

- (1) The Hungarian people simply hated Communism. I was a Party member myself and Party members who were good friends told one another the truth, except for the fanatics. In 1948 people waited for some sort of a change, but people could not argue with the police who terrorized the people. There followed a constant standing in line, waiting for food, minimum wages, prices went up, wages stayed down. It was then that Rakosi said "We cannot eat the hen that lays the golden egg." At the Kőzert a sales clerk would get 600 ft. wages. If a person, or family, like ourselves, would try to dress up a little bit, we would be suspect. In fact, the newspapers even had jokes along this line, for example one of them was: "Look how well things are going for the Kovacses, they are eating supper now!" The Communist system said there was freedom of speech, but the AVH put down people who said anything, then people did not dare to talk at all. The Szabad Nép always and constantly praised the Soviet Union and constantly talked about it as to how great it is and how great the Soviet people are. Before the Revolution, when the Rajk rehabilitation occurred, people began to ask questions. People waited for Nagy, he was the better of two evils. In 1953 he said that members of collective farms could leave the collective farm if they wished. After the Rajk rehabilitation by the Party, Party members said that we had made mistakes

In fact, at the Party a man asked "Where is Imre Nagy?" and to our surprise the Party leadership answered the question. On October 23rd, during the noon-hour, we did not know what was going on and what was happening. I had to go across the street to eat at noon in Budapest. The crowd was moving down the street. As I went across the street, I was given a red-white-green rosette. I also got a copy of the 16 points. Upon returning to the office I told our office-secretary to duplicate the 16 points. These later were handed out to the office people and to others who came into the office from other cities. That evening when Gerö talked over the radio he said that he would give the demonstrators and the uprising a limited length of time to come to an end. This limit was lengthened hour by hour and the next morning the Revolution was on. The oppression and punishment of the peasants as well as the small businessmen were important grievances and hardships for the Hungarian people. At the Kozert supposedly was a planned economy, but frequently one would not be able to buy things in season. They would appear at the wrong time after the season was over. In 1955-56 waiting in line was not too much. In spring there usually was a great lack of milk and milk products. All of these things made people very nervous and built up tension in the people.

- (2) After the Rajk rehabilitation, especially after the Rajk funeral, there were a few newspaper articles which promoted a new kind of thinking, for example, the article by Gyula Haj entitled "Kucsera Ur". Then there was the newspaper started by Ivan Boldizsar, which people liked. We found it hard to believe that this really was a serious and sincere departure. We thought it was all a bluff that these writers were writing about. All these writers were Communist writers. I read articles of Tibor Merai, during the time before the Revolution, and it was this fellow who lied about the Korean War. But we all felt that something was going to happen soon, maybe tomorrow.
- (2b) The 20th Congress. People waited for a change and a sharing of friendship with other, neighboring countries. Many rumors were spread after this about the United States.
- (2bi) Stalin's death in Hungary meant that many thousands were arrested because they spoke against Stalin openly. With the arrest or the elimination of someone who spoke against the Party, the Party always said that they had become stronger by killing one man.
- (2bii) Imre Nagy talked about the voluntary TSZCS and there was some let up for the small businessmen to buy things. Then there was a great reversal. The old system again.

(2biii) Everyone was very pleased and happy that Krushev and Bulganin were going to Yugoslavia and equated this trip to a Canossa. People disliked Tito. When he came to Hungary artificial crowds were manufactured, traffic at intersections was shut off for 2 or 3 hours, then the traffic piled up.

(2biv) The 20th Congress was the main cause which led to the outbreak of the Revolution. The Berlin riots were only a start of things. The Hungarian people would say that "We don't dare to start anything. We are always the last to get out of something, just like we were the last to get out of World War II." In Hungary there was a very strong terror maintained by the Communists. Moreover we did not know much about world events. We learned more from the trials at Poznan as to what happened. Gomulka was rather popular in Hungary for the fact that he dared to oppose the Soviets, especially concerning the dismissal of Rokossovski.

Also, the Mihaly Farkas issue created a storm center in Hungary. Everyone felt that finally there would be a trial and the Communists would have to talk about their activities. The denotion of Rakosi influenced events very much. But people said "One stricci leaves and another one comes after him!"

(2c) The only definite turning point was during the Revolution, when Imre Nagy said that we want neutrality and the Russian forces should be removed.

(2e) They did a **great** deal, such as Haj, Boldizsar and others,

who dared to speak out, reproved the regime, talked about mistakes. People were happy that someone was criticizing and saying what they knew and what up to that time they had not dared to say.

(2f) Two weekly newspapers, one the Irodalmi Ujsag. There was a big demand for it. Some people gave 10 ft. to get it, when its price was really 1 ft. I do not remember the name of the second weekly paper.

(2g) The article " Kucsera Ur " read also in the comedy stage. Politics was satirized. This pleased the people very much.

(3) The hate of the Soviets; second the low standard of live; third the limitation of freedom, for example a person could not argue with the police nor secure defense in court; fourth, in special fields such as sports, with which I am most familiar, the outstanding athletes were pampered, but even with the Olympic delegates great arguments arose. One group was voted to go, then that group was voted down. A second group was delegated and finally the first group was voted to go to the Olympics. Fifth the fact that workers were driven by the norms to higher production. All these are small things, but extremely important in everyday existence. Sixth, the voice of newspapers and radio was controlled. We could not express our opinions. Seventh, the leading men of the country, who had come from the working class, now separated themselves from the working class.

In many cases they did not even want to recognize their own mother or their family. Right, when a person would go out for an evening, even the music that an orchestra played, or could play, was limited. If someone asked for a certain piece that was not on the official list allowed, the orchestra could not play it. So, also, with the writers. They were controlled by the office controlling such affairs from the gov't. However, to our surprise, in 1956 we heard records by Bing Crosby, Jeanette MacDonald, Nelson Eddy, on the radio after 11 p.m.

- (3b) The system of control knew everything in Hungary. It failed during the Revolution because the Revolution was spontaneous. As such the AVH and police could not control the people. Furthermore, some police went over to the side of the Revolution. I also saw Russian soldiers join the Revolution, although I did not know why they did this. Many peasant boys were soldiers and officers. They joined the revolutionary forces, although they as officers had received high pay. Although in each house or apartment there was an agent, and in each block another agent over all of the agents in the houses, this system failed because everything happened so fast.
- (3c) It was a sympathetic demonstration in behalf of the Poles. Hungary was pleased that they had been successful. Now the Hungarians said "Let us try and get our 16 points."

The Polish people had been given certain freedoms and the Hungarians thought that they could get it by a parade and such demonstrations of all the people. However, in the evening the talk by Gerö over the radio was oil on the fire, which was flaming.

(3f) The Communist leaders, not the Party members. Those leaders and those officials in high position, division leaders in the factories and the ministries, those who had good jobs because of the Communist system. In general the Communist clique, the Party secretaries, the FD presidents, the heads of personnel divisions, the AVH opposed the Revolution, except for a few AVH men.

(3g) Those who had been terrorized in previous times by the Communists, and then that group for which Communism offered certain advantages, the careerists who said "Let us wait and see." But these people were not to be seen anywhere. They were waiting.

(3h) "Russians go home!" "Independence for Hungary!"
"Dissolve the Warsaw Pact!" "Raise the standard of live!"
"Make public the agreements with the Soviet Union!"
"Put the uranium mines into Hungarian hands!" "Death for the AVH!"

(3i) Yes, because the people hated and despised the Communists, no matter what kind of promises they made. It was also anti-Soviet.

(3j) Merely the regime which existed, this the people did not want.

(3k) Simply that they were not Communists, not at all. Out of the 900,000 Party members listed, only 100,000 were really Communists. Party membership did not mean a person was a Communist.

(4) From October 23rd to Oct 26th I was at home. During the day sometimes we went out and stood in line for food for a few hours. We men from the sports- and physical education office telephoned to one another from our homes to find^{out} what was happening in various places and thus kept in contact by telephone. We said that we would go into the office on the 27th. We arrived at 10 o'clock at the office, told one another of our experiences, looked around the office to see if all things were there yet, put some things away. On Saturday, Nov 3rd, we went to the office again, took wine with us and drank to the victory that the Revolution had won. We were extremely happy people over this. On Nov 4th, during the early dawn hours, I went down for bread and I saw Russian tanks coming into the city towards the Parliament from the Vac Ut. On Nov 10th we went into the office and from the upper division of the OTSE, Orszagos Testnevelés es Sport Bizottsag (National Physical Education and Sports Committee) at our office a Revolutionary Council was formed and I was named as the representative to the county Revolutionary Council.

Our sports division office belonged to the county council in sports matters. There were a couple of meetings of the Revolutionary Council. We decided to kick out the former secretary, who was a Communist, and along with him other Communists. The president of the council resigned. His name was Pekete. As for our work in the office - there⁷was none. Our activity was primarily standing in lines for food. The Revolutionary Council had a big meeting. Two peasants came up from the country-side. Also there was a Kadar man there at the meeting. He disrupted the meeting somewhat, but his wishes were rejected. He was whistled out of the meeting. But that was all that the Revolutionary Council did and its activities ended there. The office work in our sports office did no. go on. We waited to see how things would develop. Although the National Committee for Physical Education and Sports sent our office instruction that we should work on the winter sports schedule for the county of Budapest, we did n't want to do it, and we did nothing. On December 12th I tried to escape with my wife, but we were caught at the Sarvar. Then, on next Saturday we tried again, this was December 15th, and we succeeded.

- (5) When the 16 points were handed out on October 23rd, I was happening to be crossing the street in front of our office, for lunch. I was given one and when I returned to the office I had our secretaries type 20 copies of this.

We gave these copies to our men who came in from Czegled and Vac. When these men out there had them typed up and spread around. My part in the Revolutionary Council was that I represented our office in the council. The Revolutionary Council's job was limited to dismissing those who were fanatic Communists, those who had leading positions. One woman who was a Communist, was not kicked out of her job in the personnel office because she behaved very well towards the workers.

- (7) The Millian Barracks and the Corvin Square groups. Malster was very popular and became a legendary figure. General Bela Kiraly was well liked by the people.
- (7a) I can't say. There were some false revolutionary groups which were composed and led by AVH men or AVH agents.
- (8) In generalities the Russian stared out of their tanks at the people as they drove down the streets, in some cases they were frightened. One incident which I saw was they shot into a line of women waiting for bread. The Russian tanks went towards the Parliament Square on which the Hungarian flag was streaming. People were on the side of the tanks. These Russian tanks directed their guns at the AVH who were on top of the apartment roofs, from where they had shot into the crowd. This same group of tanks shot at other Russian tanks. At the Kőr Ut, as a tank moved up the street at one o'clock, it would shoot ahead of itself, giving warning

shots that would fly down the street. It stopped before every intersection and shot ahead. People were on the street and in this way shot at indiscriminantly. Luckily, no one was injured.

- (8a) There were a lot of Mongols who came into Budapest. A person could see on their eyes and the color of their skin that they were Mongols. They were barracked in the National Museum. There, on the floor of the museum, they would cook their food, fry bacon. The others¹ who came in were Ukrainians, these were young boys, 20 and 21 years old. It was very difficult to tell the age of the Mongols. Somehow its hard to tell how old oriental people are just by looking at them.
- (8f) It made the Hungarian people extremely angry, their blood boiled when the Russian commander in Budapest ordered a curfew and told the people what they could do. "where was the Kadar gov't then? who was giving orders?" we asked.
- (8e) In front of the Astoria Hotel, the same day of the massacre in front of the Parliament, a great crowd of Hungarians got around the Russian tanks. A waiter talked to one of the Russian officers; after a short discussion the officer waved to the young Hungarian boys standing around, as if to say to them "come on, get on the tanks!" When one or two got on the tanks, more Hungarians got on and they draped Russian tanks with the Hungarian flag. Then, at the same place, trucks of Russian soldiers arrived and stopped there.

The Hungarian people took the machine-guns from the Russians. This group of people said that they were going to the Parliament. They went in that direction across the Vörösmarty Square.

(9) We called one another by telephone. Those of us who worked together in the office, telephoned to each other's home. One fellow who lived in an area where Russian citizens lived said that there were more tanks there on one day, and fewer tanks on the next day. Others, by telephone told us what was happening at Angyalföld.

(9a) In the beginning, when Imre Nagy was not yet in gov't, the Szabad Nép published a one-page newspaper. Thousands of these papers were thrown out of tanks which went around the city, and they were dropped from airplanes. Later, the newspaper Igazság and other papers revealed the activities of the AVH, the kind of brutalities they committed and said who these men were. The papers also talked about the Rakosi villa, the movement of Soviet forces. The newspaper that was printed at the Katonai press was very strong in its voice at first, but then it quieted down in tone a little bit. There were so many papers that I didn't know which one to read. Later, after Nov 4th, the Nepszabadsag was read by the people a little more, because this was the Trade Union's paper. But the Nepszabadsag, which appeared after Nov 4th, was burned by the people as quickly as it was dropped on the streets.

- (9b) We got information by telephone and also by people whom we met on the streets. Then there were **two** boys from the neighboring apartment, who went around Budapest in a motorcycle and side-car. They brought back reports.
- (9c) Yes, we listened to both the domestic and foreign broadcasts. The foreign broadcasts we heard constantly. In our own apartment-room we did not dare to listen to the foreign radio broadcasts, even before the Revolution, because our neighbor was Mrs. Karoly Haj . She had been and was the Cultural Attache to Denmark. When she would return from Denmark she always had eight pieces of luggage. To listen to the radio we went to another neighbor, where the firewall was thick between the apartments. He had an eight-tube radio. Over 90% of the population waited for some interference from the West. The Hungarian newspapers said that the Hungarian authorities would not jam the foreign broadcasts, but the foreign broadcasts were jammed from Czechoslovakia. We listened every hour for the news from Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, BBC, also from Turkey, the French broadcasts, even Yugoslavian broadcasts. We even heard Hungarian broadcasts from Rumania, but these were anti-revolution.
- (9d) The radio was more important. The BBC and Voice of America were most important. RFE built up the emotions only and overshot the goals. Also important was the telephone contact I had with friends.

- (10) The Party organizations did not dare stick their noses out into the open, except perhaps they met in private among trusted friends. I did not hear anything about Party meetings, nor do I know anything about what occurred in the gov't.
- (10a) I really don't know what came to an end and what fell apart or remained. Our Party secretary remained, ~~no~~one bothered him. But the County Party organizer disappeared in the Pest county. Kadar was the Party's first secretary. He also disappeared during the first part of the Revolution. The Party as an organization did not exist. They didn't even try or dare to call a meeting. After the Revolution I don't know what happened.
- (10g) They did nothing during the Revolution. After the Revolution, at our office of physical education and sports, there appeared a liaison man from the Kadar office. He told us what was going to happen. After his talk he asked us to comment on the decisions. There was no comment we could make or even dared to make.
- (10h) In our local Council a few men were kicked out. The president of the local council resigned. In the Aszodi district of Pest the people asked one of our men from the athletic division to take over the district. I don't know any. The former parties that existed were reorganized, Smallholders, Social Democratic, Peasant Party. There was a soldiers' group organized, also a Catholic Party was organized and a University students' group formed.

- Of course there were some false groups formed by AVH.
- (10l) I don't know.
- (10m) I can't really say because there were so many parties, but a real Democratic gov't would have come into existence which undoubtedly would have made mistakes at first, because there were so many parties. The first years the Communist Party could not have existed, because that party would not have had any members.
- (11) I think of it, because it represents that the Soviet Communist Party is beginning to rot. The rest of the parties will follow when the head begins to rot. I don't think there will be another revolution in Hungary. Now the situation is worse than before as far as the terror is concerned. For the world and the fact that it shows the end of Communism it was morally profitable, but it was not profitable that so much blood was shed.
- (11b) Yes, it could have won in three days if there had not been external interference.
- (11c) Yes, everyone said there will be some kind of armed help, it must come, we said. From where it would come, this was the question. We realized that Hungary had no border with a Western country that could supply arms, but if there was UN intervention a UN force would come. This was a problem because there was no ready armed force on the part of the UN.
- (11e) He was a popular man inspite of being a Communist, especially popular among the peasants.

He was a person who was likeable at first sight. Imre Nagy was associated with the division of land given to the peasants. He also appeared in newspapers, recently at various important theater performances, for example at the Kocaly celebration.

(11f) Maleter; then a person who was not in the Revolution - Anna Kethy. She was popular because everyone knew she had been in prison.

(11g) First - Youth

Second - Workers

Third - Intelligentsia

Fourth - Soldiers and police

Fifth - Peasants

Others don't count.

(12) On November 10th, when the second attack by the Russians was almost over and the Russians were in control of everything, we continued to wait for developments.

(12a) The fact that I had been a member of the Revolutionary Council perhaps would lead me to be imprisoned.

(12b) No, although my brother and family tried to escape, they were captured by the Russians.

- (1) My activities since 1953 were in the area of sports. More recently I was a lecturer and instructor at the Pest County Sports Committee, with some administrative responsibilities. In 1942, at the big Kovacs department-store I was one of the clerks in the money-counting division. After that I served in the Air Force, that is I was recalled into the Air Force. In 1945 I went to the City Gov't of Budapest, where I worked as a junior clerk in the auditing department. In 1950 I left this job and went to the nationalized milk enterprise called Tejert. I was there until 1952. This then was centralized into the Közert. At the Közert I became the business manager of the sports division of the Közert. Here about 18,000 men belonged to this sports organization, which was maintained for the benefit of the employees. In 1955 I went to the Pest County Committee for Physical Education and Sports. There I became an instructor and lecturer. In the last position I held I was responsible for certain districts in the county of Pest. I would also have to go out to hold lectures and to oversee the activities. The sports activities were conducted in the county through social societies. Within these societies there were various sports circles. These circles conducted contests, matches, championships, which had to be scheduled by us in our office.

The social society had a president, secretary, board of directors, disciplinary committee, also a coaching or training committee. These committees received no pay for their services. The minutes and records of the various contests, matches, came into our office. We worked them up. Also concerning the national sports events, we notified various social groups that according to the sports calendar certain things were happening. We brought the society people into our office to talk over the development of sports and the further development within their district and area. We examined the society budget for sports. We couldn't really do much about controlling the money spent, because the county of Pest was so big and distances were great. If various social groups, as a result of contests or matches, had complaints and grievances, groups X and Y would come into our office and there would be discussed who was right and wrong. My other work was as follows: I had three districts and I had to oversee the work of the district president, see how sports were going on throughout the county in the districts and in the social societies. If they didn't understand something or how to carry out something, we went down to explain. Appeals in any matters came from the district to the county and then went to the OTSB, the national office. There was no possibility for advance within the office. There were three of us who were instructors. We could advance to the national office or perhaps be the president of the county committee.

- (3) Yes, I liked my work, although it had politics in it in the sense that the Communists said that people should participate in sports to bring **glory** to the country. I looked upon sports as bringing health to the people.
- (3d) Our working conditions were good in our office. However, things were very crowded at the social society or associations. We did not like to take trips, because sometimes they were two days in length to make a visit to a district. Many times in the district we went on foot or by bicycle from place to place.
- (3f) We worked more than the regular time required, which was 8 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Sometimes it was 6 o'clock when we left the office. Two days a week, when the association people came into the office, we stayed until 9 o'clock for meetings with them. On Saturday and Sunday we also worked because we had to go out to oversee certain sports events. We could leave our office whenever we wanted, go on errands, because our office-head, the president, chairman of the committee for sports, would let us go. He was a good man.
- (3g) We got one day off a week. Overtime was not paid, we got it in free days. When we went out for a sports event, a contest, which was in the afternoon, we would get a whole day per diem.
- (3i) The Communist holidays, May 1st, April 4th, August 20th. On these days we had to go out for the parades. At Easter-time and Pentecost we got only one day off.

Later the second day of Christmas was given to us, but we had to work that off also.

- (3o) Social insurance, medical insurance; this was a general advantage for all. I could go to sports events free, or to the stadium on a free ticket at any time. Last year I had 15 days of vacation. Every two years vacation increased one day. Those people who knew the president of the OTSB, of our organization, got frequent trips, vacations to the Balaton. In 10 years I got four such trips. My wife through her work went but once for a free vacation.
- (4a) They were all about the same age as I was. One was younger, 28. We were all 35 - 37. One of them had a maturity certificate from the gymnasium, two of them had maturity certificates from a school of commerce, the other had 8 years of elementary school.
- (4b) A friendly relationship existed among us. There were six of us in the office. There was a good relationship between us and the secretaries, there was no snubbing of the secretaries. We always asked one another and the secretaries "would you be so kind as to do this" - we did not demand.
- (4d) Yes, there was more talk about politics the closer we got to the time of the Revolution. The pre-noon hours were always devoted to reading the sports newspapers, newspapers in general and talk politics.

(4f) N/A.

(4i) N/A.

(4l) There was a physical education committee which visited our office for a monthly meeting. This committee was composed of a representative from the county captaincy (?), the county Communist Party, the city DISZ, the county's education division. These people were to supervise our work. They didn't understand anything about sports. They kept telling the head of our office that the Party interest was not succeeding to our sports, or that the interest of the DISZ was not advancing through sports. This committee tried to direct sports-life in the county by instilling the Communist direction. We were angry at them. A person could protest or object to certain decisions they brought, but it was not successful. One fellow, who was from the Communist Party, did most of the talking and the rest of the committee agreed with him. There was one big, stupid peasant woman there who was very talkative also. They wanted the village youth to participate in more sports. This was one of the directives of the congresses of the Communist Party. Other directives and instructions were given to us. Some were impossible to put into effect. These in our reports would be cited as "in the process of being put into effect" or some similar phrase.

(4m) The MJK movement was brought in. Then it was seen that it was not good. Then again they brought certain decisions, because the Communist Party said we were behind in certain

sports and cert in sports had to be encouraged.

- (4n) One who talked a great deal at the Party meetings, informed on people and went to seminars, one who was of worker or peasant origin.
- (4p) In our office no. We were very fortunate not to have to work in the county council building. If working there we would have talked the way we did, we would all have been jailed.
- (5) There was no chance, a person was tied to his job. One who left his job was penalized in certain ways, such as loss of certain vacation privileges. If a person wanted to change jobs, go to another place, the new place of employment and the old place had to agree upon this transfer. The new place also had to agree to allow the individual to keep his seniority years.
- (5b) When I was young, before the war, I would like to have been an electrical engineer or gone into the theater. I could not follow these wishes because my family did not have enough money to send me to school.
- (5e) Part of it would be used to fix up the house where we lived, or where we would live, to have some kind of vehicle, and also to travel.
- (5g) No, my work was not a serious vocation, I would want them to study a trade, be creative, something like engineering.

- (6) In general the livelihood was not bad. I was married in 1950 and when we consider the earning of both of us and if we budgeted well, we made out.
- (7) I earned 1,100 ft. a month. My wife earned about 1,100 ft. a month, plus 900 ft. in tips.
- (8) See the attached form.
- (9) It was a sad situation. Many people lived in former business places, stores that were rented as living quarters, or laundry-stores. Many people shared apartments. In the last few years they started building more apartments, but there was still a great need. Six-room apartments were cut up into one- or two-room units. We had one large room, a tea ~~room~~ room and a bath. It cost 140 ft. a month, central heating was 60 ft. extra a month. There was no hot water. On cool or cold days the newspapers gave instructions as to how many hours a person could heat rooms with coal. They would say perhaps four hours or so, depending on the temperature.
- (10) I had the worst opinion of it. Various plants had very much chaos around them. For example, the plan for building a subway in Budapest was halted because of the errors in the engineering. They tried to build a subway where the terrain was impossible. Then there was the incident of building a steel plant in cooperation with Tito.

When relations with Tito degenerated, that plant was left undone and a new steel plant was begun at Dunapentele called Stalinvaros. This planned economy was planned robbery. Hungary had no use for such a steel plant. It did not have the raw materials for it.

- (10c) This was a kind of golden age, when money was stable, the market was good and there was enough food, there were no lines and people could save some money.
- (10d) Things got worse, the standard of life fell, if a person wanted to buy something he had to save a great deal.
- (10f) Now there were a few MASZEK businesses in 1955/56. Even though the price was more, the quality was better. People bought these things rather than the gov't products. These MASZEK businesses were allowed only on an individual basis or when two partners worked together or a family affair.
- (10g) Things were somewhat better in 1956. The peace loans were not demanded. In 1956 I gave only 700 and not the 1,100 as before. Consumer goods and different things came from Czechoslovakia, East Germany.
- (11) This influence was very strong. The increasing of the norms requiring more work, more standing in line, the lack of consumer goods.

- (1) I attended four years of the Palgari School, or middle-school, and later received a special maturity certificate in public administration, which was required by the Pest City gov't, where I worked. From the age of 15 to 16 I was an apprentice in a tool factory. In 1937 I volunteered for the Air Force to be a pilot. I was not successful because I did not have patronage, that is I did not become a pilot. In 1940 I was discharged from the Air Force, but called back in 1942 and served on the Soviet front. In 1944, from the Air Force, I went over to the Mountain Scouts, to be a ski instructor.
- (1c) The Ministry of Interior had courses for all its workers. In 1946 I went to school. They let us out of work at 3 p.m. and then I went to school until six.
- (1e) I had to attend this particular school in order to keep my job in public administration, since this required a special maturity certificate for civil servants. The lecturers were from the city-hall. They gave general courses about public administration and what the divisions of this administration were.
- (2) Before 1945 I could have gone to school, but I chose to be a pilot and I was unsuccessful at that.
- (2e) Yes, if I would have wanted to start I could have, since I was of worker origin. They would have been glad to have me go to school.

- (4) To reform, reshape and change the Hungarian man to the Soviet-type man. They put the Soviet type of man before us as an example constantly. He was to be followed. He was the one who works and sacrifices for the State.
- (4b) No, not at all. It was a big zero. If we look at the youth we see that it was not successful. They try to follow Western ideas, long hair, modern shirts, tight pants. The boys and girls went to the DISZ meetings only as long as there was a dance there. They left when the political meeting started. The Communists however started at a younger age with the Pioneer Movement, with the young boys. In my time we had the Boy Scouts. They wanted to make the children unbehaved, to be disrespectful towards older people. They did not make Communists out of them, but they made wild children out of them.
- (5) Before being married, my father was a constable. And then, at the time of his marriage, he was a policeman. Later he became a reader of water meters. But then his arm was paralyzed and he was put on pension. Since then he has left the city to live in a village. My mother died in 1945. The Communists took one of my father's pensions away, only the city pension is left.
- (5f) We lived rather well in comparison, that is, that we would be able to have meat at least once a week, we had nice clothes and we were able to live out of my father's wages of 47 Pengö.

- (5g) Four.
- (5h) My mother is dead, my father is living in Hungary, my brother is living in Hungary.
- (5i) None.
- (5k) An advantage, of worker origin.
- (6) Yes.
- (6a) My wife was a manicurist.
- (6b) Since 1945.
- (6c) No children. We had a good family relationship.
- (12) Not before 1945, but since then we've always talked about politics, whenever we meet with my father. When he would come to Budapest, he would ask about things in order to take news to the village.
- (14) It would be difficult for my wife and I to do anything together, except on a weekend, even then, because of my job, I would have to be away from home. Since I came home late in the evening from the office, a movie would not be possible.
- (14a) I felt rather close.
- (14b) Rather typical.
- (14c) Going to various sports events.
- (14g) Rather freely.
- (15) Loosened in general. When a boy was given a job by the Communists, the family ties became loosened.

When a boy or member of a family was taken away by the Communists and imprisoned, the family was held together more.

- (16) Yes, it has changed much since the war. The elders do not receive the respect which was given in pre-war days. Girls move about more freely, behave more rudely. In this the DISZ and the youth organizations played an important role. Education is not religious, has no religious basis in the schools.
- (16b) Courting is not the classical kind of pre-war days with long engagements. Four-day love affairs are frequent, followed by a short marriage and divorce in four months; not as before, when the families got to know the man or the woman. Now it occurs frequently that the girl or boy bring home the partner and say "This is my bride!" Or vice versa.
- (16c) Officially no, but yes, a very large number. In the lowering of the standard of life women have opened themselves to earn more money through prostitution.
- (16d) Less strict, although they defended the home by words, they let everyone decide things individually.
- (16e) Yes, it is better, especially for the child. The Communists make no difference between the illegitimate and the legitimate child. My wife saw a poster in the Ullöi Hospital which said it is the responsibility of a woman to give birth, it is glory for the girl. People would say, but I can't prove this, that baby boys could

be given to the State for money. In schools the children were taught about birth and sex from a book entitled "Gyereknek Felelőkről" (For Children about Adults).

- (16i) The Communists said that women have equal rights, they employed them for tractor operators, brick-layers, and all kind of heavy work. They got the same pay as a man for the same job and they could vote. This is not good as far as I am concerned. Woman has lost respect.
- (17) This has fallen.
- (17a) For example a female Party secretary, of whom my wife knew, became acquainted with a man who had two children. She also had a child and both of them left their spouses and ran off together. The Communists tried to cover this up and then said "this was their private affair and concerned only those two individuals".
- (17b) Yes, very common. The public doesn't know of this, newspapers never carried stories of robberies except a few months before the Revolution they wrote about certain robberies, but there were many burglaries. Also, the newspapers never carried how many suicides there were.
- (18) I didn't have very good friends after the siege of Budapest, only a few acquaintances at the office. There was one young friend who was close to me up to 1950, when he was arrested. After that he was moved to another office. Noone really could have close friends. I had acquaintances at the various sports.

- (18c) The friend who was arrested, and I, before his arrest, would see one another at our work. There would be no contact after work, except perhaps one Sunday a month we visited one another. There was no money available to go out and drink wine or for entertainments.
- (18g) Sincerety, the desire to help one another, giving advice, and as we did, share our sports equipment and gave money to one another when the other was in need.
- (18i) My circle of friends centered around sports life, those who worked in the office. They were selected friends because I knew their political views. This was a primary consideration now. Before 1945 I did not care much about politics, it didn't affect me.
- (19) I was reared in a very religious family. My mother and father were both Roman Catholics. My father was a member of the Crede and founder of the church. My mother was a member of the Aicio Katholikus, myself was an altar boy and attended mass regularly, was a member of the Boy Scouts at the church and this community which was called "Tripolis", outside of Budapest, in the pre-war years had a very fine church life.
- (19b) My wife and I went to church now and then. In 1946/47 we went, but then after that the Communists did not allow it. We didn't pay the church tax, we didn't have that much money to spare.

- (207) The Communists in seminars and other places said drastic things about the church, ran down the clergy. They said the church and clergy had large land-holdings and they were the wealthy. However, the Communists would say that there is freedom of religion, but they always struck at the church. Our own priest was arrested on trumped up charges.
- (20b) The Communists wanted to end religion, but at first they hit the church with drastic methods and then they became more tolerant. They saw that there are people who still go to church, but they added "We will lead them to the enlightened life." The Communists would say "Why do you church members fatten the priests?"
- (20c) I knew that they existed and that they were the communicators from the Party to the people. I did not meet any peace priests.
- (20f) Anyone could go, but the people were afraid. A person would go to church and upon leaving church services he would meet an office friend. He very likely would say something in the office and this would get on the Kader sheet. This would hinder anyones advance in his position in the office.
- (20i) Mainly older women went to church, primarily that group which feared its job and position did not get. The young people did not go, a 16-year old youngster was rarely seen in church, they were not educated to go as in pre-war days.

- (20k) It meant less. There was no religious education of the young people at all. Later the parents could register the young people, if they dared, for religious education.
- (20l) The church played a great role against Communism. Before the Revolution^{while} my wife was at the hospital and after visiting her in the afternoon, at 6 o'clock, a priest in a church across the street from the hospital, speaking in strong terms not directly, openly against the Communists, but in terms that could be understood.
- (21) Go into the industry or trade, if he does not want to study further. If he wants to go on to study, I'd recommend chemistry. One has to keep in mind that 6,000 students want to go to the University every year in Hungary, and only 600 are accepted. And if he is an office-clerk or administrator in an office, he usually earns less than someone in the industry in Hungary, even though the norm is higher in the industry.
- (21b) If he would be a lathe-operator, I'd urge him to go to trade-school and take special courses.
- (22) High or best position: First, those office-holders who got their jobs on a political basis, lifted out of the workers' class. Second, that group of the peasants who were organizers of the collective farms. This is a small number. Third, the average worker lived rather badly. Fourth, worse still was the former middle-class and former aristocracy, former army officers.

They lost everything and had no remuneration for their property loss.

- (22a) Among the worker class, I had 1,100 ft. The family could either eat everything and have nothing for clothes, or spend some money on clothes and have less for food. We made ends meet only because my wife worked, earned as much as I did and got 900 ft. in tips, which was good pay.
- (22b) I would rather stay where I was. If I would look only at the money, I would like to have more money, but this meant that a person would have to be an informer. Then the political party, the Communists, would push me ahead, but this I wouldn't do. In fact, in 1948 the Communists said that they would send me to Military Officers School and make me an officer in the Army with high pay. I did not accept it.
- (22c) The outstanding and talented athletes, in particular the soccer players, did very well. They were a few world-famous athletes, who also lived very highly. They were paid good money in various ways. Generally, the athletes had certain advantages. They had to work less in the factories where they had a job, and they still got their premiums even if they did not meet the norms. Nothing was too dear or expensive to make it possible for the soccer-player to play well. This was the position of the State.

- (23) Peasants, workers, (can't speak of a middle-class), third, a new bourgeoisie; the upper Communist clique. They had cars and tremendous dinners.
- (23d) No, there are no walls, except the wall separating the upper Communist clique and fanatic Communists from the rest of the people.
- (23e) No, because previously a manager of a plant was not close to his workers, although he tried to show his nearness. Today, the Communist manager of a plant looks at his workers through a Party eye-glass. There is the separation. Of course, now everyone could go to any public place he wanted to. It meant that the lowest kind of people would come into a restaurant to eat with their hands, then wash their hands in their beer, wipe their hands on the table-cloth. This was very uncomfortable for people who sat next to such people. This is why we did not go to restaurants often. We could not find the same level of people with the same education and the same conversation in public places.
- (23g) There is a tremendous change. There is not the courtesy in behavior that existed before. People talk rudely, such as "Why are you shoving me, you ox!" Then the retort "You're an ox!" and the two are ready to hit one another in public. People are nervous and constantly at one another's throats. Recently the newspapers started to write articles about how people should behave; this way and that way. This was chiefly directed towards youth. They were told not to imitate Western culture,

not to dress this way. They tried to give examples from Moscow. For example, how the people in Moscow board the street-cars, they do not push, etc.

- (24) The Swabians mainly were deported, and the southern Slavs were treated badly when there was trouble with Tito. However, the great Hungarian population did not dislike the Swabians. ^{In} the village where I was, relocations occurred and land and houses of the Swabians went to the Communist functionaries.
- (24a) I don't know of any. The Russians who were brought into the country, received very good treatment.
- (25) I can say that the group of Jews, the small business-men, tried to get jobs in the Party. They were opportunists. These small business-men became the wagon-pushers of the Communists. The religious group of Jews, the orthodox, did not cooperate with the Communists. That group which lived out of their property did not help the Communists. Generally one can say that the Jews stood away from the Communists. However, the people in general in Hungary got the impression that all Communists were Jews, because the leaders of Communism in Hungary were Jews, and this created the impression. I knew many good Jews who hated the Communists, just like Roman Catholics hated Communism, or as Protestants hated Communism.

- (25g) It increased somewhat. In pre-war times we did not have anti-Semitism in Hungary. In reality it was the German propaganda that blew it up and made an issue of it. Now the leaders of Communism are Jews and everything is blamed on the Jews. They are seen as the persons who get the better jobs. The Jews, during the Revolution, fought with the workers, alongside Roman Catholics and Protestants.
- (25h) I can't give a definite answer. If Communism ends there will continue to exist the same, fraternal community as before among Hungarians and Jews. However, Hungarians are not the business-type of person and the Jew will be the business-man in Hungary.

- (1) No, not before the war. I am now interested in politics only because one is forced to know what is going on, that is, I want to know what the Communists say and compare it to other information and other political orders. The Communists said that everyone must know politics. We were all required to read the paper, in fact, at the jobs there were half-hour sessions before work, where somebody read an article from the Szabad Nep, and this was discussed. It was also required to attend various seminars.
- (1a) Among those whom I knew we always tried to find out what we could say against the regime, if there was something new we could think of. But officially we had to attend certain Party meetings, since I was a member of the Party. It was a very boring thing, especially the planning conferences, the peace meetings. Sometimes these meetings were a joke. People would try to get into the last row, where a person could sleep. People would try to avoid answering questions. While Stalin was alive and if his name was mentioned by the speaker at the meeting, the crowd would stand and shout three times "Long live Stalin!" Followed then by cheers for Rakosi, then three cheers for the Party. It was a laughable thing! This thing was carried to extremes on purpose by the members. The most popular party was the Smallholders Party, then the Peasant Party and Social Democrats. No one was interested in the Communist Party after the war.

I remember the Communists got together at times, held demonstrations calling for the closing of the espressos and coffee houses. During the first elections the Smallholders won a large majority. When the second election occurred, the Smallholders also won and the Christian Party had a majority. But then the Communist Party was given the portfolio of the Ministry of Interior and Welfare and Justice, and the gov't went into their hands. When the system of plural parties came to an end, the one-party system was a simple comedy. The election system was more of a joke. Also, the deputy of the Communist Party in the apartment was directed to encourage everyone to vote and make sure that everyone votes. They were trying to get the entire apartment-house to go at one time and to cast their ballots earlier so that the district would be all balloted. There was a contest to see who could get the complete district in first. On the ballots was listed the Communist Party people running. There were no other names listed at all. This ballot was handed to a person, with no pencil, nothing to mark the ballot. A person could go into the booth, but why, there was nothing to do in the booth but fold the ballots, come out and drop it into the urn. Many people did not even bother going into the booth, folded the ballot and dropped it into the urn immediately after receiving the ballot. This was a big circus. People did not care anymore for this kind of election. We were never told how to vote against the Party, if we wanted to vote against them.

Of course, the judges in the voting place were Party members and for statistical purposes they would always list a few ballots that were disqualified. They could not make a perfect showing. And then 98% of the country voted for them.

- (2a) I favored the Smallholders Party after the war, but I was out of a job and a woman, who was a Social Democrat and who came to visit my wife to have her nails manicured, asked me one day what I was doing? I said I was without a job and I would like to work. She told me to come to the offices of the Social Democratic Party, I could get some work there. At the party office I helped in measuring out food packages and preparing these packages which were distributed. My pay was given to me in food packages, and then one day I was asked by this woman whether I wanted to join the party or not. I didn't see anything wrong in it and therefor signed the paper. And then, just before the merger of the Social Democratic Party with the Communists, two days before that merger, I was kicked out of the Social Democratic Party for not attending various seminar meetings that were required of party members. However, it seems they did not take all this into consideration because two days after being kicked out and officially being notified of this, I was called in and given a membership card for the Communist Party. This is how my Party membership came about.

- (2e) The picture of the Soviet soldier appeared before me constantly when I thought of the Communists as those liberators who robbed and raped our country.
- (2f) Number "2", this anti-Communist attitude was in me and in our family. Moreover, such hate against the Communists was created by the constant praise given to the Soviets. In 1947 I stepped into the Anglo-American Society. I was a member of this until the end of this society.
- (2h) The fact that the Communist order carried out its program to the smallest point. A person could not argue with the police nor the AVH and that people did not dare to talk against it.
- (3) Many small things which piled up, and larger things. The relocation and internement of people, the deportation of them, the nationalization of small stores, the great deal of standing in line, the fact that gas- and light bills had to be paid on time, if not within three days, these utilities were disconnected. Also, that a person could not get near a military parade on April 4th without an invitation and passing through 5 or 6 check-points with the invitation.
- (3a) i, vi, xii.
- (3b) iii, viii, xiv.
- (3c) vi, x, xiii.
- (3d) xiv, viii, vii.
- (3e) xv, iv, iii. all of these affected the people in some way.

- (3j) The fact that Trade Unions offered vacations paid, perhaps that theater and concert tickets were cheap. For me there were sport opportunities, as there were for many other people. I was pleased with the fact that the people's stadium was built. This, of course, was my own interest, sports.
- (4) The Soviets, the pattern of the Soviets was everywhere.
- (4f) It was tremendous and big, more than two times as big as pre-war times.
- (4h) At first the officials and clerks were kept, then they were replaced by workers who came in from industry and all kinds of other places.
- (5) I was not a member of the DISZ, but those who were active in the DISZ got better jobs as a result of it. But the ordinary membership was a disadvantage, because you had to pay dues, membership fee, and attend meetings.
- (6) Membership in the Party required attendance at meetings, the very good member would speak up atleast 60 times in a meeting, this meant he could get a better job, higher pay. But for the ordinary member Party membership did not mean a better job, it merely meant paying the membership fee.
- (6a) Noone really had to join or was forced to join, but many joined because of their job. Party organizers pestered them and told them that this was the only true road to

follow. And then there were many who received Party membership automatically when the merger occurred with the Social Democratic Party. This happened with me, although technically at that point I was no longer a member of the Social Democratic Party.

- (6b) Those who were convinced Communists.
- (6c) Pay membership dues, attend the Party meetings, instruction meetings. Members were not allowed to tell non-Party members what they heard at the meetings, they were to look at the Soviet as the greatest friend and helper of Hungary, to carry out the orders given from above and try to convince everyone of the advantages of Communism.
- (6e) There were some who changed, they became wild and fanatic as Party members. Why, I don't know. This was an individual matter.
- (6f) Some convinced Communists, who afterwards saw the bankruptcy of the whole thing and the deception of everything, including the planned economy, saw such things happen as the Rajk affair, and then the later rehabilitation. The so-called ordinary member was never deceived nor even convinced by the Communists.
- (6h) Yes, I was a member of the Social Democratic Party and in 1948 automatically became a member of the Communist Party when the merger of the two occurred. However, two days before this merger, I had been kicked out of the Social Democratic Party for not attending the seminars and meetings of the Social Democratic Party. I was surprised when I was called and given a Communist Party membership card.

I didn't believe them to begin with.

- (6m) They didn't take too much of my time. I tried to get out of everything I could. Although there was a monthly meeting, I went once and didn't go the next time. There were many of us who, when we went, before the meeting started made sure that people would know we were there, made our presence known. In the last few years I did not attend the seminars, although I had been required to finish certain levels. I started the seminars six times, but got excuses because of my job and the sports events. People thought of all kinds of tricks to get out of Party meetings. Sometimes a man would have his wife come to the meeting-room, stick her head in the door and in a very excited way get the attention of her husband. She then would turn to the leader of the meeting, vainly trying to explain by motion of hands and face that he has to come, something has happened at home, then the leader of the meeting would let the man go. Then the wife and husband would leave and spend the evening together somewhere, having a good time. Everyone tried to get out of planning conferences. At one factory they had to shut the gates so that no one would get away from the planning conference. Every Party member had Party work to do, but a great majority did not do anything. We were asked to write articles for the wall newspapers, to go from house to house agitating and convincing people of Communism, secure subscriptions for the Szabad Nep.

- (6r) The highest level of the Soviet Party and the First Secretary in Hungary.
- (6t) A change occurred after the death of Stalin; when the news came out of the cult of personality, it was said he was a big humbug, it was said that he was not even on the war-front during the Second World War. After the 20th Congress Party discipline was very loose. At the seminars, after the 20th Congress, instruction was given as to what the 20th Congress had done, and how enlightened the 20th Congress was.
- (7) No.
- (8) Out of the 800,000 or 900,000 members that were counted, maybe 100,000 are convinced Communists.
- (9) By the same explanation that people who were members of these organizations were not convinced members. People went to the meetings because they could play ping-pong there, dance, or, as a trade apprentice or student they had to be members, otherwise they could not continue being students or studying a trade.
- (10b) As I know of it, the AVH was the arm of the Party. It guarded the Party and could arrest anyone. It was the political police organization that stopped any anti-Communist movement in the country.

- (10e) I don't know. I suspect that they did not urge people, but they took trusted men and gave them a great deal of money.
- (10j) Not a good relation. The police feared the AVH, the AVH was omnipotent, it was the GESTAPO of these times.
- (10k) It was the protecting arm of the Party. When Peter Gabor was removed from his office as head of the AVH, the AVH was made a part of the Ministry of Interior, the Party power was greater.
- (11) Yes, a young friend who was a fanatic anti-Communist. He wrote lyric poetry, romantic verse and many anti-Communist poems. His boy went to Gyula Somogyvari and showed him his poems. Somehow two of these poems got out of the country to the BBC, where they were broadcast. At the end of 1949 this young fellow, my friend, was transferred to another division in the city gov't, from our office, and two months later I went to visit him. He was no longer there. I found out that he had been arrested. I understood that he along with a few other young fellows and a young priest belonged to a conspiracy, an organized party. They also kept a book of all their meetings and sent a copy of the minutes to the abbey from where this priest had come. In the meantime, at the abbey, someone had been arrested and the records of this group were found there. Very simply all of the boys were arrested and taken to the Kistarcsa Prison, and then I last heard that he was at Marianostrá.

During the Revolution I heard that he was out of prison, or got out then.

- (11d) Really everyone. If anyone/^{was}heard saying something against the gov't, he could be arrested, or if a man broke a machine at his job, he was suspected of sabotage.
- (11g) No.
- (12) N/A
- (13) I would say "Don't see anything, don't hear anything, don't speak!" But if they want to arrest a person, they will find something out about him or make a case for arresting him.
- (13c) Somewhat, it all depends on who the contact is and if more than one person heard what you had said against the gov't, this could not be denied and it would be of no help to have any contact.
- (13d) No, not necessarily, but it is of help sometimes. For example, a girl lived in our home who was of an aristocratic family. She was an apprentice at a training-school, where they did not know that she was of aristocratic background. But there is always the danger that someone would recognize her.
- (13f) Yes, but this is not a sure thing.
- (14) There were. But I do not recall periods during which these changes fell.

- (15) Complete rule and direction of Hungary.
- (15e) One could see the strong influence in industry and commerce, in literature, movies, the arts, a person could feel it and see it in sports also.
- (16) When a person became drunk, he would curse the regime. Also when there were soccer matches between the Soviet and Hungarian teams to create friendship, the Hungarian spectators would despise the Soviets, razz the Soviets and demonstrate against them. No friendship resulted from these matches.
- (16c) Only those people of whom one is completely sure, and has a close relationship with. A neighbor is not to be trusted.
- (16d) People talked about sports, perhaps about films and the theater, and then also, if the errors and mistakes of some political leader were publicized in the newspaper, then everyone took a swing at him. It was allowed then.
- (17) For example, in our office of physical education and sports, we did not carry certain things out in the district. Smaller things we were able to circumvent. To point out how some orders are still circumvented, I read that the regime has ordered that all the automobiles have to be given to the State. Recently in a Hungarian newspaper a second statement of this order was printed, saying that it must be done now. Apparently the first order did not bring results.

- (18) Its strength lay in the power of the AVH and the other armed units in the country, the Soviet Army. The weakness of the regime lays in the constant contradictions, people were displaced from their jobs and there was no explanation to why, then the public began to ask questions and the public knew that the Communists were tearing at one another.
- (19) There was no active resistance, maybe some sabotage, where a worker gave poor quality products. Up to 1949 there were many fires that broke out in factories. There were shootings of Russian soldiers, some Russians were found beaten or put under manure piles. Various little groups were formed, but these were soon discovered. Certain former military officers formed resistance groups, but these officers' groups were killed off.
- (19b) The general average worker, former land-owners, the clergy, and especially the women resisted to Communism.
- (19c) The Party functionaries who had fat jobs in factories and lived well; the AVH who lived well and received large salaries. They defended the regime, because their life existence depended on it.
- (19l) I don't know why these groups were formed. I heard only that they were organized. How they were formed and who the leaders were I don't know, except what I read in the newspapers, which said that these groups, particularly the Petöfi Circle, opposed the personality cult, and etc.

- (1) By radio, in particular Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and at first, when it was possible ^{yet} to get the American and British Embassy bulletins. Also, the Press of Hungary, but we did not want to believe their viewpoints.
- (1a) The foreign radio broadcasts.
- (2) Yes.
- (2a) The Szabad Nep at the office, but I looked at the sports page in the back first, and then maybe glanced at the rest; the weekly "Igazzag", I believe that was the name, "Hepszava", "Esti Budapest" - this I read most frequently.
- (2g) Yes, I saw them, such as the "Pravda", French newspapers. Up to 1949 I bought the magazine "Aeroplane Flight" and also the magazine "Picture". I also saw Polish newspapers on the stands.
- (3) Infrequently.
- (3a) I saw only Italian and French films, not Russian films, maybe a Czech film. I liked the French comedies.
- (3b) The entertaining films. A person would go there and for two hours forget his troubles by looking at a comedy.
- (3c) No, not very frequently.
- (4) Yes.

- (4c) I had no special favorite writer. I read Upton Sinclair's books, some classic Hungarian books, books by Jokai, I read also all the detective stories I could find, anything and everything which didn't have politics in it.
- (5) Yes.
- (6) Yes.
- (6a) Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, BBC; I also listened to Italy, West Germany for entertaining programs.
- (6d) I couldn't compare them with any other than our domestic broadcasts. We believed what the foreign broadcasts said, if it was anti-Communist, it was good. The Voice of America and the BBC were more objective than Radio Free Europe, **which** was an emotional broadcast.
- (7) Yes, we told one another stories in the office. These were most important, a great source of news, but not always dependable.
- (8) That portion of the newspaper which was not influenced by politics, we could read, but where the question of East - West relationships was brought in, that we did not believe.
- (8d) A person could do this easily. The Hungarian papers, however, reported events atleast a week late and frequently a person would forget the details of a Western radio broadcast, which was given a week earlier on that subject.

- (8e) No, except as stated above, see question (8).
- (8f) Yes, when someone gave it to me. I had no real opinion about it, I did not examine it closely.
- (8g) Yes, it was delivered to our office, where we read the sports section, since our office was concerned with sports and physical education.
- (8h) Yes, I read it before the Revolution. This paper certainly exposed the Communists. We were glad that they dared to write this way. Also, the "Szabad Ifjusag", the paper of the DISZ, wrote serious things against the regime. I think this was a pioneer against the regime.
- (9) Yes, anyone who knew anything gave it on very quickly. News travelled fast.
- (10a) I knew that it was dropped from a going airplane, exploded in the air, that the city was destroyed, radiation was tremendous.
- (10b) We heard through the ^{Western} radio broadcast that the North Koreans with the help of Chinese soldiers interfered and pushed South. Why the Korean War came to an end, we did not know.
- (10c) This was interesting. Merai and Aczel wrote about the Korean bacteria warfare, that bombs were dropped, and in fact, these bacteria bombs were shown on film, with a big US painted on the bomb. By this they wanted to prove to us that the bomb was dropped by the United States.

- (10d) That the German Parliament accepted setting up an Army on a minimum level, but the Hungarian papers said that we have to be afraid of the German SS and the Fascists again. Also, that the Americans had given the Germans an atomic cannon.
- (10e) We were told that if these balloons reach land or reach the ground, they would explode. They were shown to us in the news films. The balloons were supposed to be equipped with photographic equipment. I saw one of them, a balloon over Budapest. Everyone was happy to see the balloons come - finally something was coming from the West!
- (10f) We heard about the Berlin riots only after they happened, long after they happened. The Communist press and radio told us that it was a Fascist riot and that Soviet interference saved the world from a newer Fascist movement.
- (10g) I don't remember much about it. Radio Free Europe brought us direct reports, news broadcasts from Geneva, at least that's the way they were broadcasted if they were direct. RFE also told us that the Russian pilots who had piloted the Russian delegation to Geneva, could not land in Geneva and the last leg of the journey had to be piloted by an American pilot, because the Russians did not know the Western safety devices and signals at the Geneva airport.
- (10h) Through the Western radio we heard about the "Green Meadow" Federation, that is the assembly of captive nations. We heard that Ferenc Nagy was Vice-President of the group. I don't remember much more.

- (1) Restore the rights of man, allow the general freedoms, restore the just court-system, do away with the restricted and directed press, allow free contact with Western countries, end the Soviet political contacts, have equal trade relations with the Soviets and not the disadvantages that Hungary suffers now, allow Western books to be translated into Hungarian. Also, commerce should be as it was before the Communists took over. Skilled men should direct the factories and work in the factories.
- (1a) Keep the national support of sports, this of course, is from my own interest and point of view. Allow the peasants to keep the land that they got.
- (2) Yes, definitely. There should be a governing party and an opposition party.
- (3) I would give everyone the right to speak, but I would not give it to the Communists because they know how to propagandise, take over governments.
- (3c) No, one should be able to criticise anyone in the gov't.
- (3d) I think yes. (Respondent said this rather doubtfully and hesitantly.)
- (4) Yes.
- (4a) Yes.

- (4b) If the majority of the country opposes the gov't. But this is not to be allowed to only a clique that wants to come to power, such as in South America. There is a revolution at 4 p.m. and a new gov't in power that evening.
- (5) The over-industrialization is not correct. Hungary was an agricultural country and could provide food enough for Central Europe, with good cultivation. Hungary would have to receive long term loans from such countries where the currency is good. With this we build the country, build up the highway system, and so forth, begin to attract foreign travel, build new hotels, entertainment places at ^{the} vacation spots. The money would need to be stabilized and made so that prices are not in four digits, but in the kind of figures that people can work with. I would also try to have the Soviets pay for the damages they did to the country during the Revolution.
- (6) In Hungary yes, certain things, although some people say "no". I would put the railroad in private hands though, because private railroad would give better service because of competition. The railroad coaches would be more attractive and one would not have to travel in reconstructed cattle cars.
- (6b) In the light industry, food processing, making of bread where quality is needed, this should be in private hands. Also the textile industry, where people want quality, so that people may choose by likes and dislikes.
- (6c) Yes.

- (6e) Yes, that which was previously, tobacco and salt.
- (6g) This should be ended at one blow, because the small store owners could do a better job. The top heavy administration could be done away with, the individual store owner could run his own store, do his own book-keeping, buying and so forth. Top heavy administration increases the prices.
- (8) This was chaos. The statistical reports were false, which always reported over-production, but there were no goods to be bought. Then the Communists explained that our desires for goods increased, we were buying more things, therefore less in the stores. But if we would have had the money with which to buy what we wanted, nothing would have remained in the stores.
- (9) Yes, family-life, the rearing of children, the practice of religion, how a person dresses, where a person goes to entertain himself and where he gets his money, how he spends it. Not to interfere in deciding whether a person can or cannot buy an automobile, because he is not of that level in society or he can claim the right to buy an automobile. Also not to interfere in housing.
- (10) Yes, be loyal and love his country, pay the taxes. If Hungary would have been a good place to live, people would not have tried to escape.

- (10b) It should be required for everyone, not three years at one time, but should vary according to the profession of the person and let him select the service he wants to enter.
- (10e) Yes, the leadership of the country should be responsible and report to the people. The gov't should be responsible for the welfare of the people and make life worth living. All this should be done on the basis of what we have said above, concerning a democratic country.
- (11) No, it did not. The crowds were larger in the doctors' waiting-rooms. A person had to go to a thousand places through the bureaucracy that was created in order to get some medical attention. At one place they said "We do not handle this, go there!" From the next place we were sent to some kind of expert in another field, at another location. This was the experience we had when my wife was sick, and she was sick rather often. If we wanted a special doctor or our own doctor, we needed to have a great deal of money to have him operate. Doctors today, I think, are not as well trained as before. They do not get the medical books from the West and they cannot keep up with the progress and advance being made outside of Hungary.
- (11a) The high Party officials in the AVH had a special, beautiful hospital, the "Kütfö Hospital".
- (12) Yes.

- (12a) I went less than half as much, or atleast 70% less than before the war. Before the war I went to the operas, there were many foreign singers and artists. Now there are hardly any.
- (12b) They go more often, cheap entertainment is offered, that is in price. In the factories tickets are sold. Sometimes they are pushed by organizers when a play is bad. Good plays do not have to be pushed for sale.
- (12d) People do not have much time, like us married people.
- (12e) We did not have as much as pre war.
- (13) About the same. People buy for their stomach primarily.
- (13a) Now much better.
- (13b) Somewhat better now than in 1950.
- (14) The quality was better in pre-war days and a person was able to keep his clothes longer.
- (14a) Yes, better, now people buy more often.
- (14b) About the same.
- (15) Yes, it did increase.
- (15a) New factories have been built. Machines and products have been manufactured which were not available previously.
- (16) Workers should be involved only in the Trade Unions, and thus be free from all politics. They should not be the managers of factories.

- (16b) Free to the extent and independent to the extent that the union does not harm the welfare of people with such things as railroad strikes, utility strikes, or so forth.
- (16d) Only skilled men, who have training, no political appointees.
- (17) They should be divided up. However, if there is a group of peasants who want to stay together in a cooperative basis, then voluntarily they should be allowed. But on the whole the collective farms are not good. Our peasants do not like them.
- (17c) They should be divided.
- (17h) Yes.
- (17i) Not the large estates. We should not give back more than 1,000 hold.
- (17l) Yes, loans of the State in the form of credit for machinery, fertilizer, and expensive seeds.
- (17m) Perhaps they should be given to larger landholders on long term loans and these individuals would take care of the machinery.
- (18) Just as under the previous governments.
- (18a) Yes, be completely free and independent. They should be interested only in their own area.
- (18c) Yes, this should vary according to each church, especially because the church gives the moral basis for the country, a country should support the church with funds.

- (18e) Yes, according to me. Then especially, when Communism falls apart.
- (18f) State school.
- (18g) Return schools to the church, return land up to 1,000 hold.
- (19) Each should be examined by a committee in details to how that individual behaved. Everyone should be examined on an individual basis.
- (19d) The DISZ members did not do anything except the high placed functionaries, those who were 18 years or older. The young apprentices had to belong to the DISZ.
- (19e) They should be examined and those who committed crimes taken before a court.
- (19f) Same as (e).
- (19g) Examine them also. There may be crimes that they committed in the last few years before they had a change of heart.
- (20) The fight against the Turks, for 150 years Hungary was the bastion of the West. The fight for freedom and independence in 1848. The participation of Hungary in World War I and II. Cultural attributions to Western way of life. The fact that King Stephen eliminated paganism in the country and the majority of Hungarians became Christians under him. Second, Hungary's constant fight against the Turks. Third, various writers, scientists, for example a Hungarian is the inventor of the dynamo;

contributions in aviation, medicine (such as Semmelweis); then in the area of music, Bartok, Kodaly and others.

- (21) Yes, Hungarian people are a unique people.
- (21a) Yes.
- (21b) Yes.
- (21c) Yes.
- (21d) No, because this character has increased, patriotic thinking has increased, although under cover. Witness: the Revolution.
- (21e) I could characterize Hungarian society. The upper strata tries to show itself as being in close contact with the people, but they are secluded. The peasantry holds to its land and is very much interested in the traditions and tied to the land. Everyone tries to hold to his little house. The peasant is very hospitable.
- (21f) The upper, aristocrat class was separated from the lower classes and did not sit down at the same table with the lower classes. Money seemed to separate them, and not talent. This same kind of separation exists today, although the content of the upper class today is made up of the Communists who hold high-paying jobs.
- (22) There was none since 1945. I remember only about the Bethlen kind of gov't, which people talked about. During the war the Kallay gov't was very popular. He had Anglo-American relations.

- (22b) As I have heard, it mainly occurred because of the landlessness ~~of~~ of these groups. In the big estates there were "Zsellerek" or Cotters, and also there were agents who travelled up and down the country, encouraging people to go to America and told the people that they will succeed there.
- (22c) Yes, the big estates existed up to 1945.
- (22e) I heard from my father and mother that there was a red terror then. Everybody was run out of their house, there was chaos, they were Reds.
(Respondent confuses the Karolyi rule, he is not clear about it.)
- (22e2) Bela Kun was a hangman.
- (22f) Yes, they were significant. The upper strata, the big factory owners, the landed aristocracy was a great distance from the next strata. There was a middle class, which did very well. This middle class was not distant from the workers, but the middle class was distant from the upper class as far as the upper class was concerned.
- (22i) From 1945 - 48 there was a period of hope for everyone. We were glad that the war was over and now something new would be happening. They did not think Communism would come.
- (23) Yes, frontiers are important. These claims to the Communists were not on the surface, but were brewing in the general public mind because once Rakosi said "We have no such claims against our neighbors."

Yes, the Hungarians did not like the Rumanians nor the Czechs, although the Hungarians like the Czechs more than the Rumanians, since the Czechs were more intelligent.

- (23b) Yes, this belongs to the national consciousness. 1,000 years of historical frontiers make it so, there are many Hungarian-speaking people living there, and many natural resources are there which were taken away from Hungary.
- (23d) No, no natural differences. If these differences could be ironed out, these neighbors could get along.
- (24) Make Hungary neutral.
- (24a) No, I don't think so because in the first case the Czechs and Slovaks are Slavic people, while the Rumanians are Latin. Perhaps we could get along with the Austrians in some sort of unity. But here again, the Austrians belong to the German sphere.
- (25) As man I knew the Russian peasant. He is quiet, but doesn't like to work. He is awkward, but of good spirits. I met the old Russian people on the Eastern front in the war. They are not so industrious as the Hungarians.
- (26) Sincerely, I did not study Marxism very much. Very broadly I know this much: Marxism speaks of everyone being equal and this is very nice, but in practice it cannot be carried out.

This is not what is carried out under the Communists. I didn't read the Communist books, such as "Capital", I read a little bit of it but I didn't understand it.

(26e) I don't know.

(26h) I don't know, since I don't know Marxism entirely.

(26i) I don't know of any time when it existed.

(27) I don't know. (The Respondent gave a little more elaborate answer after a bit of prompting.) That National type of Communism is local Communism.

(27e) No, one who is a Communist, is first a Communist and this means that he is an Internationalist. The Communists said that a good patriot is one who loves the Soviet Union first, because they liberated us.

(28) If the demands would have been attained, very likely Imre Nagy would not have remained the leader. He was a National Communist and this the people did not want.

(28b) Maybe for a time, then he would have been defeated.

(29a) Between good and bad, middle.

(29b) Bad.

(29c) Bad.

(29d) Bad.

(29e) Bad.

(29g) Good.

(29h) Good. He worked for his land.

- (29i) Bad.
- (29j) I don't know him fully.
- (29k) I don't know, I heard pros and cons.
- (29m) Good, especially popular now.
- (29n) Good.
- (30) The Smallholders.
- (30a) There are few leaders, I don't know who. I don't know really who would have the ability. Two men who fought with the Communists, Dezsö Sulyok, was popular, and Gyula Kunszai.
- (31a) Less.
- (31b) Less.
- (31c) Less.
- (31d) Very much less.
- (31e) Less.
- (31f) Less, generally less except for the functionaries of the Party.
- (31h) Less.
- (31i) Less.
- (32) The middle class and workers, in fact every group had a better life before the Communists.
- (33a) Coincide.
- (33b) Coincide.

- (33c) Coincide.
- (33d) Conflict, but there is no difference, no conflict, between the little Party members or the average members. The conflict is between the Party bigwigs, and those outside the Party.
- (33e) Coincide.
- (33f) Coincide, except for the peace priests and others, there is no conflict.
- (33g) I don't know, I'd say "conflict".
- (33h) Yes, they conflict.
- (33i) I don't know.
- (33j) Conflict.
- (34) Nothing. I came gladly, I had no fears.
- (35) The AVH and the Party functionaries and other high-placed or positioned careerists.
- (36) No, the same opinions I held before.

- (1) I'm going to be very frank and sincere and say that I was surprised, very surprised, at some of the questions you asked. I thought that you knew about Communist Party life and organization, and also I thought that you in America knew about things that were happening in Hungary, for example, by RFE we would hear definite happenings and incidents that we in Hungary did not know, were occurring.
- (1a) I'm glad that I could be helpful, to help my country in this way, to talk about the kind of life we had and what we did in Hungary.
- (1c) You've had a great deal of experience in interviewing and are able to compare what people say, so that even if someone tries to trick you, you will discover that in the end.
- (2) I don't know of anything else.
- (2a) Perhaps, if things are calm once again and under a different regime, maybe even then only as a visitor. I want to be a citizen of a country which protects its people.
- (3) Sincerely, I thought you were better informed about things in Hungary. (Here the Interviewer explained, as he explained in connection with Question (1), which was asked out of order, that is after Question (3).

that even though we asked many questions that seemed to indicate that we do not have information and we did not know what was going on in Hungary, this is all part of the interview process, by which information is gathered as facts and opinions are recorded. A scientific study must be conducted in this way, without pre-judgment. The Respondent agreed after this explanation that he saw what we were doing.)

INTERVIEWER'S RATING: Here is a sportsman, an athlete, who in Vienna has been concerned with setting up certain sports activities for the children in the Camp, as well as for the older youth. However, he himself does not look upon sports nor his own work in Hungary as a vocation. He would rather have a trade, something which appears to be creative, at his hands. He hopes to get to the United States with his wife, where he has relatives. He is a good-looking chap and the specimen of an athlete.