

- (1) Primarily the West should understand what it meant to be forced to enter the Party - the better the worker was the less chances he had to resist his superiors who wanted to make ¹ party candidate out of him, at any price. The West cannot understand under what pressure one lived in Hungary.
- (2) This question could be answered better by the youth - it was the revolution of the youth primarily. Nevertheless, the whole nation expected a change. In the evening^g, the children came home and said: "Father, Mother, we only learned about ^{the type of} events which are going on in the streets at the moment~~s~~, but we never really believed that they could actually happen.
- (2a, b, I, II, II, IV) Unfortunately, they were much too busy to be able to partake actively in the political life, they were even too busy to read newspapers, find out what was happening around them.
- (2VI) It meant a thaw and it definitely gave hope to the hopeless.
- (2VII) It was startling, although it was a known fact that Re^{ik} himself, in his time, was an oppressor. His rehabilitation definitely weakened the Communist Party - it was another, this time, major mistake, one of the millions the Party committed and one of the hundred thousand it actually acknowledged.
- (c) Stalin's death - the satellite's hoped that it would produce a thaw in the Soviet Union and thus, necessarily, be followed by

thaws everywhere within the Soviet orbit.

- (2e,f,g) It definitely had the appearance that the intelligentsia was "intertwined" with the Revolution - in the radio, poems written for the occasion were broadcast and the basic feeling behind them was that the intelligentsia is in unison with the workers and guides them. They do not recall specific articles or poems - they did not read newspapers, they were full of politics which did not cover the reality, why read them?!
- (3) The Hungarian nation lived during the last twelve years in a spider web of lies - many disappointments and much despair led to the outbreak of the Revolution. Despite this, the Hungarians did not want to shed blood - they were not equipped with arms and when forced to use them they used primitive ones - the world can see clearly that the aim of the Hungarian nation was not to shed blood.
- (3b) The Communists were known to be bad psychologists - they did not know that those people who seemingly worked for them were their biggest enemies. There was no loyalty toward the Communist Party, there were personal interests which were served through the Party.
- (3c) They wanted to make their claims known by the whole country. The main claims were: the leaving of the Russian army, free elections, freedom of the press, freedom of religion. The regime did not allow these points to be made nationally known

because it realized that if they were broadcast, then every little village would suddenly become aware of the fact that the discontentment ^{was} general.

- (3f) Those who profited by the regime. An example: her chief of division. He had a salary of 3,000 forints and many times said that he could not have gotten it, if he had not been a Party member. In all fairness, one should admit though that he was a decent person and, his heart beat with the hearts of the workers, he often told them: don't fulfill the norms, the consequences will be bad, we will have to impose stricter norms. Yet, he did get scared when the Revolution broke out because, as he put it, he could not bank on the fact that people would have good memories - they might forget that he had been decent and only remember that he had been a Party member.
- (3g) As far as they know ^{there} were no neutral people - even the Communists would help the Freedom Fighters, because the Communists were not convinced followers of the doctrine. Thus, whether Communist or not, the whole Hungarian nation took part in this Revolution, with the only difference that some fought actively and some helped those who did the shooting. The strike was also general - thus the Revolution was general, in the strictest sense of the word
- (3h) "Imre Nagy should become the head of the government." And "we will not work until there is ^{one} Russian on Hungarian soil."

(3i) It would be more accurate to say that it was anti-Russian because the Hungarians could have easily taken care of those few convinced Hungarian Communists, if the Russians had not been around. As the AVO's were shooting at the radio at unarmed people, everybody, in a couple of seconds, lived through the twelve years of oppression and, in everybody's heart, one feeling arose: Freedom. Freedom at any price, freedom even at the price of my own life.

(4) They tried to get food for the family, a family which, for the first time, was not united. Their son-in-law is a priest and he was against ^{he fighting by his} brother- and sister-in-law

The regime could not have had a bigger adversary than this priest was and yet he was horrified at the idea of the Revolution and horrified that his own family would fight. His warnings did not make any effect, ^{neither} his invoking the gospel

He was a voice which was shouting in a desert. They, the old ones, did not want to interfere - their main concern was that a permanent rift should not be "cut" among their children.

(4a) On the Soroksári Street, she saw Russians shoot at the population which was standing in line, waiting for bread. She herself saw a neighbor of hers being shot when she stepped out of the house. AVO's were shooting from ambulance cars in front of the Ferencvárosi Husúzem; the Freedom Fighters started to shoot back and some of them were wounded and that's how

they found out that actually they were AVO's. She herself saw three women being shot by a Russian tank stationed at the Haller Market, the three women only wanted to help extinguish a fire. The son of one of her colleagues, a widow whose husband had been deported by the Russians after World War II, was called ^{by} a Russian ^{in case} tank, he had no arms, went to the tank and talked to the Russian soldiers, when he turned to leave, the Russians shot him in the back. He died instantaneously. Another incident she herself saw was two elderly men lying next to their bikes, they apparently had gone to fetch some bread, because the bread was lying next to them - the bread was warmer than they were.

And yet it is true that there were Russians who decided not to fight the Hungarians and that ^{was} the reason for the second, Mongolian intervention.

- (4b) It is a known fact that the police and army gave their arms to the Freedom Fighters, even if they themselves did not take part actively in the Revolution. He saw soldiers go down the Úllői Street, Haller Street, Soroksári Street and enter the Kilian barracks.
- (4c) Neither of them did, they could not watch a man being executed, if they were judges, they could not condemn to death anybody, they would forgive every criminal. They did see AVO's being exhumed at the Kőrút and at the Baross street - they were accompanying a neighbor of theirs who was desperately looking for

her only son. Unfortunately she did find him.

(5b) They were striking till the middle of December.

(7) The emphasis was on the students, on the intelligentsia and the workers were happy to accept their orders.

(7a) Doesn't know about it.

(8) The apartment houses and hospitals (!) of the Kórut and Ullői street were damaged with phosphoric projectiles; the Institute of Anatomy of the Baross street was completely destroyed, there were around eight hundred dead; the apartment houses around the Corvin Theater and the Kilian barracks ^{were} also completely destroyed: actually, small private homes were hit by shells on the Soroksári road and on the Erzsébet road. The police station from the Pál street was completely burned out by phosphoric projectiles. The fights were going on amidst churches, hospitals, private homes. The Russians answered ^{one rifle} shot with five cannon shots. One of her colleagues died in her apartment, she was not even at the window, she was in her bed. Many of her neighbors said that this woman was lucky, in a way, her death was quite comfortable, among her own pillows. She looked forward so much toward her being pensioned in January, ^{had} worked for the last thirty years, well, she ^{was} re-tired for good by the Russians.

(8e) She has only heard about it from the Freedom Fighters.

(9) Their apartment was in the midst of the biggest fightings - about three hundred meters from the Kilian barracks. Their windows were broken and many shots were fired into their living

room.

- (9a) The biggest part was played by the leaflets, that's how they would get information about local events.
- (9b) The youth, including their own youngsters, would occasionally come home and relate about the progress of events.
- (9c) Definitely. It broadcast the appeals of Imre Nagy and the way he managed to put into effect the just claims of the Hungarian nation. It was extremely gratifying to hear Imre Nagy's appeal that everybody should fulfill his or her duty, during the fighting. But it was most depressing though to hear that one should let the families of the Soviet military and civil people leave - everybody thought that it would not be a bad idea to have hostages. Imre Nagy's last appeal was electrifying and, at the same time, depressing. Everybody knew it to be the last of his appeals and everybody, at that moment/^{what} was convinced that that Imre Nagy who ^{was} being ousted, was one o ^{us}
- (10) Those people whose faces were known from the newspapers disappeared completely.
- (10a) Everything was dissolved. Not even István Dobi remained ⁱ on his job.
- (10b) The Party office^s were completely burned out.
- (10c) The police sided with the Freedom Fighters, it gave them arms, even if the police employees ^{themselves} did not actively take part in the Revolution.

- (10d) There were known cases when employees would go into their offices, unarmed, in order to stop every type of activity which might have had the stamp of the old regime on it.
- (10h) They were completely dissolved. It was the popular police which, through small groups, composed of five - six members, made contact between the different provinces.
- The Popular police also functioned very effectively in the capital.
- (10g) The Petöfi Circle, the DISZ and the Writers' Union were used as patriotic organizations; then, in the offices of the Hungarian Soviet Society there were arms which were put at the disposal of the Freedom Fighters.
- (10k) The army, rather the enlisted men, sided too quickly with the Revolution, following the appeal of Maléter. The officers, the pets of the regime, did not dare do the same thing. They were afraid and hid. Those who had been willing to side with the Freedom Fighters, were not prepared militarily to do so; in other words, even those officers who fought with their units side by side with the Freedom Fighters did not furnish any effective help to the Revolution. They were not trained properly.
- (10l) Honest people, clerks as well as workers, went into the plans, wearing cockades, in order to check that no action should take place which might soil the purity of the Revolution. That's how the Workers' Councils were founded; the news spread and was picked up also by elements whose place was not in the plan^t.

at the moment. They also put on national cockades and tried to penetrate into the ^{different enterprises} this was not too difficult, as the guards knew them. But they were also known by more responsible people, who realizing their camouflaged aim - cause disturbance, took their cockades and threw them ^{in various} out from the plans.

- (10m) Until elections, the coalition government of Imre Nagy would have remained. "Neutrality and independence" were the two main points around which everything else would have gravitated.
- (11a) They strongly hope that the sacrifice of the Hungarian people is going to benefit the whole world; after the bloodshed caused by the Russians there can not be any doubt, in any peoples' minds, about the so-called "peace plans" of the Soviet imperialists.
- (10b) No decent person, living in the 20th century, would have believed that a government, which calls itself a great power, should intervene in the affairs of a small nation, should trample upon justice.
- (11c) They expected help till January, 1957, that is the reason for their not leaving until that date.

They feel that after twelve years of suppression, the Hungarian nation was entitled to help from the free peoples. Not being cultured people, they do not know what form this help should have taken, all they feel and know is that the Western powers should have found the proper form.

- (10e) Imre Nagy was an economist, thus, from an economical viewpoint, he

would have been qualified to lead the affairs of the Hungarian state; nevertheless, it is also true that he, too, was a pupil of the Kremlin-so, he could not very well imagine any other type of government than the one he was indoctrinated in this Communist mentality was apparent in all his actions, almost till the very last; although one did have the feeling that he was a Hungarian, who wanted to become more and more faithful to the traditions of his nation, he did not have at his disposal the means to do so, due to external and internal pressure. By "internal pressure" they mean his own mentality which was stamped by Communism.

(10f) In 1943, Maléter became a Russian prisoner. There he was offered good treatment, if he consented to be indoctrinated. He accepted but retrospectively ~~and~~ can see that his concealed aim was ^{to} serve his own nation. The case of Maléter shows that blood never becomes water (a vér nem válik vízzé). If one chooses to become a politician or a military leader, one has two possibilities; either one becomes a hero or one has to fall. Usually the two possibilities occur at different moments in the interval of a life. Maléter chose to become a hero, not minding the fall which, necessarily, had to follow this choice.

(10g) I - They were the orators; III; IV - some took part from the very first minute-they were among the ranks of the demonstrators; II - the minute the Revolution broke out, the peasants started to

feed the capital.

- (12) Their son (although the son in question is the step-son of the wife, she talks about him as if it were her very own; the same thing is true of ^{his} daughter, who is ^{actually his} step-daughter

He had to leave the 27th of December, because of having taken an active part in the Revolution. They asked him to notify them, as soon as possible, whether he had succeeded in crossing the border; it would have been indeed tragic if he had not succeeded and they, together with one daughter, would have left Hungary, then indeed the whole family would have been torn apart.

They did receive a letter from him on January 6th and so they started out on January 9th. Even so their hearts were torn because their elder daughter, married to a priest, decided against leaving the country. They did have many sleepless nights, but finally decided that, for the sake of their two unmarried children, they ^{were} going to start a new life.

- (1) They both had been in the meat packing industry since their early childhood. She worked since the age of twelve - so, for the last thirty years, she has worked in the meat packing industry.
- (2) She is going to enumerate the jobs she has held, they were very similar to the ones he has had, with the difference of the names of the companies.
- (2g) I. Braun and Company - from 1927-36.
II. Purjesh - from 1936-38. The company was dissolved.
III. Dévai and Vezér - from 1938-45. The directors had been deported in 1944, they were taken to Aus^{shv}witz, but the company under "Christian guidance", functioned for another year, until it went bankrupt.
IV. Samuel Zeidner (had been a salesman at Braun and Company) - from 1946-48. The company had been nationalized and he left for Brazil.
V. Meat Packing Company (nationalized) - from 1948-56.
- (2a) At the meat packing industry, she was in charge of the warehouse - storage for export and import.
- (2e) She loved her profession and she was generally loved by her employers. She always tried to do everything to the best of her ability, and was always loyal. She did not aim to get in better positions, what interested her was the work in itself.
- (2f) As the slaughter houses were not permitted to prepare the intestines of the animals, they had to send the goods up to the capital, ⁵ The

Meat Packing Company ^{which} prepared the intestines and ^{which} distributed ^u the goods to the butchers and exported them.

Although on paper there was never any loss shown, according to their opinions, knowing their trade, they definitely feel that there were many more substandard goods than ever before, due to the norms, due to the fact that one had to work fast and - superficially. Of course, this sub-standard merchandise was also sold, at a profit, to the private sector.

- (3) They both liked their trade (actually, they both referred to it as their profession); they could not have imagined working in any other trade.
- (3a) The trade in itself.
- (3b) She resented the attitude of the young workers - they were not interested in the quality of the work performed, they were only interested in the quantity, in the money they were making. They both tried to teach the younger generations love for their profession, but it was in vain. Invariably they would get the stereotype answer: "We need money." They always wanted to get desk work although, in their trade, one should have started with sweeping - hygiene should have been the most important factor. The younger generations somehow had the feeling that being part of the intelligentsia is more than having a close bond with the workers' class. They both feel that each class has a part to play in a society and over-stepping one's own limits does not make one necessarily happy, on the contrary.

- (3c) She became a nervous wreck, because she did not feel up to watching the work performed.
- (3d) She personally did get promotions, yet it was heartbreaking to see women work as hard as they had to - they would have to lift weights of sixty-eighty kilograms. It was hard to find people who would lift weights because the salary was very low - about 900 forints. Constant quarrels were going on, everybody wanted to get out of the job he or she had taken only because they needed the money badly. The warehouse did not have modern equipment, rather they did make improvements from time to time but, when the recommended improvements were carried out, one realized^a that they were not exactly the warranted ones; much money was spent superfluously.
- The company did have a doctor and two nurses who worked in a first-aid room. The insurance, in case of accidents, was promptly paid.
- (3f) Eight hours.
- (3g) Six days.
- (3h) Yes, in cases of urgent exports, and they were paid for over time.
- (3j) She had fifteen days of paid vacation which is not an awful lot compared to the thirty years she has worked in the same trade.
- (3o) She did receive premiums - three times per year 1,500 forints; and occasionally for the "good work performance", she and her assistants would get 200 forints.

- (4a) The people were extremely mixed: some were graduates of secondary schools, some were ex-small industrialists, and some had been high ranking officers during the Horthy regime. As far as age was concerned, it was just as varied.
- In one word, one could say that the offices^s were filled with people who could hardly read and write and the graduates of secondary schools and sometimes universities would be obliged to do physical work.
- (4b) Generally the atmosphere was tense - due to the low salaries and due to the frequency of meetings (especially women were extremely upset by this additional "work"; they were the ones who, after work, had to go home and start cooking and taking care of the household); it often happened that meetings would not be announced the previous day, - this made people more dissatisfied than anything else. She, as the person responsible for the warehouse, had to go to show a good example, and she was made responsible for the attendance of the women employees under her. As much as she hated to irritate her superiors,ⁱ she would invariably excuse those women employees^e who had young children and thus had to go home.
- (4f) Everybody was extremely irritated when it came to paying the fees. The usual remark was: "We do hope that they are going to spend this on medicines." ("Ést költsék patikára."). People did pay the fees, nevertheless, because otherwise they had no chance to be taken on a semi-free vacations. ^{could} organi^{the}

vacations was actually the only accomplishment of the trade unions.

(41) It functioned, but they don't know much about the way it operated.

(41) Yes, it was emphasized that, without being versed in politics, one cannot possibly work well. Those who produced under 100%, were not well versed politically!

Life was somewhat funny in Hungary!

(4n) The peasants and the workers. Those who had relatives in Western countries or in America were not considered reliable. And, if they happened to have personal enemies, then this "deficiency" could be easily exploited.

It is a shame that she did not bring her own kádár - would have been amusing to look at it. As many times as she did, she had to laugh. She was very outspoken about the fact that she had relatives in Australia and America and that she occasionally would get packages from them although she always added that, unfortunately, for some "strange" reason, she did not always receive them.

Her former director also wrote her from Brazil, and this was also a point against her ^er. There was a remark in connection with this correspondence; the person, who talked this over with her, tried to make her see the "light"

~~fe:~~ namely that he had taken the sweat of the Hungarian workers and transformed it into money in Brazil-that's why he again there ^{was} is capable of exploiting workers.

A second remark in connection with this subject was made, namely that she did not believe what ^{she} was told

about this exploiter of the sweat of the workers, but the person who took upon himself the enlightenment of this forlorn soul is going to do his best to finally make her see the naked truth.

(4p) Of course. The office employees would have information about the informers and they would kindly hand them down to the workers.

(5g) There were no possibilities whatsoever.

The better you were, the less chances you had to leave.

A colleague of hers, resigned three times and his resignation was rejected three times because the chief of the division was unwilling to lose a good worker - there were so few of this species. The ^{reliable} workers were not allowed to change jobs because their presence was a guarantee that the work was, more or less, actually done.

In 1956, though, a decree to the contrary was issued. This decree though was not respected in practice.

(5b) Again both of them would have chosen the meat industry.

(5e) Neither can ^{she} imagine what they would be doing, if they had leisure time - they cannot imagine their ^{plans} without working twelve-fourteen hours a day. Actually, they would not know what to do with themselves, if they weren't working. Their plans for the future: they would like to open a Hungarian restaurant & either in America or in Australia - wherever they will get an entry visa. He had had a butcher shop in the '30's and her mother had ^{was} been a business woman - she had had a grocery

store; so, equipped with this knowledge, and with their tremendous desire to work, they are not afraid.

(5g) The answer to this question would depend entirely on the aptitude of the children - if they had wanted to study, they would have given them the possibility^{*} to do so. It is only natural that a parent would want his child to advance in life, although advancement is not necessarily connected with the amount of knowledge accumulated ^{through} schools.

(6) There were all working, and they were all modest - thus, in carefully making ends meet, they managed to live. This was not true of families where there were small children - even if the family had only two small children, the salary of ^{an} worker was not sufficient to provide food and clothing.

(6c) He was underpaid - after nationalization, he did not want to take any leading positions, and work^{ed} as a simple physical laborer. After '49, he took a job at the Budapesti Exporto Hétesárú és Bacon Budson^{merchandise} plant which exported to England. In '50, he was transferred to the Budapesti Serésvagóid és Husfeldolgozó Vállalat, where he was tolerated until 1953.

He was fired in 1953; respondent showed me the letter which brought him the news:

"Subject: immediate dismissal from work.

"I notify you that you are being dismissed from our plant, according to ^{paragraph} 34- ^{of the} 1950/Hungarian law. ^L

"Reason: your railing against Comrade Stalin.

"There is no recourse against this decree.

János Nagy."

Tárgy: Azonnali natályú elbocsátás.

Közlöm, hogy őt a vállalatunk alkalmazásából azonnali hatállyal elbocsátom a 34/1950, M.T. sz. rendelet alapján.

Indok: Stalin elvtársat szidalmazta.

Ezen határozat ellen fellebezésnek helye nincs.

Nagy János
Igazgató

János Nagy had worked under him in the salami factory of Pick in 1929. So, respondent asked his director why he had done this to him - actually he only repeated a joke directed against Stalin, which apparently was heard by one of the built-in informers. The director's answer was that he was helpless in this particular case because he acted upon orders received from the AVH.

After this incident, he had to accept a job at the József-Városi Husipari Vállalat.

(6d) The state itself exploited the workers.

The consumer goods were made of poor raw materials and the quality of the work was inferior - being workers themselves, they saw this happening at their own plants, and yet they were helpless against the general trend - norms had to be fulfilled, and the workers were obliged to work according to the

instructions given by the so-called experts - who, in reality, were political gangsters.

(8)b) Hers: 1,100; his: 760. In '47, her weekly salary was 250; in '52, -900 forints; in '55 - 1,500 forints.

(9a-b) Sixty forints. They ^{an} rented/apartment for their three children, two girls and one boy. One of the girls was married and had a baby. So the three children lived together. They, the old ones, had a house in Pest-Erzsébet with four apartments - each apartment consisting of one room. Their own was 3½ by 2 meters.

After finishing her daily work, she went to the childrens' apartment (one room and one kitchen) cooked for the whole family, then took her husband's meal to Pest-Erzsébet, where another type of work was waiting for them: they raised pigs - usually they would have about three sows and sixteen-eighteen piglets; when the latter reached 98 kilograms, they sold them to the slaughter house for 12.60¹ per kilo.

They both got up at four o'clock in the morning, fed the animals, then at five thirty she was in the apartment of the children in Haller Street to see whether all three were there and ^{had been} not "kidnapped" by the AVG during the night; from there, she would go to work.

Coming back to the housing conditions, the owner had only duties and no rights whatsoever. If an apartment was vacated, the owner had to notify the local council and if he had wanted

it for himself, he could have bet his bottom forint that he ^{it would}
~~not be assigned to him.~~

~~often it.~~ He had to take care of the upkeep
and never received any ^{financial} help for this. The house was so
heavily taxed that when ^{the time} ~~the~~ came to pay it, they always had
to add three forints to the sum total of the rent.

(9c) They spent on food 2,000 forints - they did spend ^{more}/than they
actually could have afforded, but they all figured that they
should be strong organically because life was very difficult
to endure psychologically. An overweight of a couple of
pounds ~~did~~ give them a more optimistic outlook - ed.

(actually neither of the members of the family I have met was
overweight. Maybe they were compared to the other workers.)

(9d) They made their annual purchases when they sold the animals and,
of course, each year a different member would be "equipped" with
a major item. The budget of the family would not have supported
two coats during one year, for instance.

(9e) Electricity, gas - eighty forints.

They received fuel from the plants at which they were working,
rather they were permitted to buy ^{it} through the plants and
thus get a reduction in price and enable them to pay in monthly
installments. The maximum one worker would be permitted to pur-
chase was ten tons of coal and three tons of wood.

(9f) The men of the family spent 3.60 a day on cigarettes.

(9g) The two girls studied English and French and German privately.

They had five hours of foreign languages a week and one hour cost

about 8-10 forints. (I have met the younger girl, actually, I have talked to her for about half an hour, and she does not seem to show signs of any culture. She, I'm sorry to say, seems to be exactly the type of young worker her mother condemns - she does not want to work, she wants to make money. Relating some of the conversations she has had with her superiors, she has worked in a bottle factory, ^{it became evident} that she possesses ^a a big dosage of arrogance.) Their ^s son-in-law, a priest, ^{is} a polyglot. He is translating the Bible in many languages. He is a priest, in the true sense of the word, a person who, in the name of God, pacifies. While atrocities were going on in the streets of Budapest, he would talk people into forgiving even the AVO's - "let God take care of them."

(9h) Very little. All they had ^{was} work and studying, as far as the children were concerned. Once a month though, they would all go to the theater and very seldom to a movie.

(9i) 50-60 forints.

(9j) Their son-in-law would spend about 100 forints on books; ^{and} they ^{Subscribed to} the religious paper - the Út and they were obliged to ^{Subscribe to} the Szabad Nép - twelve forints per month.

(10a) It was not healthy simply because the leaders did not have a background in economics.

(10c) For their work, they did see some results, for instance, they would earn around twenty-five pengos per week and a pair of shoes would

cost six pengos.

- (10d) They brought about the exploitation of the whole country - the Oriental horde ate up the resources, the ^{ever} increasing reparation payments destroyed the economy of the Hungarian nation.
- (10f) The private sector could only get a hold of raw materials which were distributed by the different ministries. During the Revolution, promises in this direction were made. Her brother
an electro-technician, ^{wrote} her that his income in '57, was 5,000 forints, but the taxes with which he was burdened were 3,500, so he had to give his little shop up.
- (10g) Complete bankruptcy in every field: industrial, agricultural, commercial.
- (11) The material conditions had a great impact on morals. Due to the extreme poverty, the morals were also lowered considerably.

- (1) She: completed six years of elementary school. He: completed six years of elementary school and two years of vocational high school.
- (1e) Not applicable.
- (2) She: definitely. She did not like to study. He: World War I hindered him from pursuing his studies; his father was called in the army and he had to take his place on the farm.
- (2e) Yes, if she had wanted to study, she would have had the opportunity. He: was stopped, see question number two
- (3) Not applicable.
- (4) The teaching was one sided - only the Marxist viewpoint was taught and accepted.
- (4b) It was not effective. The Revolution proved it.
- (5) Her father used to be a teamster and her mother had a grocery store. His father was a farm manager on the farm of Count Klobositzky on ^{the farm} Maros Ilie Dobra.
- (5f) They lived under ^{decent} circumstances. Her parents and six children. The same applies to his childhood, his parents with their five children also lived under ^{decent} financial circumstances.
- (5g) Parents and six children - parents and five children.
- (5h) Her parents died, her Mother died in a car accident, so did one of her sisters, two are at home, one is in Australia and one is in America. His parents are also dead, two of his brothers

are in Rumania and two are in Budapest.

- (5k) It might have helped her if her attitude toward the regime would have been appropriate. Due to the fact that he was deeply religious, he was not considered reliable, although he was a Party member.
- (6) They lived together in Hungary, but were married in Vienna. They could not give me, or, for that matter, to themselves, the explanation why they didn't get married, while in Hungary, although their children (two from his former marriage and one from hers) begged them to do so. It was a constant source of controversy, as far as their son-in-law was concerned. As a priest, he objected against their not being united by God. They have lived together since 1951.
- (7) Naturally the regime could not intrude between parents and children.
- (8) They constantly warned the children to go around with open eyes and not to be the dupes of the various agitators they would meet practically everywhere.
- (9) His children were against his entering the Party. He did it in 1948. His wife had just died, his daughter was about to graduate, there was much tension in the family and, at his place of work, the whole division decided to enter. He did not want to be an exception and entered, too. He was disturbed by it, mainly because he was a very religious man; he asked the priest what to do and the priest quieted him by saying: "God will forgive you." God may forgive him for having entered the Party,

but his fellow members never considered him reliable, that's why he was ousted from his job and, a couple of months later, thrown out by the Party.

- (9b) Although the children did have friends, they were more attached to their parents than to the former.
- (9c) See question 8.
- (10) His son was exposed to more temptations than any other member of the family, due to the fact that he was a good sportsman - they " tried to induce him to enter military school.
- (14a) Extremely^y close. The three children were very attached to each other and they were just as attached to their new mother and father.
- (14b) It is sad to acknowledge but it was not difficult at all.
- (14c) Leisure time? They did not have any.
- (14g) The living conditions were extremely difficult in Hungary and, as pointed out several times during the course of this interview, they did not have any.
- (15) Generally, ties have been generally loosened - husband and wife were torn apart, due to political misunderstandings.
- (16) Definitely. They did not respect each other, as they used to.
- (16b) Definitely. People did not represent values in each other's eyes any more. At meetings, they were being scolded publically, and whether they would defend themselves or not, they were deeply humiliated. There definitely was a great devaluation

going on, ^{also} as far as human values were concerned.

- (16e) Horrible!
- (16f) Less strict. Actually, sexual intercourse was provoked by the long outdrawn meetings. People would sit there tired, thirsty, hungry - when finally in the streets, they behaved like animals. All this was figured ^{out} in the Communist doctrine: they were liable to achieve their goals much easier with immoral people than with those who adhered to strict moral codes.
- (16h) More girls gave birth than women did - back to Barbarianism!
- (16i) Under the form of equality, they were allowed to work more - in former times, the mother, the wife, the woman was the jewelry of the family - but in recent times, she was devaluated in all of her facets.
- (17)b) It deteriorated to the lowest possible degree. Stealing did have some type of excuse, though. People were practically unable to make a living, so they were forced to help themselves the best they could.
- (18) As far as their own family was concerned, the members of it were simultaneously also good friends.
- (19) He is Reformed, she is Catholic, so they frequented both churches.
- (20) Yes, the teaching of religion was prohibited.
- (20b) They wanted to stamp out religion gradually.
- (20c) They wanted to save religion under some type of form, not very clear to themselves or, for that matter, to the rest of the population. Their son-in-law's opinion about them was that if somebody wants ^{ed} to keep religion along the lines laid down by Christ,

then he'd rather become a physical worker than a peace priest.

- (20f) People felt definitely persecuted^e, while attending church services. The early Christians must have gone through the same type of fear.
- (20i,k) Age is not an important factor, from this point of view. What really mattered was whether the person had guts or not.
- (20l) If a church member remained faithful to the teachings of the church, then his greatest arm against the regime^{was} this very faith, his Bible.
- (21) Leave Hungary by all means, leave it, even if you have to risk your life in doing so.
- (22) AVH.
Chief employees of the different ministries.
Managerial staff of plants.

Workers.
Churches.
- (22a) Workers.
- (22b) Workers.
- (23) The leaders of the state capitalism - the Communists. Opposed to these were the great masses. There definitely were barriers between the chief party members, the so-called "élite" and the broad masses.
- (22e) Seems that in Hungary there always must be an upper ten thousand - true that not the same people constitute

the upper ten thousand today as yesterday but today's ten thousand are just as far away from the broader masses than yesterday's. It might be also true that the individuals from the broad masses feel closer to each other - everyone has suffered, no matter what social class he came from. Pain is a great equalizer.

- (22g) If one is very hungry, and ill-clothed, one is generally not too polite, - one cannot be expected to be polite.
- (24) Big and small industrialists, big and small merchants, the priests, the old intelligentsia.
- (24a) These "while you wait" kadars, ^e given birth by them, educated by them.
- (25) Why would the Jews be treated differently?! They behaved like people generally did. Some of them became Communists, whether convinced or not, and some of them kept away from the régime.
- (25c) Yes, they did have some Jewish acquaintances but they could not say anything wrong about them. Their usual topic of conversation was: how could one get away from all this?!
- (25d) They fought. A daughter of one of her colleagues, died. She was sixteen years of age - a very pretty, extremely intelligent young girl.
- (25g) There was less anti-semitism because people became more and more aware of the fact that the extremes lead to destruction.
- (25h) They draw a parallel line, as far as the fate of the Jews is concerned, with the 'fate-line' of the Hungarian nation.

- (1) No. (1a) He is not interested at all.
- (1a,b) They have not been interested in politics before 1944, or after, because in either ^{case} the interest of the Hungarian nation was not a guiding factor.
- (2a) He did not sympathize with any party. They are not learned people and they do not wish to get mixed up in a field where knowledge should be the primary requisite.
- (2e) He saw that the country was going backwards ^d - he saw that shabby characters came into the limelight and suppressed the nation.
- (2f) He again reiterates that he has never been interested in politics; besides, he clearly saw that nobody really profited from it, with the exception of the leaders. They both instinctively were against whatever was inhuman - that's why they were strongly opposed also to the Arrow Cross Party.
- (3) Their main grievance was that there were ^{no} many grievances around them and they couldn't help; there definitely seemed to have been a conspiracy in Hungary against decent people. Forces beyond their control would make their lives completely unbearable. It hurt to see that gifted children were not allowed to study further. It hurt to know that decent people were ~~was~~ arrested. It hurt to know that the charges made up were l.j.s., nothing but lies. It hurt to live in a conspiracy of lies.
- (3a) Grievances enumerated under number 1-15 all hurt equally.
- (3b) There weren't any which he would consider 'least important.'
- (3c, d, e) They hurt regardless of the social level of the people involved.
- (3f) Everybody looked forward to Sunday, that was the day when the whole

family would be together - they didn't even go out for entertainment, being together was their biggest entertainment. Anyway, if they had gone out, somebody would have asked where ^{the} money from.

- (4) The Soviet Union 100%.
- (4f) Unimaginable - three people would be busy themselves dealing with a certain merchandise and six people would be checking on the former three.
- (4h) The staff of an office was generally composed of four-six people who would direct the two who would be actually working. Those who had a good vocabulary were favored by the regime because they were the ones who could throw around the "magic words." Anyway, the Communist doctrine was held together by dogmas through the help of a ritual language.
- (5) Not applicable.
- (6) There was a prescribed monthly ration of future candidates to be indoctrinated. The age category the organizers were specializing in was the youth or that type of people on whose Achilles' heel they could step.
- (6f) The majority of the Communists did not become dissatisfied. They were dissatisfied to begin with, they did not turn sour, they were sour to begin with.
- (6h) He was a member, she was not.
- (6i) He joined in '48.
- (6j) As explained before, there was much tension in his family at the time, his wife had just died and his daughter was about to graduate.

The whole group of his division joined and he did not see any point opposing them, especially since he had cleared his position with his spiritual father. His priest had told him to join, and if the interests of his family demanded it, God will understand and forgive him for it.

- (6k) He did not expect anything and that's exactly what he got.
- (6l) No. He was disillusioned to start out with.
- (6m) He did not have to. He took, in ^avery difficult period ^{of} his life, the path of least resistance.
- (7) No.
- (8) They are not statisticians, but they can truthfully assert ^{yes} that very few Communists were convinced. This ~~is~~ true, as far as the plans ^{that} they were working at were concerned, and this ~~is~~ ^{was} also true ^{on a} national ^{scale}.
- (9) There were no stalwart Communist organizations in Hungary. The children have alert minds - it was only natural that they should notice the rift between the promises on one side, and the reality on the other.
- (10) The poem of Illyés about tyranny should be read. It answers the question.
- (10b) The enlisted soldiers were indoctrinated politically and, if they were inclined toward a leisurely life, then ^{they} would actually join the AVH.
- (10j) They worked jointly, the police furnished the victims; the AVO was more cruel.
- (10) They formed a unity.

- (11) No, but many ^{many} acquaintances were.
- (11g) No.
- (13) Did anybody ever figure this out?
- (13c) No, because the minute you are in trouble you have no more connections.
- (13d) Definitely, but if somebody deviates from the prescribed line, when even the background does not help.
- (13f) Not necessarily because the circumstances are accusing. For instance, now that they have left, ^{their} his son-in-law is extremely vulnerable.
- (14) Definitely. It became stronger starting from 1948, until the first Imre Nagy government in 1953. Toward the end of the year 1954, it again gained momentum and in 1956, there was a thaw.
- (15e) The influence of the Soviet Union was equally strong in the political ^a and economic field.
- (16) They had no recourse. There was no justice.
- (16c) With God and with some of his priests.
- (16d) One would not talk about anything.
- (17) People ^{did} not dare take them.
- (18a) The instilled fear - the AVO, the civil informers.
- (18b) The decrees ^e which were given by them and revoked by them. They were constantly contradicting themselves.
- (19) Workers would go in different provinces and tell about the terroristic attitude prevalent in the capital.

- (19b) The workers, the old intelligentsia, the great masses.
- (19c) Those who were promoted, those who did not work for their wages those who received privileges without deserving them.
- (191) The same - Petöfi - had a revolutionary sound. ^{The} situation was difficult and oppressing and the regime figured that, maybe, the students will find a way out; meanwhile, they were sure of their own strength and did not visualize what the consequences of a student movement might be.

(1) They always believed the contrary of what they were reading in the Hungarian press; they listened to the broadcasts of Voice of America and Radio Free Europe. As far as the Hungarian radio was concerned, they invariably had the feeling that it was not talking about the essence - the latter seemed to have been postponed day by day, week by week, month by month, year by year.

The daily news would be also talked over in the plants; that's where they were made known, in a distorted way. The workers were aware of this angle, that's why the meetings were used for sleeping purposes.

(1a) BBC and Voice of America - they were objective.

Radio Free Europe was enticing.

(2) They read clerical periodicals like Ház Ut and Reformatus Élet - these periodicals would publish articles by Dutch missionaries and the English mission also contributed with a couple of articles.

(2g) She saw foreign newspapers, they came together with foreign merchandise, and if she ever regretted not having studied foreign languages, it was during those moments when she would unwrap the export packages. She intensely wished to decipher them, to see what ^L"Life" in Western countries was like.

(3) They would go about once in three months or once in six months. They were not interested in seeing Russian movies.

(3b) The Hungarian movie Rákoczi Hadnagya was extremely colorful and entertaining, and at the same time, also patriotic. He got so

worked/^{up}while watching it, that his wife had to calm him down.

- (3c) No.
- (4) No, unfortunately, due to lack of time and due to the fact that the majority of the available books were written by Soviet writers.
- (4e) Mikszáth, Arany.
- (5) They would listen mostly to music (light and classic). Then they would also be interested in domestic news, they were interested in seeing/^{to}what degree lying could reach.
- (6) Ye., see question number one (1), sub-question (a).
- (7) Definitely. That's how they found out the essence.
- (7a,b) Foreigners would visit the plants and they would talk to the chief of the experts^o division - he would tell the truth to the workers.
- (8) The contrary would be usually true. The reliable information would be found, though, in the foreign radio broadcasts.
- (8d) The internal life of the country was taking place in front of their eyes - they would talk to peasants, they would talk to small industrialists and they would live among workers - thus it was apparent that the press was lying.
- (8e) In 1953, some newspapers started to praise the reforms introduced by Imre Nagy - these newspapers were confiscated. (When asked for more specific information, respondents could not give it.)

- (8f) Mostly in 1956 - there was a growing feeling that the Irodalmi Ujsag was the one which ^{faithfully} mirrored what was going on in the country.
- (9) Definitely - quiet conversations were going on in streetcars among people who had never met before. But people seemed to have had a sixth sense - they knew with whom to talk about what and how. They had heard about a scientific theory which states that, under certain circumstances, certain animals develop new organs. A similar phenomenon was happening, during the last decade, in Hungary - people developed new senses. They ^{ra} instinctively had to, if they wanted to survive.
- (10a) It was unavoidable at the time.
 (10b) The Soviet Union.
 (10c) A propaganda weapon, forged by the Soviet Union. It did not fool many ^{people,} though, because no proofs were ever brought up.
- (10d) They were aware of its going on.
- (10e) They have heard about them.
- (10f) Despite the articles which appeared at the time in the Hungarian press and in all the presses of the satellite countries, which stamped the Berlin riots as fascist, Hitlerist movements, everybody knew exactly what was going on.
- (10g) They knew about it and hoped - they must admit that their hopes were on the childish side. They were dreaming about the Americans and the Western powers arresting the ^{same} Kremlin and they were dreaming about the Westerners putting the

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power into the hands of Russian generals, reliable from the viewpoint of the free world.

- (10h) The very fact that it existed had significance, but they were not aware of its results.

(1) Everything.

(1a) The Hungarian nation would be the permanent factor.

They would not want to keep the SZTK either because the ~~the~~ ^{see} doctors themselves ~~are~~ being guided by the norms laid down by the Party; In other words, could not practice according to the oath they have taken. Norms were introduced, also as far as illnesses were concerned. It was prescribed how long a sick person can be sick.

(2) There is no action without a reaction out, they themselves feel to be above parties. They found it to be true that the best intentioned people, when grouped in parties, provoke discord in the history of mankind.

(3) Definitely. There is absolutely no need for limits. One should be able to say everything - one should feel free to point out what is good and what is bad.

(3c) If it were forbidden, people would give vent to their opinions through the form of conspiracies, or revolts.

(3d) It cannot be denied that the general dissatisfaction is the fault of the state. Nevertheless, it is also true that no state can satisfy everybody. One should definitely be free to say things detrimental to the state, but the source should always be carefully checked.

(4a) Yes.

(4b) If the government is under the thumb of a foreign power - see the situation in Hungary.

- elucidated*
- (5) Basic changes should be *elucidated* -- the economic system should be exempt of political considerations.
- (6) Definitely, due to the fact that only a powerful organization can take care of the adequate exploitation of a country's resources. Thus, it should be in state ownership, but the state should have the interests of its citizens as a goal.
- (6b) The factories should be in 80% private ownership because only through private guidance can industry develop and produce *merchandise* of good quality. Competition is the factor which makes goods better and less expensive. This applies to small and middle industry, the heavy industry and mines should be in state ownership.
- (6c) See sub-question (b). Profit entices development in every direction.
- (6e) This depends entirely upon ^{*circumstances the particular*} the state _{*is*} in. To be more specific: in Hungary it would be imperative that the mining of the uranium should be in state ownership; in a state which would represent the interests of its citizens.
- (7) Covered under question (6).
- (8) It can be very practical. Even during the Horthy regime, the breeding of animals met with complete success.
- (9) The state should definitely not interfere in the affairs of the churches. Even if a certain ^{*church*} were to ask financial help from the state, the latter should simply say whether it is willing to give it or not, that ^{*being*} (the refusal ^{*is*} within its rights), but _{*never*} never state rigid conditions, in case financial help

The state should definitely not interfere in the different branches of small and "middle" industries. If it interfered, this would result in the deterioration of the branches concerned. This deterioration would be felt not only in the internal ^y economy but also in the international commercial relationships of the respective countries.

- (10) Definitely. One of these duties is paying taxes.
- (10e) This goes without saying. For instance, the state has to take care of the blind, of the orphans, of the widows, of the old people.
- (11) The situation has deteriorated, as far as the training of the doctors, and as far as the drug situation was concerned.

The doctors were forced to become superficial.

The work of the doctors should be definitely exempt from politics - they should know the anatomy of the human body and not be concerned about what Marx said about certain areas of life, or about what the Hungarian Communists thought Marx had said.

- (12) He has less opportunities to go, mainly due to financial hardships and lack of time. The general lethargy people were living ⁱⁿ should be taken into account, too.
- (13) He eats less well, the merchandise in the window shops cannot be purchased ^d by the average citizen.

- (13a) Better than in '46; although there was a good crop, the shipment of the agricultural goods was extremely difficult.
- (13b) It was worse in 1950.
Between '50 and '53 the situation was extremely bad, also from this point of view.
- (14) The Hungarian citizen is worse off today.
- (14a) In '46, everybody had ^{yet} his pre-war wardrobe.
- (14b) In '50, it was worse than in '46 and '56.
- (15) No, it only increased in numbers - on paper.
- (16) The workers should play a part, according to their professional background.
- (16d) Private owners or, in ^{the} cases of mines and heavy industry, the representatives of the state.
- (17c) They have no concrete knowledge, during the past years they have heard only complaints.
- (17h) Land should be restored up till 100 acres.
- (17i) See sub-question (h).

In connection with this question, it should be noted that if Hungary were much much bigger than it actually is, then this limit could be stretched practically ad infinitum.

They want to emphasize that they are not Socialists, they only take into account the specific conditions of the Hungarian farm laborers, tenants, small-holders.

And they can't help feeling that if, during the Horthy regime, more land had been in the hands of the tenants and farm

hands, Communism ~~is~~ could not have had a grip on the Hungarian soul.

- (17l) Of course. The state should furnish agricultural machinery, on the basis of agreements.
- (17m) They ha^{ve} never given any thought to this question, and, when confronted with it, they do not know the answer.
- (18) Freedom of religion should be installed.
- (18f) Denominational schools.
- (19) They should work until the disastrous economic situation, "disastrous" due to the manipulations, would be brought back to normal.
- (19e) They are innocent.
- (19f) An exchange should be made: Hungary would give the Soviet Union the AVH ^{personnel} people and the Soviet Union would give Hungary the deported people. (Of course, this would not be a good deal for the Soviet Union, the AVH ^{officers} people were not used to work. ^{But, how 'is' work!} the Soviet Union has means to teach the weakest person.)
- (19g) The same should apply to the guilty members of the police.
- (20) It was the fortress of Christendom.
- (21) The Hungarians are idealists, deeply religious and patriotic. The amalgamation of these three feelings can hardly be found in any other nation.
- (21e) The urban people definitely have ^a superiority complex.
- The peasant, though, does not have an inferiority complex; he feels, and justly so, that the agricultural work is the most

difficult among any type of work, and, at the same time, is the basis for the industry of Hungary.

- (21f) Yes, unfortunately.
- (22) Generally speaking, during the Horthy regime, the economic situation was better - respondent's father, as a coachman, ^{could} adequately provide for the family as ^{his} (six ~~w~~ children.)
- (22f) This is a big core in the history of ^{the} Hungarian nation, the exploited people of the Horthy regime were the ones whom the Communist leader used. The cruelty of the last decade has its roots in the inequality during the Horthy regime. Plus, the staff of the AVO¹ was composed 80% of the ex-members of the Arrow Cross Party.
- (22i) Between '45 and '48, a healthy development took place - private capital was being used, and the general ^{living standard} level of the population was raised. The nationalization of enterprises cut short this boom.
- (23) The peace treaty ^{of Trianon} was unjust, there is no doubt about it. And yet neither of them wants the restoration of territories which, a long time ago, had been under the Hungarian flag. They strongly desire that Hungarians whether in Rumania, Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia should live decently, one does not have to live in Hungary to be happy, one ^{could} be extremely happy, as a Hungarian, in a foreign country, if the living conditions were ^{adequate} decent. And, one could be extremely unhappy in Hungary, if the living conditions were inhuman.

- (23) The solution might be a united Europe.
- (23d) Panslavism was definitely detrimental to the Hungarian nation.
- (24) See question (23). The more they think about it, the more they feel that a united Europe would be the answer.
- (25) If one thinks about them, one feels like crying and laughing at the same time. It is a modest race, it believes that it is ~~not~~ entitled to more than ⁴¹⁰ a piece of bread and potatoes. They are good people potentially and they should be helped, they suffer just as much from their Communist leaders ⁴¹⁰ the Hungarians did. Their concepts differ completely from the ⁴¹⁰ of Central European and Western nations. For them, bourgeoisie means: one room and one kitchen. Among the many, many evils they, somehow, involuntarily brought to Hungary was ^{a great number of} sexual diseases.
- (26) If the same question were asked from Marx, namely what he thinks of the putting in practice of his ideas, his answer surely would be: I regret that I was ever born.
- (26^g) Never!
- (26h) Discard its dreams - build the society on the basis of humanitarianism.
- (26i) Never!
- (26j) Tito is an excellent politician.
- (27) Tito severed himself from the Kremlin and used the popular front as a buffer against the blows of his former bosses.
- (27e) They are not compatible.

- (28)
(a,b) Imre Nagy wanted to make good - he wanted to repair the damages inflicted by Communism, but he himself being a Communist, could not have stayed in power.
- (29)a) He is yet waiting to find out what its good sides are.
He is referring to the Hungarian conditions, thus in Hungary Socialism is bad, because
- (b) it means colonialism
- (29c) Is dictatorship, thus bad.
- (29d) National Popular Front is no popular front it represents the will of the Kremlin.
- (29e) Bad, it represents state capitalism.
- (29g) Did not exist in Hungary for the last twelve years.
- (29h) Veres was used by Communism although, originally, he was a well intentioned, gifted person.
- (29i) Means the 'stamp' - and imaginary evil.
- (29j) Trotsky also wanted power, so - is bad.
- (29k) Bad - from the viewpoint of Hungarianism.
- (29l) Too far away to really know anything precise about him.
- (29m) In connection with her, they have doubts.
- (29n) They respect him as a priest but they certainly are against the restoration of royalty Mindszenty seems to claim.
- (30) The Peasants' Party/
- (30a) It would be extremely difficult to name one - there must be several - in every Hungarian lives a Petöfi and a Kossuth - if this had not been true, the Freedom Fight would not have "flamed".

- (31a) - Less.
- (31b) - Less.
- (31c) - Less.
- (31d) - Nothing.
- (31e) - Nothing.
- (31f) - More if they served the regime, less, if they opposed it.
- (31g) The leaders - more.
- (31h) - Nothing.
- (31i) - Nothing.
- (-2)
(c, f, h, i) - Better.
- (33a) Coincide.
- (33b) Coincide.
- (33e) Conflict.
- (33f) Coincide.
- (33g) The intelligentsia served the aristocracy.
- (33i) Opposition.
- (34) The Hungarian nation expected help from the United Nations and the United States - it never trusted the Germans.
- (35) Not even those who, momentarily, hold the reins. They would be the first ones to flee.
- (36) No.

- (1) They have had many questions in connection with American foreign policy and they have asked her sister about it. She is married to an American officer, and she did give them the answers - they prefer not to talk about them.
- (1a) They are very much impressed and they only wish they had more knowledge in different fields; they so much would like America to have a clear picture of what was going on in Hungary.
- (2a) Some will always be Hungary, but if they are going to receive entry permits to America or to Australia, they don't think that they will ever go back to Hungary. They are going to be loyal citizens, wherever they will be, and a great portion in their hearts will be ^{set} aside for Hungary.
- (3) They have the feeling that the work is in good hands.