics.
- (4e) I had no favourite writers.
- (5) Sometimes I have listened to the domestic radio, but not very often.
- (6) Yes, I was listening to foreign stations regularly.
- (6d) As far as reliability goes, I would mention BBC first, then Free Europe. I resented very often the tone of the

Free Europe Radio Broadcasts. The ~~words~~<sup>threats</sup> they have made often reminded me of the Nazi style.

- (7) I received little or no information by word-of-mouth.
- (8) The informations I received from domestic newspapers I did not consider reliable at all.
- (8d) To begin with I was sceptical. I did not trust the informations in the domestic newspapers and second I was listening to foreign broadcasts and thus I could compare the news from ~~the domestic sources~~ domestic sources with those from abroad.
- (8e) I considered all domestic news equally a lie.
- (9) I think, people tried hard to be well-inform .

- (1) The changes needed could be summed up in one brief sentence: Restore the freedom of the individual.
- (1a) <sup>I</sup>What would want to keep under another regime, could be summed up in another brief sentence:  
Everything that furthers the social welfare of the society. - Here I would like to add that we were told by the Communists that the social reforms, the Soviets have enabled in Hungary, are unknown in the West. I know it now, more than ever before, that this was a lie. The fact remains, however, that the social security system introduced under the Communists should be kept.
- (2) There should be political parties and I would make no  
(2)r: ~~exception~~ exception to this.
- (3) I would not curtail the right of all people to say anything they want.
- (3c) Since I am against curtailing the freedom of speech, I ~~do~~ believe that the people should have also the right to criticize the government.
- (3d) It is hard to answer this question by saying yes or no. In principle I am against ~~the~~ curtailing the freedom of speech, as I already said.
- 
- (4) Yes, all people should be free to participate in meetings.
- (4b) An ~~armed~~ <sup>armed</sup> uprising against a dictatorship is justified.

- (5) I am in favour of restoring the economic system based on private enterprise.
- (6) I do not know what the experiences in the West are with the nationalization of heavy ~~industry~~<sup>industry.</sup> In principle, however, I approve of the idea that wealth should not be concentrated in the hands of a few individuals.
- (6b) In principle I am of the view, that all factories should be restored to their former ~~owners~~<sup>owners.</sup> There are of course practical details which would need special ~~and~~ consideration in the light of general welfare and common good.
- (6c) I believe in private profit.
- (6e) In principle ~~I~~<sup>I</sup> do not believe in state monopolies, but again considerations of public welfare may necessitate exceptions.
- (Interviewer probed respondent, what ~~exceptions~~ exceptions he had in mind. Respondent's answer:)
- For instance I believe that medical care should be a responsibility of the state.
- (7) I do not approve of nationalization of light industry. I do not think that the general welfare could gain by such excesses of nationalization.
- (8) Government planning in the form we have known it, is nothing but a Communist deceit.



- (9) The private life of the citizen should be protected against state interference.
- (10e) The duties of the citizen towards the state and the duties of the state towards the citizen are mutual.
- (11) Medical <sup>care</sup>/has improved in Hungary quantitatively, but qualitatively it deteriorated, e. g. drugs were inferior and ~~insufficient~~ <sup>insufficient.</sup>
- (12) As far as I know, the Hungarian citizen have no more opportunity to go to the movies or theatre or concerts than before the War.
- (13) I think, the Hungarian citizens eat better than before the war, or, at least, many Hungarians eat better than they did before.
- (13a) They eat better to-day than in 1946.
- (13b) They eat worse than in 1950.
- (14) In clothing the situation is about the same, namely many Hungarians clothe themselves better than before the war.
- (14a) They are better clothing themselves than in 1946.
- (14b) Worse than in 1950.
- (15) I do ~~so~~ <sup>not</sup> know. This is a difficult question to answer off hand.

- (16) I am in favour of worker's councils with a consultative role.
- (16d) The owner is entitled to manage a factory.
- (17) I do not know, because I ~~maxx~~ do not have enough knowledge of agricultural problems.
- (17c) The peasants should decide what should be done with the collective farms.
- (17f) With reference to land-holding I hold the same view as concerning industrial wealth. I am against concentrating too much wealth in one hand. Off hand I do not know what should be the limit on land-holding.
- (17h) Yes, the land should be restored to all smallholders who were expropriated.
- (17i) I think, my previous answer ~~xxx~~ covers this question too.
- (17l) This is a difficult question to answer. As I have said I do not know enough about agriculture. I do not know how to answer this question.
- (17m) Same answer.
- (18) The relations between the church and the state should be regulated according to the principle of separation.
- (18f) I would send my children to a denominational school.
- (19) In dealing with Party members, the principle that the guilty should be punished should be applied.
- (19efg) Same answer,
- (19h) Same answer.

- (20) I consider the followings as the most important contributions of Hungary's past to world history. First, the choice of Western Christianity by King Saint Stephen, then the defence of the West against the Turks, also Francis Rakoczi's rising against the Habsburgs in defence of Hungarian freedom, then the Hungarian struggle for freedom against the Habsburg oppression in 1848, the 1918-Revolution as an action against feudal Hungary, and finally the 1956-Revolution against the Communist and Russian rule.
- (21) I consider the Hungarian ~~peasant's~~ peasant's love of land as the most important trait in the Hungarian national character.
- (21e) Again I think that the Hungarian peasant distinguishes himself from the other social classes of Hungary by his love of the land.
- (21f) As far as social differences go, I would distinguish between the situation as it existed before 1945 and after 1945. Before 1945 there were distinct differences between the aristocracy, the gentry, the bourgeoisie, the peasant-<sup>difference</sup>try, and the working class. After 1945 the ~~difference~~ was between the Communist aristocracy and the rest of the population.
- (22) I think, the best government Hungary had in the 20th century was under Count <sup>Moricz</sup>~~Andras~~ Esterhazy in 1917.

- (22f) The economic inequality in Hungary before 1945 was very significant.
- (22i) In my opinion the period between 1945 and 1948 was better both, in comparison with the years before, and after. The period before was one of Nazi terror, the period after was one of Communist terror. This is why I think that the years between 1945 and 1948 were better.
- (23) I am in favour of a Central European Union. After the formation of such a union I would say that border lines may lose their importance.
- (23b) No, I do not think that there is a natural conflict between the Hungarians and any other people.
- (24) As I have said, a while ago, I believe in the Central European Union. This is the answer to <sup>the</sup> problem of Hungary and to the problems of all the other neighbours of Hungary.
- (25) The average Russian is well below the European average. But basically, I think, the Russians are good-hearted people.
- (26) Marxism, I think, is an out-dated system of thinking. This is why the Socialist Parties of the West once devoted to Marxist dogmatism are now pushing aside Marxist ~~dogmas~~ dogmas and are in process of transition and in

## ideology.

search for a new new ~~ideology~~

- (26e) I do not know how to answer this question. I do not know whether Tito is a good Marxist.
- (26h) I see no obstacle why a Marxist could not be a democrat.
- (26i) Democracy was in the making in Hungary, both in 1918, after the First World War, and in 1945, after the Second World War.
- (27) ~~Nationalism~~ ~~Communism~~ ~~is~~ ~~an~~ ~~idea~~ ~~of~~ The essence of National Communism is that it breaks away from Moscow.
- (27e) I do not think Communism and Hungarian patriotism are compatible. Communism in Hungary means Russian domination. To approve Communism in Hungary is the same as to approve Russian domination of the country.
- (28) To suppose that Imre Nagy would have stayed in power after the Revolution is to suppose also ~~that~~ that UN troops had arrived to Hungary to protect the country against a Russian aggression. Now, in that case I would think that a leftist democratic development would have happened.
- (28b) No, I do not think that Imre Nagy could have remained at the head of the government. As I have explained earlier, he could be only a transition.  
(This is respondent's reference to what he said in Section "R", question (11e).)

- (29a) Good.
- (29bc de) Bad.
- (29f) Cannot answer in either good or bad terms.
- (29g) Good.
- (29h) Cannot answer.
- (29ij) Cannot answer.
- (29k) Good.
- (29l) Bad.
- (29m) Good.
- (29n) Cannot answer.
- (30) The Smallholders Party would be the winner in free elections to-day.
- (30a) The most popular leader is Mindszenty.
- (31abc def) Below.
- (31g) Above.
- (31hi) Below.
- (32a) Better
- (32b) Did not exist.
- (32c) Better.
- (32d) Did not exist.
- (32e) Better.
- (32f) Better.
- (32g) Worse.
- (32hi) Better.

(33abef)Coincide.

(33ghij)Conflict.

(34) I had no concerns of this kind.

(35) ~~Only~~ Only the aristocracy of the privileged would fight for the present regime. Everybody else would be against it.

(36) Since I have ~~now~~ left Hungary I have changed some of my views concerning Socialism and Marxism. I did not know namely what kind of changes ~~had~~ Western Socialism had undergone during the past decade.

- (1) Yes, I have several questions to ask: First, do you think that I was honest in answering your questions? (Interviewer's answer: I assured respondent that I believed what he ~~said~~ said. Thereupon respondent asked interviewer to help him in his personal problems. He explained that he was refused entry to the United States and as a security risk, and he urged interviewer to do something on his behalf. When interviewer explained that this would not be possible, respondent became a very unpleasant making remarks which interviewer resented and asked that the topic should be dropped. Thereupon respondent apologized.
- (2) I never intend to go back to Hungary except as a visitor.
- (3) I have no suggestions to make.



Rapport with respondent was very friendly, excellent, so was his co-operativeness. I am not so sure whether respondent was always frank with me. Uppermost in his mind <sup>it</sup> seemed ~~was~~ to me/his personal problem, the problem that he was refused entry to the United States. I very often had the feeling that he thinks of the right answers, in order to prove that he is no security risk. I do not happen to know his personal story. I ~~avoided~~ avoided finding it out, although respondent was all too eager to engage me in conversation about personal matters. I have the suspicion, however, respondent throughout the interview was trying to prove that he is no Marxist, no Socialist, let alone a Communist. Apart from that respondent is no doubt an intelligent observer and, I think the interview offers a great deal of good material for evaluation.